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THE ENGLISH CATHOLIC REFUGEES
ON THE CONTINENT, 1558–1795.

THE ENGLISH CATHOLIC REFUGEES

ON THE CONTINENT 1558–1795

VOL I.—THE ENGLISH COLLEGES AND CONVENTS IN THE CATHOLIC LOW COUNTRIES, 1558–1795

BY THE REV.

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TO

HIS GRACE

EDMOND FRANCIS PRENDERGAST, D.D.,

ARCHBISHOP OF PHILADELPHIA

1559

PREFACE

It is with great diffidence that I offer the present volume as a thesis to the University of Louvain for the *Doctorat ès sciences morales et historiques*. The Historical Seminar, which has been so ably conducted at Louvain since the death of Jungmann, by Alfred Canon Cauchie, has, on more than one occasion, given subjects of an English Catholic nature to its members. From the publication of the *Relations politiques des Pays-Bas et de l'Angleterre*, by Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove, the attention of scholars has been drawn to the religious, political, and economic relations which have existed in modern times between the Low Countries and England. In 1905–1908 the Reverend L. Willaert, S.J., published in the *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* a series of articles dealing with the politico-religious negociations between the two countries during the period 1598–1625. Another member of the Society of Jesus, the Reverend R. Lechat, continued the subject in 1909–1911, and the results of his researches on the economic situation of the English Catholic exiles in the Catholic Low Countries during the reign of Elizabeth (1558–1603) have recently been published. Canon Cauchie considered that an equally interesting aspect of the English Dispersion would be an account of the religious activity of the exiles, as witnessed in the numerous Colleges, Seminaries, Monasteries and Convents founded by the English Catholics from the beginning of Elizabeth's reign down to the French Revolution (1558–1795). This was in sum the work given me in July, 1911. The first results of my labours were published in the Report of the Historical Seminar of Louvain for 1912.

There was no dearth of printed material with which to begin the work; but it was so scattered and of such a

superficial nature that very little help scientifically could be gained from it. The recent publications of the Catholic Record Society; monographs, such as Dom Nolan's *Account of the Ypres Community*, Dom Hamilton's edition of the *Louvain Chronicle*, and Van Doninck's *Het voormalig Engelsch Klooster te Bornhem*, are exceptions to this. It was not intended to make the present thesis a complete exhaustive history of each house on the Continent, but merely to give a more detailed account than that contained in Husenbeth's little volume on the English Colleges and Convents, by bringing it *en rapport* with sources that have come to our knowledge since 1849, as well as with the different collections of unpublished material, in the municipal, departmental, national, and ecclesiastical archives of the different towns and countries in which these exiled religious institutions once found a home. No chapter can, however, be considered actually complete. The subject grew quickly beyond the ordinary limits of a thesis; and in order to keep to the original design, much has had to be sacrificed which would otherwise have proved of interest.

The communal and provincial archives of Belgium yielded far less than was at first anticipated. It seemed logical to conclude that the presence of these exiled communities for over two centuries in the principal towns of present-day Belgium and northern France would have left indelible marks on the cities in which they once existed; but apart from a few scattered manuscripts in the local libraries and a memory or two which still lingers in the names of the streets, such as the *rue des Dominicains irlandais* at Louvain, very little remains from which to gather up the threads of their history. This is partly due to the vandalism of the French Revolution, when many of the ecclesiastical archives were burnt or destroyed, while a small portion of what escaped found its way into the public archives. The salvage from the wreck of 1793–1795, which exists in the different episcopal archives of Belgium, is not yet completely classified and catalogued; and for this reason I was obliged to depend upon workers who preceded me. The first insight into the vast collections of documents on the Continent relating to the English Catholics came during a journey, made in the spring of 1912, in company

with Canon Cauchie, to consult the principal archives in Spain. It is in this connection that I wish to extend my cordial thanks to the Directors and Curators of the Archives of the Escurial, the Archives of Simancas, the Archivio Histórico Nacional of Madrid, and the Archivio Municipal of Seville; as well as to the Librarians of the Universities of Valladolid and Salamanca, all of whom facilitated with charming courtesy the work of research during the short time I was able to spend among these collections. My special thanks are due to the Very Reverend Joseph Kelly, of St. Alban's College, Valladolid (who has spent several years in cataloguing and copying the most important manuscripts in the Simancas Archives relating to English Church History), for his kindness in permitting me to see the principal documents of the College Archives which bore upon the present thesis.

After these Spanish cities the next great centre was Rome. To mention every one there to whom I am indebted for help and encouragement would be an endless task. The consideration shown me by their Eminences, Cardinal Falconio, formerly Apostolic Delegate to the United States, and Cardinal Gotti, the Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide; the assistance given me by the late Rector of the English College, the Right Rev. Bishop Giles, and by Monsignor Cronin, D.D.; by Monsignor Laurenti, the Secretary of Propaganda, and his able archivist, Canon Semadini; the valuable direction I received from Father Ehrle, S.J., the Librarian of the Vatican Library; from Monsignor Ugolini, the Archivist of the Vatican Archives, and from Monsignor de Waal, the Rector of Campo Santo dei Tedeschi; and the fatherly interest taken in my work by the Right Rev. Bishop Kennedy, Rector of the American College—to mention these names is to mention only a few to whom I shall ever be grateful.

My special obligations are due to his Eminence, Cardinal Bourne, of Westminster, for his unfailing kindness and for the permission to use the extensive collection of documents which make up the Diocesan Archives. I thank also the Very Reverend Monsignor Jackman, D.D., for his direction in this regard.

It is only when an inexperienced beginner in historical studies has completed the task given him that he realizes how much is due to the encouragement and example of tried leaders in the same field; and I would wish in particular to express my sincere gratitude to Monsignor Bernard Ward, and to the Rev. Edwin Burton, D.D., President and Vice-President, respectively, of St. Edmund's College, Old Hall, and to the eminent Jesuit historian, the Rev. John Hungerford Pollen, S.J., to whom, perhaps, more than to any one else, much that is perfect in this volume is essentially due. And in this regard a word of explanation may not be out of place. My intention, in reviewing the story of the English Catholics abroad, has not been to rekindle the dead embers of what is happily a forgotten period of conflict. The old controversies have been, as far as possible, avoided in the work, not from a spirit of priestly charity alone, but because in practically every aspect of the quarrel between Seculars and Regulars, we are not yet advanced enough in the publication or in the knowledge of documents which give the story of both sides adequately and impartially. This is especially true of all that concerns the English Jesuits, and we are confident that once we are in possession of their history from the standpoint of the Society, judgments must be changed and opinions relinquished which to-day are the common property of a prejudiced reading public. Only in certain aspects of the Foundation Movement has this disagreeable feature been touched upon; for it helped to give a truer impression of the Movement itself. Care has been taken, in consequence, to avoid all that could give offence, and if anything remains which may not harmonize perfectly with the spirit of charity and justice in which the work has been approached, the indulgence of the reader is asked to overlook this as well as many other shortcomings in what is, in reality, only a beginner's thesis for his doctorate.

My thanks are due in a special manner to the Directors and Officials of the Reading and Manuscript Rooms of the British Museum, and to those of the Public Record Office, who have so materially lightened my labours by their expert help.

To the Fathers of the Congregation of the Oblates of Saint Charles, and particularly to the Superior, the Very Rev.

Alexander V. Miller, O.S.C., and to two other members of the community, the Rev. Cuthbert Robinson, O.S.C., and the Very Rev. Francis M. Canon Wyndham, O.S.C., the latter of whom was deputed to act as Censor for the book, and who gave me the benefit of much valuable advice, I owe a debt of gratitude which words can never express. For more than two years the generous hospitality they extended to me, together with the constant stimulus their interest gave to the work, especially at moments when certain phases of the story of the English exiles seemed beyond the grasp of a stranger,—this more than anything else has enabled me to finish the work begun nearly three years ago.

It would be necessary to have lived at Louvain and to have passed through the years of training the young students receive at his hands to appreciate fully all it means to beg Canon Cauchie to accept my sincerest and most affectionate thanks for his guidance in my task. It has been my pleasure to have worked with him in the Archives in Spain and in London, and those days I shall number among the most precious of my student life.

As each chapter was finished, it was sent to the Orders which now represent in England these old exiled communities, and to all who aided me by their kindly criticism and correction I wish to express my gratitude. It would be impossible to thank all by name who have patiently answered letters of inquiry on the different houses. To Dom Henry Norbert Birt, O.S.B., and to a member of the community of Austin Canonesses at Newton Abbot, I extend my heartfelt thanks for much practical direction in the composition of the work. To "C. M. Antony" and Ivor McGowan, Esq., who assisted me in the correction of the manuscript, I am also very grateful.

To His Grace, the Archbishop of Philadelphia, to whom, in all humility, I have dedicated these imperfect pages—the first-fruits of my student days—I offer my sincere thanks for his unceasing encouragement, and for his generosity in sparing me from the work of a very busy mission-field in order to complete this volume which I now beg him to accept, as a token of deep respect and affection, and as a testimony of filial devotion.

It only remains to submit all that is written in these pages to the judgment of the Church, and to declare my loyal adherence to all that is laid down in the decrees of Urban VIII. and other Popes.

St. Mary of the Angels,
London, W.
March 9, 1914.

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INTRODUCTION

THERE can be no complete history of that religious fervour among English Catholics of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, which forced so many of them into exile on the Continent, and particularly into the Catholic Low Countries ; no all-round and adequate judgment of the English Catholic *diaspora*, unless it be studied in its relation to the similar movement of French, Dutch, and Walloon Protestant exiles during this same period. We have grown so accustomed to eulogies of the Huguenot exiles and condemnations of the lack of patriotism shown by English Catholics, that any readjustment of our ideas on the question seems well-nigh hopeless. And yet historical justice demands new light on the aims and policy of the Catholic exiles. The meagre efforts that have been made up to the present on the part of historical students to vindicate these loyal exiles of pre-Emancipation days, and the lack of any synthetic literature on the subject, have been lost sight of in the great mass of numerous and serious historical studies which have been written in English and in French to perpetuate the deeds and to vindicate the policy of the continental Protestant exiles in England.

The religious exile-movement of the sixteenth century is not an easy one to follow. During the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. there was an exodus, though not a large one, on the part of priests, religious and University men, to Ireland, Scotland, and to the leading University centres on the Continent—Paris, Salamanca, Bologna, Padua, and Louvain. But at Mary Tudor's accession, all the Catholic exiles returned to England, while the foreign Protestants who had flocked to London in the preceding reign, together with over

a thousand of the most noted English supporters of Protestantism, fled to centres like Franckfurt, Zurich, Geneva, Strassburg, and Basel.[1] When Elizabeth became Queen, these exiled English Protestants returned,[2] and with them came thousands of French, Dutch, and Walloon Calvinists and Lutherans, who considered England a harbour of refuge from the possible persecution of continental Catholic governments.

There had been an exile-movement from France as early as the reign of Edward VI., and this grew to alarming proportions for a few years after the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew (August 24, 1572).[3] Henry IV.'s promulgation of the Edict of Nantes (1598), which was solemnly confirmed by his successors, Louis XIII. and Louis XIV., gave the Huguenots conditional religious liberty; but the Revocation of the Edict in 1685 caused a wholesale exile into England, despite the efforts made by France to prevent it.[4] The Flemish and Walloon exile-movement was brought about by a variety of causes. The creation of the new dioceses in the Spanish Low Countries in 1559 was considered a direct menace to the freedom of Calvinistic worship; for it was feared that the new bishops would institute a species of Inquisition for stamping out heresy. Probably the real cause was the heartless cruelty of the Spanish Governor, the Duke of Alva. The Confederation of Utrecht in 1579, drove many more Belgian Protestants

[1] S. LEADAM, *Narrative of the Pursuit of English Refugees in Germany* (Trans. of the Royal Historical Society). London, 1896; BURNET, *History of the Reformation*, vol. II, p. 388. London, 1715; STRYPE, *Life of Cranmer*, vol. I, p. 449. Oxford, 1812–1824; *Original Letters relative to the English Reformation, written during the reigns of King Henry VIII., King Edward VI., and Queen Mary: chiefly from the Archives of Zurich.* Translated from authenticated copies of the autographs and edited for the Parker Society, by the REV. HASTINGS ROBINSON, pp. 162–164, 752–767. Cambridge, 1846–1847; J. UTENHOVIUS, *Simplex et Fidelis narratio de instituta ac demum dissipata Belgarum aliorumque peregrinorum in Anglia, ecclesia, et potissimum de susceptis postea illius nomine itineribus, quae eis in illis evenerunt.* Basel, 1560.

[2] *The Zurich Letters, comprising the Correspondence of Several English Bishops and others, with some of the Helvetian Reformers, during the early part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth.* Translated from authenticated copies of the autographs preserved in the Archives of Zurich, and edited for the Parker Society, by the REV. HASTINGS ROBINSON, vol. I, p. 9. Cambridge, 1842–1845.

[3] HUME, *Spanish Calendar* (1558–1603), vol. I, p. 77. London, 1892–1899.

[4] WEISS, *History of the French Protestant Refugees from the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes to the present time. Translated with the assistance of the author by* FREDERICK HARDMAN, pp. 75–79. Edinburgh, 1854.

into Holland and England. But this exile-movement quickly lost all religious significance. It was easy to play upon English Protestant sentiment with stories about the possible Inquisition; but once firmly established in the country, the skilled Flemish and Walloon artisans took a prominent part in Cecil's desire to develop the internal resources of the country, and though they lived as distinct religious corporations, it was really more as guilds and financial societies that they continued to exist in England.

Several distinct exile-movements on the part of English Catholics are to be traced. Between Elizabeth's accession and the failure of the Northern Rising (1558–1569), the exiles consisted mainly of the fragments of the Religious Orders, such as the Carthusians and Bridgettines (who crossed over to Belgium with the returning Spanish ambassador, the Duke of Feria);[1] students and professors from Cambridge and Oxford, the latter University being fairly deserted at the end of this first period; and individual priests and laymen, such as Sir Francis Englefield, Dr. John Clement, and others. After 1569, there is a new element among the exiles. The Rising of the North made rebels out of many of the Catholics, and soon a little colony of noble Catholic men and women gathered in the chief towns of the Low Countries, at Brussels, Louvain, Antwerp, Bruges, and Douay, which was then in Belgium. The excommunication of Elizabeth was answered by the enactment of penal laws which fluctuated in severity from her day down to our own. Many who would otherwise have been able to live quietly in England now sought refuge in flight; and from 1575 down to 1588, there is a constant influx into Belgium of English Catholics, who escaped from England at the peril of their lives. From 1588 until the end of Elizabeth's reign the movement became less marked, for the Catholics at home were not of one mind with their brethren across the Channel; and the political schemes for the succession kept the Government too busy to continue with the same ferocity the persecutions of the first part of her reign. During the period of the Stuarts, there was a steady flow of French Huguenots into England, and despite the prohibitory laws of

[1] *Publications of the Catholic Record Society*, vol. I (Misc. I.), p. 19–23 (*Dr Sander's Report to Cardinal Moroni* (? May, 1561)). London, 1905.

Elizabeth and her immediate successors, a similar exodus of Catholics to the Continent. The last of these exile-movements into England began with the victory of the French Revolution over law and order, and on the top of the wave of emigration into England the English Catholic exiles came back again to their own country, to be restored in a few years to their full rights as free-born citizens by Catholic Emancipation.

It would be misleading to say that all these exile-movements, both of Protestants and Catholics, were solely caused by the desire for freedom of worship and liberty of conscience. Some elements are essentially similar to all of them ; others are dissimilar. The foreign Protestant refugees who found an abiding asylum in England, became from the outset a compact body of politicians who sought to overthrow the Government of their own country by intrigue and alliance in order to make their religious belief the predominant one. The English Catholic exiles, on the other hand, were never united on the advisability of violent measures, and the disastrous failure of the Armada which was followed up by the appearance of that venturesome work *A Conference about the Next Succession*, split the exiles into two parties which were never afterwards thoroughly reconciled. The loyalty of the Catholics in England at this time also put a change of hue on the Catholic side of the question. The leaders of the Spanish party were indeed the foremost of the exiles, but they were only a handful compared with the whole body of English Catholics abroad, who sought merely a refuge on the Continent where they could pray and worship in accordance with their religious belief, and bring up their children in the Faith of their forefathers.[1] This dissimilarity becomes evident after the accession of James I. ; for, from the Gunpowder Plot down to the French Revolution, the action and the influence of the exiles grew more pronouncedly religious and educational. Colleges for the training of English youth, Seminaries for the supply of the Clergy, Monasteries and Convents, where those who were called could give themselves to a life of

[1] L. WILLAERT, S.J., *Négociations politico-réligieuses entre l'Angleterre et les Pays-Bas Catholiques* (1598–1625). Extract from the *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, vols. VI–IX, pp. 129. Louvain, 1908.

prayer and mortification—these represent the energies of the English Catholic *diaspora* during the two centuries which remained of the Exile. But if the two corporate bodies of exiles—the English on the Continent and the French, Dutch and Walloon Protestants in England—exhibit marks of dissimilarity from a religious standpoint, a more striking dissimilarity is to be found in the economic status of the respective bodies and in the ends they had in view.

The English Catholic exiles were for the most part members of the noble or cultured classes who went abroad for conscience' sake with some prospect of being supported on papal, Spanish or other pensions, or of receiving money from their relatives in England by which to support themselves; while the French and Flemish emigrants were mostly of the artisan class, poor but skilled workmen who soon became by reason of this very skill a menace to the English labourer. More than once the cries *Death to the Flemings*, *Death to the Walloons*, rang through the London streets,[1] and as early as 1583, public demonstrations took place to protest against the encroachments they were making in labour and commerce to the detriment of the English workmen themselves. They were always an element of discord and disturbance down to 1689, when the Act of Toleration brought peace. Despite the Englishman's innate distrust for the foreigner, religious bias always prevailed, however, and the fact that these workers were Protestants neutralized the discontent over the economic unrest they were causing. The Catholic exile in Belgium, on the other hand, was not a labourer. He knew nothing about trade and commerce, and his presence had no effect one way or the other on the economic situation of the Low Countries. Not only was this true, but the local Belgian magistrates protected their people to such an extent that permission was never granted for the foundation of a College, Convent, Seminary or Residence, without full assurance that the same would never be a burden to the community, and on condition that the English should never beg within their jurisdiction.[2]

[1] RAHLENBECK, *Les réfugiés belges du seizième siècle en Angleterre*. Extract from the *Revue Trimestrielle*, 2d series, t. VIII (1865), pp. 28–29.

[2] VICTOR BRANTS, *La Belgique au XVII. siècle. Albert et Isabelle: études d histoire politique et sociale*, pp. 125–126. Louvain, 1910.

It is a delicate problem to settle—the respective influence of the two foreign elements in England and in Belgium. The country which should show the effect of the exiles' presence is the country in which that exile was passed; but the remarkable thing is that, although the Belgian exile in England has left an impress on that country which can never be effaced, one would search in vain in the histories of Belgium for any indication of a like effect from the English Catholics. It is England and England alone which was most influenced by the exile of her loyal sons and daughters for the Faith. No history of English education in modern times can pass over the wonderful chain of Colleges which stretched from Antwerp to Rome, and from Madrid to Paris; and surely no impartial story of the growth of English literature can ignore the works of the Louvain School of Apologetics, or the Scripture scholars of Douay and Rheims. There is only one other fact in history which bears a resemblance to this influence of exiles on the mother-country: the French *émigrés* of 1789 are better known in France than in England, where by a strange turn of fortune's wheel a Protestant land and a Protestant country was to receive them with an open-hearted welcome which will never be forgotten in the annals of Christian charity. Their numbers also explain much in the matter of influencing the countries in which they lived. In England a low estimate gives the number of foreign exiles during Elizabeth's time as eighty thousand,[1] and it is claimed that seventy thousand more French and Flemish workers and manufacturers settled in England in the seventeenth century. At the most, the number of English exiles on the Continent never exceeded at any given time the round figure of three thousand.

As a consequence of the neglect shown towards the English Catholic exiles by modern historians much effort will be needed to overcome the prejudices against them which have grown up with the lapse of time. Lingard made the first breach in that wall of prejudice, but until a Catholic historical literature on the English *diaspora* grows up in volume and in value to compare favourably with the historical literature which has glorified

[1] GACHARD, *Correspondance de Philippe II. sur les affaires des Pays-Bas*, vol. I, pp. 246–247, 392. 5 vols. Brussels, 1848–1879.

the foreign Protestant exiles in England, the sympathies of English readers for these their persecuted brethren of former days cannot be counted upon. From the publication in 1846, of Burn's history of the Protestant refugees in England,[1] the Protestant exiles have never been without their historians, who have dealt with them from every possible point of view, and the result has been that they are being successfully handed down to posterity as patriots, while English Catholic exiles in the countries these refugees came from, have been branded as unpatriotic and traitorous.[2]

The object of this present work is to offer a humble contribution to the story of these English Catholic exiles. We must leave to others to do for them and their rightful place in English history what has already been done for the French and Flemish Protestant refugees in England; namely, to study in detail the destinies of these thousands of voluntary exiles who never hesitated for a moment to expatriate themselves for the sake of their religious belief, and whose energetic resolution can only inspire a strong sentiment of fellow feeling in those who have the same faith as themselves, a profound respect in the minds of those who possess a different religion, and both regret and sympathy in those who sincerely love their country.[3] To do all this would be beyond the scope of the present volume. One point only has been taken up and developed—their activity in establishing Schools and Colleges, Convents, Monasteries and Seminaries, where the Catholic ideal was kept bright in the minds of their sons

[1] JOHN SOUTHERDEN BURN, *The History of the French, Walloon, Dutch and other Foreign Protestant Refugees settled in England, from the reign of Henry VIII. to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes: with Notices of their Trade and Commerce, copious extracts from their Registers, Lists of the early Settlers, Ministers, and an Appendix containing copies of the Charter of Edward VI.* London, 1846.

[2] DURRANT-COOPER, *List of foreign Protestants and aliens, resident in England* (1618–1688) *from returns in the State Paper Office.* Printed for the Camden Society, London, 1862; SAMUEL SMILES, *The Huguenots, their Settlements, Churches, and Industries in England and Ireland.* London, 1870; AGNEW, *Protestant Exiles from France in the reign of Louis XIV., or the Huguenot Refugees and their descendants in Great Britain and Ireland.* 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1880; W. J. C. MOENS, *The Walloons and their Church at Norwich: their history and registers* (1565–1832). Lymington, 1887–1888; BARON DE SCHICKLER, *Les Églises du Réfuge en Angleterre*, 3 vols. Paris, 1842; W. CUNNINGHAM, D.D., *Alien Immigrants to England.* London, 1847.

[3] WEISS, *op. cit.*, p. ii.

and daughters; and where, hand-in-hand with a love of God and of His holy Church, went a love for their country and a loyalty to their sovereign which have never been equalled in similar circumstances since nation took its place apart from nation and men imbibed that affection for the land of their birth which no number of years spent in exile will ever obliterate or destroy. Surely it is a legitimate task to gather from the tangled skein of the records that have come down to us the story of their gallant defence of their Faith.

One is almost tempted to parallel the words a Huguenot historian has spoken of his exiled brethren in England and to declare that in tracing any aspect of the story of the Catholic exiles we restore in some sort a page not only of Catholic history but of national history as well; that we add a chapter to it, a little-known chapter full of dramatic interest and of the most serious instruction. A blind panegyric of the conduct of all the Catholic exiles during these two centuries and a half on the Continent is no more possible than one of the French Huguenots, who did untold injury to their native land by bearing arms against her and by rejoicing in her reverses. It is true that Philip II. found exiles eager to join his English regiment, but it was never actually engaged in warfare against Englishmen. Solitary acts of dubious loyalty such as Stanley's must be judged apart from the conduct of the exiles in general. If there is a semblance of disloyalty in that conduct, it is the fault entirely of men who were reduced to despair by a murderous and odious persecution, and it must be imputed to the advisors and originators of the iniquitous and un-Christian measures which drove the Catholics to seek an asylum in other countries where they could worship God in peace and security. Recourse to force there was; but it was not the exiles who began it nor who finished it in failure. It was Catholic Europe with the Pope, the Emperor and Catholic princes at its head, for in their veins the blood of the Crusaders still ran, and their anger was roused at the news of the continual martyrdoms in England. Elizabeth was not an ordinary usurper. She was a tyrant of the worst type, without pity; the willing tool of those who hated the Church for gain's sake, and she was not accorded the same patient courtesy the Christian world meted out to a legitimate

occupant of the throne. May we not claim, therefore, for the English Catholic exile the same praise which has been given the Huguenot? "Do we not also know that exiles of all ages and all countries have never hesitated to cut out by force of arms a road back to their native land?"[1]

The history of the English Catholic exiles is an important part of the history of the Church in England from 1559 to 1795. It is the history of a race of men and women who built better than they knew, and the results of whose labours, together with the presence of the French exiles after 1795, proved to be the foundation of that strength and courage which brought about peace and toleration at last. We can only give one aspect of the invincible heroism of this gallant host of Englishmen and Englishwomen, the vast number of whose activities can be seen and measured better now in the light of the Catholic Revival of our own times.

All historical work must of necessity be limited in outline. If we approach the present thesis chronologically, geographically, and ideologically, the subject at the outset will be confined to the period beginning with the passing of the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity in 1559 and ending with the flight of the English Catholic exiles from France and Belgium in 1793–1795. The exile-movement under Henry VIII. and Edward VI. does not therefore fall within the bounds of the work in hand; nor shall we be obliged to follow the fortunes of the Catholic Colleges and Convents once they are established again in their own country. As the work proceeded it became evident that to do justice to the Foundation Movement in the Catholic Low Countries it had to be treated apart from similar movements in Spain, France, and Italy. The activities of the English Catholic exiles, being of a far higher intellectual order than those of the continental Protestant exiles in England, were many and varied; and it was impossible to attempt the delineation of more than one of these. Consequently, we have taken for this first volume the story of the religious activity which they manifested, as has been already pointed out, by the establishment of a wonderful chain of Colleges at a time when education in England itself was at its lowest ebb. It has not been an easy matter to gather

[1] WEISS, *ob. cit.*, pp. vi–vii.

together the scattered materials for the history of the Foundation Movement. Apart from the Annals and Chronicles and Notes already published by many of these communities, there exists a certain amount of historical matter in publications such as those of the Catholic Record Society, and in the works of Lingard, Tierney, and Knox; but beyond these literary sources the history of the English Catholic Refugees remains still in archives. We were obliged in consequence to consult the principal public Archives of Belgium, France, Spain, and Italy, as well as the archives of the communities of England which to-day represent these Colleges and Convents of former times. The appended bibliography will serve to give to the reader an idea of the location of these sources, as well as to point out to what extent they have been used for this volume.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

I. ENGLAND.

(1) ARCHIVES OF THE ARCHDIOCESE OF WESTMINSTER, Archbishop's House, Westminster. They consist: (1) of thirty-seven bound volumes of original documents and copies concerning the Church in England from 1509–1700; (2) many bundles of unbound documents, not yet classified, covering the later period 1700–1850; (3) pamphlets, and other manuscripts. A MS. Catalogue for the bound volumes by the late Father Stanton, of the Oratory, exists in the Archives. (Cited as *Arch. Dioc. West.*)

(2) ARCHIVES OF THE "OLD BROTHERHOOD OF THE ENGLISH CLERGY," formerly the English Chapter. These are in the possession of the Secretary of the "Old Brotherhood," Rev. Raymond Stanfield, at Hammersmith. The catalogue of these archives in the Fifth Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission (1876, pp. 463–476) is not accurate. Some of the archives have found their way into the collections at Oscott, Stonyhurst, etc.; others have been used to make up the Arch. Dioc. West.; and others have been published by the Catholic Record Society.

(3) British Museum Manuscripts. Owing to the short time at our disposal it was impossible to do justice to this vast collection of MSS. It was, moreover, deemed advisable, by those who knew both collections, to pursue the research work almost exclusively among the more important collections at the Public Record Office.

(4) State Papers, Public Record Office.

A. Calendars of the State Papers, etc. (MSS. in the Public Record Office.)

(*a*) Domestic Series. Edward VI., Mary, Elizabeth, and James I. Edited by R. Lemon (vols. 1 and 2), and Mary Anne Everett Green (vols. 3 to 12). London, 1856–1872.

(*b*) Domestic Series. Charles I. Edited by John Bruce (vols. 1 to 13), W. D. Hamilton (vols. 13 to 23), and Mrs. S. C. Lomas (vol. 23). London, 1858–1897.

(*c*) Domestic Series. The Commonwealth. Edited by Mary Anne Everett Green (vols. 1 to 13). London, 1875–1886.

(*d*) Domestic Series. Charles II. Edited by Mary Anne Everett Green (vols. 1 to 10), and F. H. B. Daniell, M.A. (vols. 11 to 16). London, 1860–1913.

(*e*) Domestic Series. William III. Edited by W. J. Hardy (vols. 1 to 8). London, 1896–1913.

(*f*) Foreign Series. Elizabeth. Edited by Rev. J. Stevenson, M.A. (vols. 1 to 7), A. J. Crosby, M.A. (vols. 8 to 11), and S. J. Butler, M.A. (vols. 12 to 16). London, 1863–1913.

(*g*) English Affairs. Letters and State Papers relating to. Preserved principally in the Archives of Simancas. Edited by M. A. S. Hume (vols. 1 to 4, Elizabeth 1558–1603). London, 1892–1899.

(*h*) Venice. State Papers and Manuscripts relating to English Affairs. Preserved in the Archives and Collections of Venice, and in other Libraries of Northern Italy. Edited by R. Brown (vols. 1 to 7), the Right Hon. A. Cavendish-Bentinck (vol. 7), H. F. Brown (vols. 8 to 12), and A. B. Hinds, M.A. (vols. 13 to 17). London, 1864–1913.

B. Letters and Papers.

(*a*) Foreign Correspondence, Holland-Flanders, 1577–1584, 23 vols.

(*b*) Foreign Correspondence, Flanders (Cited as *Flanders Correspondence*), vol. I, 1585-1587; vol. II, 1588 (Jan. to March); vol. III, 1588

(April and May); vol. IV, 1588 (June to Dec.); vol. V, 1589–1598; vol. VI, 1599–1603; vol. VII, 1603–April, 1605; vol. VIII, 1606–1607; vol. IX, 1611–1613; vol. X, 1614–1615; vol. XI, 1614–1615; vol. XII, 1616–1617; vol. XIII, 1618–1619; vol. XIV, 1620–1621; vol. XV, 1622; vol. XVI, 1623; vol. XVII, 1629; vol. XVIII, 1625–1626; vol. CVII, 1774–1775; vol. CVIII, 1776; vol. CIX, 1777–1778; vol. CXI, 1780 (July to Dec.).

(5) The Archives at Ushaw College; at Oscott College; at St. Edmund's, Old Hall Green; at Stonyhurst; at Downside Abbey; Ampleforth Abbey; Forest Gate Friary; at St. Augustine's Priory, Newton Abbot; etc., etc.; in possession of the Colleges and Convents representing the old English Colleges and Convents on the Continent. These are all private collections mostly of a domestic nature and are only partly catalogued. The Stonyhurst Archives are more varied, and after the Westminster Archives, are the most valuable collection in England for English Catholic history. Through the kindness of the Rev. J. H. Pollen, S.J., a detailed inventory of these documents was placed at my disposal for the work.

II. SPAIN.

(1) College Archives, St. Alban's College, Valladolid.

(2) Archivio Histórico Nacional, Madrid MS. 8695, f. 841 (*Informacion de las cosas y personas de yngalatierra en quanto al govierno de flandez, ordinada por los Padres, Roberto Parsonio, Josefo Cresuuelo, y Guillermo holto de la Compaña de Jhus, confirmada por hugo ouuen y presentada a su Magestad por francisco ynglefelde*). Cf. Knox, *Douay Diaries*, pp. 401–408.

(3) Academia real de la Historia, Madrid. MS. 18 (*Noticias históricas de los Colegios mayores de Salamanca, Valladolid y Alcala*).

(4) Archivio General, Simancas. Estado; legajos 2513; 842, ff. 1–13; 969, f. 360 (*Il stato d'Inghilterra questo presente anno* 1597); 969, f. 364 (*Puntos de carta de Duque de Sessa de primero de Diziembre* 1597 *en materia del collegio de Ingleses*); 166; 2643. Patronato de Castilla: legajos 1997, 1990, 2002, 2006, 2018 (*Colegio de S. Albano de Ingleses de Valladolid*).

(5) Archivio General de las Indias, Seville. There are many documents concerning the first missionaries to America from the Colleges in Spain and Flanders, but nothing bearing on the present work.

(6) Archivio Municipal (Ayuntamiento). Seville. In the collection of documents concerning the University of Seville (Universidad de Seville, t. V, no. 65), legajo 434 contains some papers on the English College there. The building is now used by the Medical Faculty of the University. Its archives contain nothing of importance on the English exiles.

III. BELGIUM.

(1) Manuscripts of the Royal Library, Brussels (Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique). The fifth volume of Father Van den Gheyn's *Catalogue des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique*, contains a list of the few papers which relate to the English foundations.

(2) State Archives, Brussels (Archives Générales du Royaume).

A. Archives des Anciennes Secrétaireries D'etat.

(*a*) Les Papiers d'Etat et de l'Audience. Cf. Edg. de Marneffe, *Inventaire Sommaire des Papiers d'Etat et de l'Audience.* Brussels, 1906. The *Relations avec l'Angleterre* (1518–1605) consist of 36 vols. and 2 portfolios. The *Négociations d'Angleterre* have been used by Willaert, in *Négociations politico-réligieuses entre l'Angleterre et les Pays-Bas Catholiques.* Brussels, 1908.

(*b*) Archives de la Secrétairerie d'Etat et de Guerre. Cf. A. Gaillard and E. de Breyne, *Inventaire Sommaire des Archives de la Secrétairerie d'Etat et de Guerre.* Brussels, 1906. The correspondence (mostly political) of the agents and envoys of the Low Countries to the English Government (1619–1702) consists of 21 portfolios.

(*c*) Archives de la Chancellerie autrichienne des Pays-Bas à Vienne, conservées à Bruxelles. Cf. E. de Breyne, *Inventaire Sommaire des Archives etc.* Brussels, 1906. These archives cover the period 1702–1795, and contain valuable materials for the history of the suppression of the Jesuits in the Low Countries (1773).

B. Archives des Conseils Collateraux: Le Conseil d'Etat; (2) Le Conseil privé; (3) Le Conseil des finances; (4) Le Conseil du Gouvernement générale. Cf. A. Gaillard and E. de Breyne, *Inventaires Sommaires des Archives des Conseils Collatéraux.* Brussels, 1906.

C. Archives des Quelques Jointes, Comités Perpetuels et Temporaires, etc.: (1) La Jointe des Monnaies; (2) La Jointe des Administrations et des

affaires des subsides; (3) La Commission royale des Études. Cf. A. GAILLARD and E. DE BREYNE, *Inventaires Sommaires des Archives des Jointes*, etc. Brussels, 1900–1906.

D. LES ETATS-BELGIQUES-UNIS, 1790. Cf. E. DE BREYNE, *Inventaire Sommaire des Archives des Etats-Belgiques-Unis*. Brussels, 1906.

(3) PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES: Bruges, Ghent, Mons, Liege, Antwerp, Namur, Hasselt, and Arlon. Catalogues for all these provincial collections were consulted, but they contain scarcely any documents of importance for the story of the English foundations.

(4) COMMUNAL ARCHIVES. For these we are obliged to have recourse to the catalogues already published and to the archivists of the different towns, where the exiled communities once existed.

(5) ARCHIVES OF NAZARETH PRIORY, Bruges. MS. Long: *Notitia Carthusianorum Anglorum.*

IV. ROME.

(1) ENGLISH COLLEGE ARCHIVES. See pp. 73–75.

(2) BIBLIOTECA CORSINI, vol. 283 (*Relazione di Mons. Cerri*).

(3) BIBLIOTECA CASANATENSE, MS. 2411 (*Relazione d'Inghilterra spedita a Rome li* 31 *Genn.* 1609); MS. 2425-2426 (*Giesuitesse*); MS. 2462, ff. 257–261 (*La très humble remonstrance des Catholiques anglois au Roy très chretien*).

(4) BIBLIOTECA VITTORIO EMMANUELE. *Fondo Giesuitico*, MSS. XIII, vols. 14–15 (*Giesuitesse*), 152, 314, 393, 418, 1637, 3278, 3281, 3352, 3355, 3361, 3392, 3458, 3459, 3482, 3527, 3657, 3713, 3758, 3759, 3768, 3777.

(5) PROPAGANDA ARCHIVES.

A. ATTI, about 500 vols. fol. After 1650, one volume to each year. The principal dates were consulted.

B. The documents upon which the ATTI are based:

(*a*) SCRITTURE ANTICHE (1622–1668). Volumes consulted: 14, 74, 76, 83, 84, 89, 93, 94, 97, 98, 100, 101–110, 129–143, 145, 150, 205–208, 230, 253, 294–298, 308, 311–322, 347–381, 361 (Collegi), 382–417 (Memoriali).

(*b*) SCRITTURE RIFERITE NELLE CONGREGAZIONI DAL 1669. Volumes consulted: 419–909 (1669–1795).

C. CONGREGAZIONI PARTICOLARI. Vols. 1 to 10 (Missions in general 1622–1795); vols. 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 18, 19, 26, 29, 32, 34, 50–62, 85, 86–88, 96, 110, 116, 141 (*Scritture originali delle Congregazioni particolari d'Inghilterra, d'Ibernia, di Scozia*).

D. Lettere Della Sacra Congregazione.

(*a*) Lettere Antiche 1622–1669: the same as the Scritture Antiche above.

(*b*) Lettere 1669–1795. There are 225 volumes in all. Volumes consulted: 34 (*Lettere dei Collegi del* 1657 *sino al* 1664 *inclusive*); 38 (*Lettere d'Inghilterra* 1657–1664); 49–54 (*Lettere di Anglia, Ibernia* 1669–1731).

E. Scritture non Riferite nei Congressi (after 1784, catalogued under the title Scritture Riferite nel Congresso Coll'emmo Prefetto). Volumes seen: 10 vols., *Anglia* 1622–1820; 6 vols., *Fiandra* (1622–1790); other odd volumes, *Irlanda, Scozia, Spagna, Gibiterre, Portogallo, Collegio Urbano*, etc.

F. Secondary collections.

(*a*) Udienze di Nostro Signore, 22 vols. (1666–1789).

(*b*) Istruizioni, vols. I, II, III, IV, A., B., C. Also two other odd volumes entitled: Istruizioni Diverse Degl'anni 1623–1678, 1639–1648.

(*c*) Brevi, 6 vols. (1775–1880).

(*d*) Visite e Collegi, 44 vols., containing reports of the Visitations of all pontifical colleges, annual reports of rectors, financial accounts, numbers of students, studies, admissions, dismissals, ordinations, work on the missions, etc., etc., from 1627–1742. Vols. 35, 36, 40a, 41, and 42, deal particularly with Douay.

(*e*) Scripta Varia, 1622. 1 vol.

(*f*) Miscellanee dei Missioni, 3 vols.

(*g*) Miscellanea. Vols. seen: 5 vols. *Anglia;* 45 vols. *Belgio* (1614–1883).

(*h*) Miscellanee dei Collegi, 10 vols. A volume of 800 folio pages contains all the important documents on Douay from 1568–1819. A second volume deals with the English College, Rome, and a third contains all the important papers on the English Colleges in Spain and Portugal.

(*i*) Miscellanea Varia, 2 vols.

(6) Vatican Library.

A. Barberini MSS. Latin: 965, 1655, 1935, 1937, 1939, 2184, 2190, 2264, 2431, 2606, 2720, 2749, 2852, 3047, 3460, 5092, 5115, 5171, 5185, 5187, 5215, 5222, 5242, 5253, 5266, 5285, 5303, 5305, 5312, 5335, 5337, 5338, 5341, 5363, 5378, 5440, 5526, 5536, 5553, 5554, 5572,

5580, 5585, 5647, 5649, 5654, 5691, 5919, 6008, 6140, 6141, 6142, 6206, 6207, 6209, 6210, 6211, 6234, 6235, 6236, 6478, 6551, 6618, 6794, 6795, 6819, 8609, 8614–8640, 8654, 8655, 8656, 8671, 8672, 8673.

B. Borgia Collection—MSS. Lat. 66, 70, 71 (II. VII. 7).

C. Capponian Collection—MS. Lat. 47 (*Giesuitesse*).

D. Ottobonian Collection—MSS. Lat. 1426, 2426, 2432, 3166.

E. Regina Collection—MSS. Lat. 1502, 2020.

F. Urbinate Collection—MSS. Lat. 855, 1701.

G. Biblioteca Vaticana, MSS. Lat. 6530, 7030, 7067, 7157, 7248, 7394, 7396, 7398, 7405, 7472, 7494, 7495, 7501, 7714, 7740, 7750, 7805, 7850, 7916, 7919, 7923, 7926, 7942, 8058, 8088, 8219, 8259, 8261, 8263, 8278, 8323, 8355, 8444, 8461, 8463, 9851.

(7) Vatican Archives. There are eight separate collections: (1) Archivio Segreto; (2) Archives d'Avignon; (3) Archives of the Camera apostolica; (4) Archivio di Castello (Sant' Angelo); (5) Consistorial Archives; (6) Archives of the Dataria; (7) Archives of the Secretariate of State; (8) Minor Collections. Of these the documents which bore directly on the present thesis were: the Nunziature e Legazioni, and the Lettere di Cardinali, Lettere di Vescovi e prelati, Lettere di principi e titolati, and Lettere di particolari—from the Archives of the Secretariate of State; the Archivio Borghese, from the minor collections.

A. 1. Nunziature e Legazioni.

(*a*) Nunziatura di Germania. The documents of importance, viz., those dealing with the suppression of the "Jesuitesses" in Vienna, have been published by Kiewning, *Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland*, IV Abteil, vol. I (1628–1630). Berlin, 1910.

(*b*) Nunziatura di Spagna. Vols. 19, 46, 72, 102, 420, 422, were seen for supplementary matter on the English Colleges in Spain. Hinojosa has used the most important documents for the sixteenth century in his classic work; *Los despachos de la diplomacia pontificia en España*, vol. I. Madrid, 1896.

(*c*) Nunziatura di Portogallo. Vol. 14 contains some interesting documents on the origin of the English College in Lisbon.

(*d*) Nunziatura d'Inghilterra. These consist of 18 volumes, dating from 1565 to 1681, and from

1702 to 1704. All documents of importance have been copied in the *Roman Transcripts* at the Public Record Office.

(*e*) Nunziatura di Colonia. Vols. 72, 101, 116, contain some supplementary documents on the suppression of the "Jesuitesses" in Cologne and Trier.

(*f*) Nunziatura di Fiandra. The 194 volumes of this very valuable *fonds* for English Catholic history were examined one by one. The documents date from 1553 to 1796, and almost all the letters or *avvisi* from Brussels to the authorities at Rome have some reference to English affairs. The Nuncio at Brussels was Ordinary of the exiles and his court was their last appeal in all matters before the decision of the Cardinal Protector of England or of the Holy See was asked.

2. LETTERE DI CARDINALI. Vols. 19, 20, 21, 22, 36, 135–158, 177–189.

3. LETTERE DI VESCOVI E PRELATI. Vols. 1, 2, 3, 4, 16, 17, 372, 373, 374, 380.

4. LETTERE DI PRINCIPI E TITOLATI. Vols. I, 22, 26, 49, 50.

B. ARCHIVIO BORGHESE. These celebrated archives are a mine of information for English Catholic historical students. Many of the documents in the Diocesan Archives at Westminster find their original copies here, and PASTURE'S *Inventaire du Fonds Borghese au point de vue de l'histoire des Pays-Bas* (*Bull. Comm. Roy. d'Hist.*, vol. LXX, IX (1910), pp. 1–217) has already proved their value for English Church history. The Index made by the Prussian Institute in Rome is a trustworthy guide to the 2000 volumes which make up these collections. The volumes are divided into four series; hence the abbreviation: *Arch. Borg. I, Arch. Borg. II, Arch. Borg. III, Arch. Borg. IV.* The documents are mostly for the years 1592–1605 (Clement VIII.), 1605 (Leo XI.), 1605–1621 (Paul V.).

II. PRINTED SOURCES

The appendices in KNOX'S edition of the *Douay Diaries* and of the *Letters and Memorials of Cardinal Allen*; in TIERNEY'S edition of DODD'S *Church History*; in BELLESHEIM'S *Wilhelm Cardinal Allen*; in MEYER'S *England und die Katholische Kirche;*

and in HAUDECOEUR'S *Histoire du Collège Anglais de Douai*, make up together a valuable list of published documents for the history of the English Catholic exiles. Under this heading would also come the *Calendars of State Papers* (*Domestic* and *Foreign*, *Venetian*, *Spanish*), since many of them serve as more than mere guides to the manuscript documents in the Public Record Office. Among the collections of printed documents used for this work may be mentioned:

1. KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, Rélations politiques des Pays-Bas et de l'Angleterre, sous le règne de Philippe II. 11 vols. Brussels, 1882–1900. (The eleventh volume was published by M. Gilliodts van Severen.)
2. Colléccion de documentos ineditos para la historia de España. Madrid, 1842–1888.
3. POULLET-PIOT, Correspondance du Cardinal de Granville. 12 vols. Brussels, 1878–1896.
4. RENON-PIOT, Histoire des troubles des Pays-Bas. 3 vols. Brussels, 1886–1891.
5. CAUCHIE-MAERE, Recueil des Instructions générales aux nonces de Flandre. Brussels, 1904.
6. Bulletins de la Commission royale d'histoire. 84 vols. Brussels, 1834–1914. (Cited as *BCRH.*)
7. GACHARD-PIOT, Collection des voyages des souverains des Pays-Bas. 4 vols. Brussels, 1876–1882.
8. GACHARD, Actes des Etats-Généraux des Pays-Bas, 1575–1585. Notice chronologique et analytique. 2 vols. Brussels, 1861–1866.
9. GACHARD, Correspondance de Philippe II., sur les affaires des Pays-Bas. 5 vols. Brussels, 1848–1879.
10. GACHARD, Correspondance de Marguérite d'Autriche avec Philippe II., 1554–1568, 3 vols. Brussels, 1867–1887.
11. TEULET, Rélations politiques de la France et de l'Espagne avec l'Ecosse. 5 vols. Paris, 1862.
12. ALBÉRI, Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti al Senato durante il secolo decimo sesto. 15 vols. Florence, 1839–1863.
13. SADLER'S State Papers. 2 vols. London, 1809.
14. Reports and Appendices of the Historical MSS. Commission.
15. Analectes pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de la Belgique, Louvain, since 1864. (Cited as *AHEB.*)
16. The Harleian Miscellany. 10 vols. London, 1808–1813.
17. MORAN, Spicilegium Ossoriense. Dublin, 1874–1878.

18. MURDIN, A Collection of State Papers relating to affairs in the reign of Elizabeth, from 1571 to 1596. London, 1759.

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THE ENGLISH CATHOLIC REFUGEES ON THE CONTINENT

CHAPTER I

THE FOUNDATION MOVEMENT IN GENERAL

THE political and religious situation in England at the accession of the Princess Elizabeth to the Throne, on November 17, 1558, was a doubtful and uneasy one. The Catholic Revival under Mary Tudor had indeed opened a new era of prosperity for the Church, and had brought England into close intimacy with the foremost Catholic political power of the day; but Mary's death and the death a few hours later of the spiritual Lord of the realm, Reginald Cardinal Pole, Archbishop of Canterbury and Legate of the Holy See, placed the seal of anxiety and foreboding upon the hopes of the faithful in England. The new Queen lost little time in manifesting her own tendencies both in religion and politics. Her policy, though simple in outline, required all the consummate and marvellous tact which she possessed and which she displayed to advantage at every crisis during her long reign of forty-five years.[1] That policy was the subjugation of every element within the realm to the Protestant ideal and the championing of Protestantism the world over. From January to April, 1559, Parliament was occupied with the passing of the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, which became the basis of all later legislation in English political and religious affairs. The Act of Supremacy made the Queen

[1] J. R. GREEN, *A Short History of the English People*, vol. II, pp. 746–751. London, 1898.

the highest ecclesiastical authority in the realm, and all ecclesiastical and civil functions necessitated an oath of obedience to herself. The first offence against the Act was punished with the loss of property; the second, with praemunire; and the third, with the penalty of high treason. This Act was the death-sentence of the Catholic faith in England. The Act of Uniformity was meant to equalize religious worship in the realm on the common basis of the Edwardine Liturgy. The first offence against this second Act was punished with the loss of all revenues for a year, and six months' imprisonment; the second offence was punished with the loss of preferment, civil or ecclesiastical, and one year's imprisonment, while the third meant imprisonment for life. By this Act the Mass was abolished and all Elizabeth's subjects obliged to assist at Anglican services. The four or five religious communities, which had been re-established in the outburst of fervour under Mary Tudor, were swept away in consequence, and from that moment the country was stripped little by little of everything that spoke of Catholic tradition and Catholic worship. The Bishops were deposed and imprisoned in the Tower and the Fleet, and in the houses of the Protestant Bishops who had been foisted upon their dioceses. The secular and religious clergy, who remained loyal to the Church, were deposed and imprisoned; and with the passing of the Bishops and the Marian clergy, Elizabeth's counsellors hoped to witness the gradual but effective severance of the last link which bound the country to papal authority. Without Bishops and priests and without Catholic worship or Catholic training, the mass of the people would soon forget the old-time faith and become Protestant in mind if not in heart. Elizabeth's settlement of the religious situation was not only a violation of the laws of the country but was also carried out in direct defiance to the wishes of the majority of her subjects.[1] The Lutheran Reformation which had been grafted on the country during the reign of Edward VI., was unwelcome to many classes in the kingdom; and the illegality of the two Acts, which were passed in formal violation of the English Constitution and her coronation oath, rendered the

[1] H. N. Birt, O.S.B., *The Elizabethan Religious Settlement. A study of contemporary Documents*, p. 175. London, 1907.

whole movement towards Protestantism an unpopular one. The generation, however, which had experienced the rapid changes under Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Mary Tudor, had been prepared for this further *volte-face*, and many Catholics looked upon it as a temporary arrangement until England and Rome could agree upon some sort of compromise which would protect their allegiance to the faith and leave them free to acknowledge the supremacy of the Queen. Some Catholics temporized in consequence by attending Protestant services, but the staunch loyalty of the imprisoned Bishops and of the Marian clergy, and the active preparations which were being made by the religious communities and the Catholic students and professors of Cambridge and Oxford to quit the country, brought home to the Catholics in England the dangerous possibility of the compromise some of their brethren had thought permissible.[1] The more enlightened Catholics foresaw the insufficiency of the two Acts to abolish Catholic worship and loyalty to the Holy See, but they realized also the determination of the Government to follow up these Acts by a series of legislative enactments, which would eventually make all subterfuge in the matter of worship impossible by restricting the liberties of Catholics in such a way that conformity would gradually be attained. It was conformity or Exile, therefore, which faced the Catholics in 1559-60; and the Exile-movement towards the Continent, which began shortly after April 1559, continued without interruption down to the French Revolution two centuries and a half later.

Priests and religious were the first to feel the effect of the new anti-Catholic laws, and their only hope of enjoying freedom of worship lay in exile. But there were old laws still in force against leaving the country without permission; and from the beginning of her reign, Elizabeth's government set itself in stern opposition to the exodus of Catholics from the realm.[2] To the young men of the sister Universities the

[1] C. G. BAYNE, *Anglo-Roman Relations*, 1558-1565, pp. 159, 289. Oxford, 1913; BIRT, *op. cit.*, pp. 502-557 (*The Attitude of the Laity to the Religious Changes*).

[2] Meyer is wrong in saying that during the earlier part of Elizabeth's reign all that was required in order to obtain the necessary authorization to leave the country was the promise to keep away from Rome (*England und die Katholische Kirche unter Elizabeth und den Stuarts*, vol. I, p. 25): "Die Regierung war zunächst schon

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Act of Uniformity practically meant the loss of a career, for their only hope of advancement lay in formal apostasy.[1] They too saw but one means of escape—exile. The Universities of Padua, Paris, Salamanca, and Louvain, had for many years before the Reformation harboured a goodly contingent of English and Irish students, and once the exile was begun under Elizabeth they quickly became the principal refuges for English scholars. Almost within a year after her accession, over a hundred Oxford and Cambridge men had left England for the Continent, and Louvain attracted the greater number of these. Two houses were begun in the town, the one called *Oxford*, the other *Cambridge*, where the students lived until the foundation of the College at Douay.[2] In May, 1559, the religious houses in England were suppressed by law and the religious expelled. Very few of their subjects remained, however, to accept the pension which had been promised as a reward for conformity. The majority of them had foreseen the enactments of Parliament and had left the country in order to avoid taking the oath.[3] It is difficult to say how many there were in these religious houses; the account we have of their exile gives no exact number for each. As will be seen in the chapters devoted to them, the Carthusians and Bridgettines of Syon were enabled to leave England, owing to the whole-hearted generosity of the retiring Spanish

zufrieden, wenn sie die Katholiken nur los wurde." In some cases this was true, as the Calendars for the period show; but it was always difficult to obtain a passport. The majority of the exiles left the country of their own accord without permission. In May, 1559, Badsen, a priest of Canterbury, was arrested at Dover in trying to leave the country (Cf. *For. Cal. Eliz.* 1559–60, p. 627); another priest, the chaplain to Edward Walgrave, was arrested at Gravesend. (Cf. KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, *Relations, etc.*, vol. II, p. 555.) Even the permission granted to the Duke of Feria was afterwards limited lest it should appear that the Government was willing to see all the Catholics go.

[1] For an accurate account, well substantiated by contemporary documents, of the progress of the Reformation in the sister Universities, cf. BIRT, *op. cit.*, pp. 253–296.

[2] KNOX, *Allen*, p, 53.

[3] "Parliament will rise this week, the two Houses having enacted that all the convents and monasteries of friars, monks, nuns, and Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem are to be suppressed as heretofore, and all these religious are to be expelled. Such of them who will take the oath against the Pontifical authority, and approve the new laws, abjuring their own professions, are to receive pensions for their maintenance; but the greater part of them have left the Kingdom in order not to take such oath." *Venetian Calendar*, vol. VII, no. 68. Il Schifanoya to the Castellan of Mantua, London, May 2, 1559. Cf. SANDER, *Rise of the Anglican Schism*, p. 261.

Ambassador, the Duke of Feria, who begged this favour of the Queen in place of the customary royal presents.[1] Feria left England May 25, 1559, taking with him a number of priests and religious, and was followed, in July, by his wife, Lady Jane Dormer,[2] with whom went her grandmother, Lady Dormer, and a party of about thirty priests and gentlemen.[3] Elizabeth was anxious at the time to keep the friendship of Spain, and Feria's request, though met with coldly, was granted. Difficulties were made afterwards, however, in the interpretation of this permit. The authorities pretended to understand it as meaning permission only for those who had become religious on the Continent during the schism of Henry VIII., but notwithstanding this view, practically all who were included in the permission given to Feria were allowed to go.[4] Two Dominican friars and several Dominican nuns, a Benedictine monk, Dom Langton, several Franciscans and some fourteen professors and students from Oxford, with a similar number from Cambridge, exiled themselves at this time. Three of the Bishops, Cuthbert Scott, of Chester, Richard Pate, of Worcester, and Thomas Goldwell, of St. Asaph, also managed to escape to the Continent.[5]

The Continent was in fact the surest place of refuge for the English Catholic exiles. It is true that from the beginning many had thought of going out to the colonies which were

[1] "The Count de Feria departed a fortnight ago, and it has not yet been heard what present the Queen made him at his departure, saving that he asked of her as a special favour, instead of gifts, a passport for passage to Flanders of all the monks, friars, and nuns now here, who were required to renounce their profession, swear against the Pope, and observe the articles lately enacted against the Christian and Catholic Church, besides being expelled and driven out of their monasteries and convents, had they been men to consent to this, but they determined to die rather than change their purpose." *Venetian Calendar*, 1558-1580, no. 77. Il Schifanoya to the Castellan of Mantua, London, May 30, 1559.

[2] COMTESSE DE COURSON, *Quatre portraits de Femmes*, p. 162. Brussels, 1895. CLIFFORD, *Life of Jane Dormer*, edited by J. STEVENSON. London, 1887 (*Quarterly Series*, vol. LXII).

[3] *Dom. Cal. Add.*, vol. VI (1601-1603 with addenda 1547-1565), p. 43; *Venetian Calendar*, vol. VII (1558-1580), pp. 77, 78, 79. "Some days ago the Count de Feria sent to bring the wife he married in England, who crossed to Bruges with a numerous company, being followed by many English Catholics, who with this opportunity left their country." *Venetian Calendar*, vol. VII (1558-1580), p. 59. Cf. *For. Cal. Eliz.*, 1559-1560, p. 422.

[4] KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 525, 541.

[5] *Publ. Cath. Rec. Soc.*, vol. I, pp. 24-47 (*Dr. Sander's Report to Moroni*). Cf. *Venetian Calendar*, vol. VII (1558-1580), p. 105.

then in process of formation in the New World, and which were later to afford a home for the persecuted children of the mother country. As early as 1574, Sir Humphrey Gilbert endeavoured to influence his persecuted fellow country-men to seek shelter on the shores of America. The Act which had been passed in 1571, "agaynst Fugytyves over the Sea," was practically abrogated in the Charter given to Gilbert in 1578. In theory at least the persecuted Catholics were not hindered from taking advantage of this means to leave the country. Similar endeavours continued all through Elizabeth's reign, but the temper of the Catholics was such, that each fresh martyrdom, from 1577 onwards, only made them all the more determined to remain in order to obtain justice and toleration at all costs. This is the explanation of the unyielding attitude shown by Father Persons during the years in which Winslade was endeavouring to have his plan for a wholesale Catholic migration to America ratified by the Catholic authorities. This attitude is all the more praiseworthy from the fact that the English Catholics at home and abroad were then (1604) suffering the utmost disappointment over the failure of their King to keep his royal word to grant them toleration. The subsequent migrations towards the close of James' reign and during that of Charles I., have no appreciable connexion with the Catholic exiles on the Continent.[1] Once the English Government realized the resolution of the English Catholics either to win justice for themselves or to die for the faith, the English Catholic *diaspora* became a pawn in the great game of international supremacy which Elizabeth began and which cannot yet be said to have seen its close.

The important part the English Dispersion was to take in the politico-religious negociations of the sixteenth and

[1] HUGHES, S.J., *History of the Society of Jesus in North America, etc. Text*, vol. I, pp. 153-5. There was a fresh impulse towards emigration to the colonies in 1605 after the Gunpowder Plot. The majority of those banished at the time were priests. Cf. HUGHES, *op. cit.*, *Text*, vol. I, p. 159. The names of the 47 priests banished in 1606 will be found in CHALLONER, *Memoirs of Missionary Priests, and other Catholics of both sexes, that have suffered death in England on religious accounts, from the year* 1577 *to* 1684, vol. II, p. 13. Dublin, 1874, 2 vols. For their reception at Douay, cf. BURTON, *Douay Diaries*, vol. I, p. 74. The first mention of a possible hope of relief in settlements in America came after Calvert's expedition to Maryland in 1634; but it seems to have had little effect upon the Catholics living in exile. The whole problem has been dealt with by HUGHES, *op. cit.*, *Text*, vol. I, pp. 159-261.

seventeenth centuries really began when Margaret of Parma, then the Regent of the Low Countries (1554–1567), wrote to Philip II., in 1561, to announce to him the presence of so many English Catholic exiles, religious and lay, in her territory, and to beg his help in enabling her to erect religious establishments for them and to provide the penniless Catholic nobles and gentry with pensions.[1]

The little groups of exiles which had sprung up at Brussels, Paris, Madrid, and Rome were being constantly augmented by new arrivals, such as Sir Francis Englefield, and others, who "con mucha difficuldad" obtained permission to leave the country.[2] The extent of this first period of the Exile-movement can be judged from the fact that, when Allen founded the English College at Douay (1568), in order to gather together the English students and priests who were scattered over the Continent, the register of the college soon numbered over one hundred names.[3] From this time forward it is very difficult to keep separate the different elements in the religious and political attitude of the Catholics in England and their exiled brethren on the Continent. In the struggle which was then beginning between Spain and England, the pensions and the "ayudas de costa" given by the Spanish Government to the exiles, were not the outcome of charity alone. The Spanish monarch was generous to a fault; but he expected those who were supported by his pensions to be favourable to Spanish policy. How far Philip II. was disappointed in this hope is evident from the fact that the immense majority of the students in the English Colleges on Spanish territory became even more national by the process. Taunton cannot here be justly followed in holding that it was solely to *hispaniolize*

[1] GACHARD, *Correspondance de Marguérite de Parme*, t. II, p. 50. Brussels, 1870.

[2] KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, *op. cit.*, vol I, p. 519: "Dan con mucha difficuldad licencia a algunos catolicos que se quieren salir del reyno." Count de Feria to Philip II, London, May 10, 1559.

[3] "Their numbers increased rapidly, as the fame of the college spread abroad. In 1574 there came from England in the same ship twelve students, who at once applied themselves to theology, and of these at least six are known to have been from Oxford. It is well worthy of remark how very large a proportion of the early members of the college were graduates of the English Universities, especially of Oxford. Thus they brought with them the traditions of English University and collegiate life, and among these a high esteem for learning and a great respect for that which was still an external guarantee of learning, university degrees." KNOX, *Douay Diaries*, p. xxxi. Cf. *Douai*, article in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, by B. WARD, vol. V, p. 138.

the "future tense" of the English Catholics, as the boys were called. The real reason why Father Persons founded Colleges in Spain was that there alone they could beg enough money to live upon ; and, with the Colleges in the country itself, it was possible to appeal to the Spanish Bishops, nobles, and people at large to support them. In this way the impoverished English exiles would not be dependent on the King alone. How generously the Spanish people responded to Persons' appeal will always be a glowing page in the annals of Catholic charity. Another reason for the foundations in Spain was that, during the wars between France and Spain, the Catholic Low Countries were in a state of misery. Spain, itself, was at peace internally, and during the crisis which led up to the Peace of Vervins (1598), the Spanish Colleges offered the only quiet refuge to young English students. When that abnormal state of affairs came to an end, and when the Low Countries began to recover from the wars, it was but natural that Douay should again attract the greater number of students. In consequence, the Spanish Seminaries began to diminish in numbers. Their continued existence is another proof of the startling vitality of the English Catholics. After the Treaty of Westphalia (1648), when continental Europe settled down to a well-earned peace, the Foundation Movement became centralized in Belgium. The gradual national decline in Spain after the change in the balance of power in the seventeenth century explains to a large extent the subsequent history of the English Colleges in Spain. The second element in the situation is the attitude Elizabeth and James I. assumed towards the exiles in the Low Countries. They were to be the pawn between the two governments in the long series of negotiations which preceded the Treaty of 1608.[1] A further complication arose from the plans pursued by some of the Catholics in England between 1569 and 1605, when goaded to desperation by the bloodthirsty intolerance of the Protestants, efforts were made to throw off the yoke of tyranny which oppressed them, and to frighten the Government into

[1] L. WILLAERT, S.J., *Négociations politico-réligieuses entre l'Angleterre et les Pays-Bas catholiques* (1598–1625), article in the *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, 1905, t. VI, pp. 47–54 ; 566–581 ; 811–826 ; 1906, t. VII pp. 585–607 ; 1907, t. VIII, pp. 81–101 ; 305–311 ; 514–532 ; 1908, t. IX, pp. 52–61 ; 736–745.

granting them freedom of conscience. The martyrdoms of the priests intensified this feeling at home, and abroad it roused the young men in the English Colleges and Seminaries to such a pitch of excitement that the response Catholics were making on all sides to the alternative given to them—money or blood—was rapidly putting the Government in a dilemma ; for it was recognized that the surest means of strengthening the Catholics at home and on the Continent was to sacrifice priests and laymen for the faith.

But even before the permanent foundation at Douay, English Protestant theological circles had been fairly demoralized by the formidable attack made upon their doctrines by the Louvain School of Apologetics. This attack, the first fruits of the English Counter-Reformation, coming as it did about the same time as the Northern Rising in 1569, brought the Anglican Church face to face with the fact that the despised and vilified Catholic theologians possessed a strength of logic and doctrine that fairly threatened the flimsy fabric which had been built out of the ruins of the ancient Church. This School, which will be treated at length in another volume dealing with the intellectual activity of the exiles, though of short duration, can boast of some of the most eminent names in sixteenth-century theological literature. The apologetical works issued from Louvain between 1559–1575, had no doubt a paramount influence in strengthening the arms of the loyal Catholic leaders of the Northern Counties in their last gallant but hopeless stand against the intolerance which Protestant Englishmen of Elizabeth's day were showing towards the Catholic faith. Groups of exiles, such as the University professors and students from Cambridge and Oxford who were at Louvain, were more than equal to the task of refuting the Anglican divines, and we hear an echo of the consternation their literary work was causing in the Establishment in the frantic appeals which passed between London and Geneva.[1] "For our fugitives at Louvain," says Bishop Jewell, "began during the last year (1564–5) to be in

[1] *The Zurich Letters, comprising the correspondence of several English Bishops and others, with some of the Helvetian Reformers, during the early part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Translated from authenticated copies of the autographs preserved in the archives at Zurich and edited for the* PARKER SOCIETY by the REV. H. ROBINSON, 2 vols. Cambridge, 1842.

violent commotion, and to write with the greatest asperity against us all. Me alone they have attacked by name . . . they began to bark in their holes and corners, and to call me impudent, bold, insolent, and frantic boaster. Four years after (1564) one Harding[1] unexpectedly came forward . . . , I replied to him last year as well as I could . . . I had scarce finished my work, when there suddenly flies abroad a Confutation of my Apology ;[2] an immense and elaborate work, and filled with abuse, contumely, falsehoods and flatteries . . . he must be answered . . . those countrymen of ours at Louvain disturb us as much as they can."[3] "There came out last summer," Cox writes from Ely, "an immense volume by one Nicholas Saunders, who is, they say, a countryman of ours ; the title of which is 'The Monarchy of the Church'[4] . . . our friend Jewel is dead, and has left among us but few equal to him. It is therefore both your concern and mine, to cut off the heads of this hydra."[5] De Silva, the Spanish Ambassador in London, writing to Philip II., says that the books sent from Louvain had done incalculable good in spreading the growth of the Faith.[6] In reply, the King told his ambassador how gratified he was with the Apologetic School of Louvain and urged him to forego no opportunity of encouraging and strengthening the work of the English exiles.[7] The list of names connected with this work of defending the faith includes Sander, Harpsfield, Harding, Allen, Stapleton, Marshall, Dorman, Rastall, and others, whose works constitute the strongest breakwater Catholic scholars have ever made against Anglicanism. What Louvain accomplished between 1559–

[1] THOMAS HARDING, D.D., *An Answere to Maister Juelles Challenge*, Louvain, 1564. Cf. *Dom. Cal. Eliz.*, 1601–3 with Addenda 1547–1565, p. 258.

[2] *A Confutation of the book intituled an Apologie of the Church of England.* By THOMAS HARDING, DOCTOR OF DIVINITY. Antwerp, 1565.

[3] *Zurich Letters*, vol. I, pp. 146–150. Bishop Jewell to Henry Bullinger and Lewis Lavater, Salisbury, February 8, 1566.

[4] *De Visibili Monarchia Ecclesiae, libri VIII. De Ecclesiae Dei successione et gubernatione monarchica : Diaboli progressione et sectis et haeresibus : de Antichristo et membris ejus deque Dei vera et adulterina diabol. Ecclesia.* Louvain, 1571.

[5] *Zurich Letters*, vol. I, p. 281. Bishop Cox to Rodolph Gualter, Ely, February 4, 1573.

[6] *Calendar of Letters and State Papers, relating to English affairs of the reign of Elizabeth. Preserved principally in the Archives of Simancas.* Edited by M. A. S. HUME, vol. I, p. 418, no. 294, Guzman de Silva to Philip II., London, April 14, 1565.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 432, no. 300, Philip to de Silva, Madrid, June 6, 1565.

1575, the English College of Douay continued. From its foundation, in 1568, until the end of the Thirty Years' War, the English Catholic exiles, religious and lay, were to be found in the front of the battle-line formed by the Counter-Reformation against the heresies of the times.

During these first ten years of the English Catholic Exile-movement to the Continent (1558–1568), the English Government does not seem to have occupied itself very much with the exiles. Even the foundation of Douay was looked upon at the beginning with contempt. But the Northern Rising of 1569 and the flight of the Earls was the critical moment in Elizabeth's reign, and the Government's attention was drawn to the danger of allowing the little groups of English Catholics in the Low Countries to increase further. A few months after their flight to Belgium, Pope St. Pius V. issued the Bull *Regnans in excelsis* (February 25, 1570), and by it English Catholics were absolved from all allegiance to their Queen. Felton was executed on August 8, for publishing it; and the first of the three anti-Catholic legislative enactments (1571–1572) was passed by Parliament to prevent any hesitation on the part of her subjects. The Statute of spiritual treason (13 Eliz. c. 2) was meant to isolate the realm completely from all contact with Rome and papal authority, temporal or spiritual. It became a treasonable offence to enter the kingdom with the intention of propagating the faith. This was equivalent, as the exiles well knew, to a declaration of war against themselves; and how unflinchingly it was answered is written in letters of fire in the pages of English history. The presence of Dacre, the two Nevilles, the Nortons, the Countess of Northumberland and the Earl and Countess of Westmoreland, Dr. Story, Joliffe, Standen, Stuckley, Englefield, and others, in the Low Countries, not only fired the young Levites of Douay with the desire of martyrdom but also gave Philip a weapon against England, which Elizabeth in her astuteness well realized might prove fatal to her. The Via Dolorosa from Douay to Tyburn began in 1574, when the first priests were sent from the Seminary to the English Mission. As a counter-attack the Government now took up in earnest the work of scattering the exiles. The story of these negotiations has been admirably told by Fr. L. Willaert, S.J., from the

Négociations d'Angleterre (one of the collections of the *Papiers d'État et de l'Audience* in the State Archives in Brussels, Régistres 358–367). The negotiations which ensued between the Archduke and the English Crown are of a double nature: 1, the intervention of the Archdukes in favour of Catholicism in England, and the opposition shown by Elizabeth and James I., to the sympathy given to the English Catholic exiles in Belgium; 2, the intervention of the English Government in favour of Protestantism in the Low Countries, and the opposition shown by Philip II., and by the Archdukes to the sympathy given to the Dutch, Flemish and Walloon Calvinists in England. An agreement had been reached in 1575, between Cecil and Requesens, whereby the *émigrés* of both countries were to be expelled. Requesens kept his word and expelled the English Catholics from the Low Countries; but the failure of Elizabeth's Government to expel at the same time the Flemish and Walloon Protestants from England brought the negotiations to a standstill. The English Catholics returned to the Low Countries under Don Juan (1576–1578); and from that time the Spanish Government refused steadfastly to come to any agreement with England on the question of the presence of the English exiles in Belgium, knowing by experience that England's promises were vain and fruitless.

The expulsion of the English Catholic exiles from the Low Countries on March 1, 1575, was but one incident in Elizabeth's treatment of her Catholic subjects. There are some who give her Government credit for a certain amount of tolerance towards those of the old Faith. We are even assured, that so long as the religious activity of Catholics did not interfere with the material comfort or the political welfare of the realm, they were allowed to live in peace, but that Elizabeth's tolerance was firmly wedded to the policy of enriching the crown at their expense. Pursuivants, informers, and traitors there were, in abundance; but haunting the whole of their activity was the spectre, not only of religious bigotry, but also that of greed. To many historical students of this period, the Government appears to have made a distinction implicit, though never expressed in the wording of the law, between the ardent papist and the mere recusant as

well as between the older clergy and the new. The "papist" was considered dangerous to the welfare of the country, but the "recusant" existed merely to be mulcted gradually of all he possessed. This policy is supposed to be recognized in the attitude of the Government towards the Puritans. They were anti-Catholic and anti-papal and, therefore, not outlaws as the Catholics were; but every effort was made to force them into exile, in order to rid the country of their possible antagonism to the established Church. Had the Catholics, however, been allowed to exile themselves with impunity, their presence at the different Catholic courts of Continental Europe would have militated against the furtherance of Elizabeth's international activities. Hence the double policy of the English Government was to crush the influence of the exiles on the Continent and to hold the Catholics within the realm at the mercy of the penal laws.[1]

A treaty of commerce between the two countries was vitally necessary to the Low Countries; and step by step the English Government had taken advantage of its position to force the Governor of the Low Countries to do its bidding. It would seem at first sight, that the Queen in carrying her persecution of the English Catholics even into the peaceful homes they had made for themselves "beyond the seas," was following the call of a ruthless *vae victis*; but the little band of the vanquished leaders of 1569 were too powerful in the Courts of Europe to be allowed freely to influence the Continent against her. They were the last link between complete national apostasy and the struggling remnant of the shipwrecked faith of England. Their letters, their writings, and their attacks from Paris, Louvain, Douay, and Madrid, had had too strong an effect upon the people at home for the English Government to overlook the necessity of taking precautionary means to prevent their becoming more powerful. In order to carry out this first part of her policy, Elizabeth scattered spies all over the Continent. Her agents in the principal capitals, were instructed to keep close watch over all the exiles, to send in lists of the same, and to alienate the

[1] R. B. MERRIMAN, *Some Notes on the Treatment of the English Catholics in the reign of Elizabeth*, in the *American Historical Review*, vol. XIII (1908), p. 482.

sympathies of the foreign courts as far as possible from them. Young men were paid to simulate conversion, to enter the Colleges and Seminaries, to demoralize the College discipline, and to keep the English Government fully informed of the comings and goings of the Missionary Priests. The Calendars of State Papers are filled with reports and informations of these Elizabethan spies. An example of how these reports were written may be seen in one for December 1598 (*P.R.O., Domestic State Papers, Elizabeth*, vol. 269, no. 69):

"A CATALOGE OF CERTAYN ENGLISH CATHOLICKS, RELIGIOUS, PREESTS, JESUITS & OTHERS DISPERSED IN DIVERS PLACES.

A. In Flanders

1) Att Dowaye

Doctor Worthington president of ye Coll
Do Webb wch putt up the bulle against her Matie
Do Harison a shrewd fellowe a wryter
Coniers the Jesuit
Lowe the stuard who hath a sone in London wch geves him intelligence he is a hawlting scholemr
Harison an ancient grave gent
Mrs Fowler & hir 2 dawghters
Doc Whyte a civiliā wife & many childrē
Divers artisans of sondry trades

Preests in the Coll

Willis the honestest man of them all and best affecconat to his contry, He was a minister in Engl sometymis
Tirrell, Norton } yonge preests gent
Younge a Yorkeshiremā well in yeares
Raynolds sometymes a minister a simpleman

Students in Divinitye

Knott	Thursebye
Hasell	Pentraye
Gervas	Blinkinsops
Tottye	
Hikemā	
Brownbrick	

Students in Philosophie

Treuer	Norton
Brotherlome	Lowe the stuards sone

Students in Logicke

Greene	Perkinson
Redmā	Twist his father is of

Philips	the queens stable he ostende fledd fro ~~the campe~~ & gave intelligence to the archd. who rewarded him

STUDENTS IN RETORICK & POETRY

Webb	Timothie
Change	James
Gregory	Francis ~~Gregory~~
Greene	Kenington
	Guilliams

GRAMARIANS

Gemings	Thursbye
Norton	Jngham
Burrell	Hugh Thoms
Stokema	

2). ATT BRUSSELLS

Sr Willm Stanley & six Engl servāts
Hugh Owen & 2 English servats

Capte Floide
Capen Thomas
Capen Dyar
Capte Fennell
Capen Zouch
Capen Smith
Capen Eliot
Capen Gervas
lieutenant Chābers

} all thes save the 2 last have pentions 60 crows a month of the k. of Sp.

OTHER PENTIONERS.

Baylye a gent of Owens paye counsell
Kenidaye an Irishmā
Radish a gent wife & children
Grave
Poole a gent wife & childre

Tressam, Mnnparsons, Masone, Coniers } gent — Styles, Lee, Daye, Tayler } Thes be not pentionrs

Tayler, Edwards } Thes all be pentioners

Doctor Whites sone

3) WEMEN IN ALL PARTS OF FLINDRS

The lady Hungerford
Mrs Allen Cardle Allens sister

English	Brussells
A monostery of 25 nunes at ~~Machland~~	
A monastery of 44 Eng nunes att Loven wherof the la Berkley is prioress	
The lady Mary Westmrland	
Two gentlewemē of the Pooles	

Mrs Tirrell
Mrs Giles sr Edw Stradlings sister

4). PREESTS ATT BRUSSELLS.

Baldwin ye Jesuit the archpolipragmon
Chambers
Penkeiule
~~Penbrinie~~
Stoye } therabout
Hanmer }

5). AT MAKELAND

Engl
A monastery of 26 Carthugians
ie
Darbisheire the prior

6). ATT ANWERPE

Chambers } priests
Tempest & many others }

7). AT TORNON

Goodmã & one Dobson prests

8). AT GAUNT

Clarke a verry badd fellowe preest
Mathewes and old preest
Wryght a Deane & certayne Merht

9). ATT LISLE

Doctor Gifford honester the any of ye res

10). ATT ARRAS

Ithell a preest & fa Willm Capuchin
Itẽ ther be under the conduct of
Capte Fludd 200 English soldiers

B. IN FRANCE

Att Newhavẽ Jho Baptist a recreant Jesuit
Att Roan Mr Shelton an old gent
& one Cuddingtõ a busie fellowe
o
& also one Steakes a banished preest
Father John an old pore preest
Father Arangell whose name is
Willm Barloe a Capuchine but in
gret creditt in France

1). ATT PARIS

Mr Henry Constable
Gerrard }
Gifford }
Church } yong gent
2 Ropers }
Hill a pentioner to the k. of France
Tho Morgan } gent
Charles Paget }
Doctor Davis a civilia a spie for Spayne

PREESTS ATT PARIS

Doctr Bishope
Doctr Bagshawe
Doctr Steepns
an other Bacheler of devinitye
Fath. Patrick a Capuchine a gret scholer
One Lee a Irish preest

2). AT BURGES

Mr Fowler
Mr Cansfeeld & on othe gent

3). AT MAUNTZ

Fa. Constantin a Capuchine whose
name is Polidore Morgan
Robert Owe Hugh Owens brother

4) AT ST. MALOES

Charles Floid an antagonista to
Jesuits yett a devote Cath:
One Fitz a Capuchin als Bennett

5) AT LIONS

Fernesly a marcht his sonne in ye
Jesuit collidg att Rome

6) ATT TOLOSE

One Nowell Sparke who saith
he was my late lō: Trers page'
if soe I think him hardly a Cath as
he profeseth by report

7) ATT BAYONE

John Carpeder regent of ye Colledg

8) ATT REYMES

Doctr Kellison & 2 or 3 preests

9) A NANCY

Mr Pitts ye Cardls Chacelour who hath
ther his 2 sisters one Mrs Radish

C IN GERMANYE

Att Mussipont Doctor Ely a civilia
Rich Griffen
Morrice a gent & one Hamond
Att Metz fa. Fitzherbert a Capuchine &
an other a Cannō of a church
Att Frankford Mr Norton wife & children
Att Guleck Pitts confessor to ye duchess
and a brother of his a Carthusian
Att Bone an English lawyier
Att Liege Lewkener the Jesuit & an other
Att Angusta Colwodly a phisitian

D. In Italie

At Millan Cap^en^ Edw Stanley S^r^ Willm brother
Griffen a preest & an Irish Jesuit
At Padoa M^r^ Willowby & M^r^ Fortescue prees
Att Vicenza D^or^ Thornton a Cannon &
on Bennett
Att Venice Adams the Jesuit & Gregory
Sayer a monke
Att Bolonia one Thornhill & a fryar
Att Perugia Heskett an abott & 3 Eng : men
Att Loretta Talbott a Jesuite

Att Rome

a) In ye Coll		b) In the Towne	
Parsons	Jesuits	M^r^ Nichs Fitzherbert	gent
Walpole		Thomas Fitzherbert	
Owen		Poole	
Steepns		Munpersons	
Smith		Smithson	
Harison-als		Banes	
Tremayne		a yong gent w^ch^	
fa John		Card^li^ Fondrato	
Smithson		keeps and brings up	
Sweet		& one Isame an old mā	
Hunt			
Davis, Smith, Guyn	& 20 more preests		
Griffith	scholers	D^or^ Pearce	
Fernesly		D^or^ Haddock lately	
Webb		depted or depting to	
Aderton		Flanders	
Coniers		a muck & a Car	
Smalemā		thusiā w^th^ many	
Wilson		other eyther unknown	
& many		or unworthy the	
more		naminge	

CATALOGUE OF ENGLISH CATHOLIKES BEYOND SEA."

But this whole astounding spy-system, which probably has never since been paralleled in history, was quite incapable of keeping out the ardent young missionaries from England, or of quenching the strong determination of the exiles to organize a bulwark for English Catholicism by founding Colleges and Seminaries, Convents and Monasteries all over Europe.

With the appointment of Don Juan of Austria to the Governorship of the Low Countries in 1576, the English exiles returned, as has been said, to their former houses in Antwerp, Louvain, Brussels, Bruges, and Ghent. Don Juan was the hero of Christendom at the time. Fresh from his brilliant

victory over the Turks at Lepanto, the chivalrous young warrior had been sent by Philip II., to the Low Countries to remedy the disorders which had broken out under the Duke of Alva (1567–1573) and Requesens (1573–1576). It required no keen perspicacity to recognize the English Queen as the cause of all their difficulties. Elizabeth's policy was a menace to the peace of Europe. Her army was actively engaged in the rebellion of the Netherlands against the Spaniards, and it was not difficult for one of Don Juan's temperament to regard her as the Turk of the West against whom another Crusade should be preached, if Catholic Europe was to enjoy the marvellous opportunities which were looming in the geographical discoveries of the time. When Don Juan's plan for the liberation of Mary Stuart became known, the enthusiasm among the English exiles for the Catholic leader knew no bounds. The whole of Belgium was in a ferment. The discovery of Ratcliffe's part in the conspiracy against Don Juan only augmented the determination of the exiles to succeed. Messengers were coming and going continually between the Countess of Northumberland, at Liége, and Sir Francis Englefield, at Bruges, and the Scottish Ambassador's palace, in Paris; and from this period until the death of Elizabeth (1603) the leaders among the exiles were actively plotting the conquest of England.[1] The correspondence between Don Juan and Mary Stuart (whom he meant to marry if his scheme had been successful), shows how eager the exiles were for an armed intervention at this time.[2] The troubles

[1] KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, *op. cit.*, vol. IX, pp. 174, 183, 212, 213, 219, 232, 236, 258. During the troubles which occurred before Don Juan's arrival, the States General sent de Sweveghem to London to borrow 200,000 angelots from the English Government; and the condition upon which the loan was made was the expulsion of all those who had fled from England to the Catholic Low Countries. (Cf. KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, *op. cit.*, vol. IX, p. 146.) Again in 1578, when another loan of 300,000 crowns was asked from England, the rebel clause was insisted upon; and in the treaty between the Prince of Orange, Elizabeth, and the Spanish Low Countries on January 7, 1578, the States General bound themselves to expel all the English fugitives from their territory (Cf. RENON DE FRANCE, *Histoire des causes de la désunion, révoltes, et altérations des Pays-Bas* (1555-1592), *avec un Appendice de pièces relatives à l'histoire du XVI^e siècle*, ed. by CHARLES PIOT, vol. II, p. 317. Brussels, 1886-91, 3 vols). During the crisis caused by this treaty, the majority of the exiles fled to Paris, where their presence was reported by the English Ambassador (Cf. *For. Cal. Eliz.*, 1578–1579, p. 388). It was this alliance which caused the expulsion of the English Collegians from Douay on March 22, 1578. KNOX, *Douay Diaries*, p. lii.

[2] KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, *op. cit.*, vol. IX, p. xxxi.

which arose in the Low Countries in 1578, and the premature death of the young Governor the same year, delayed the Enterprise for ten years. The English Government held firm all through this crisis and demanded constantly the expulsion of the English Catholics from Belgium. The English Agent at Brussels, Wilson, had vowed war without quarter to all the exiles, political and religious, and in the different negotiations between the two Governments, the clause enacting the expulsion of the exiles was always given a prominent place.[1]

The exiles found themselves, therefore, at the mercy of English spies, and at the mercy also of Dutch and Belgian Calvinists who hated them not alone because of their faith, but also because they were pensioners of the King of Spain. The Chapter on the College of Douay, as well as those on the Carthusians and the Bridgettines, will show how terrible the situation was at this time, when the pensions ceased.[2] At this time also the two factions among the exiles assumed shape, and the failure of the Armada intensified the bitterness between the two camps. The part taken by the exiles in the Armada has been grossly exaggerated. Even Father Persons and Dr. Allen, who are always mentioned among the chief instigators of the Enterprise, complained that so little share was given to religious motives in the affair. From 1588 down to the death of Elizabeth, the two parties among the exiles drew farther apart. The murder at Fotheringay left the Catholics without a Catholic leader to look to, and the uncertainty caused by James' very probable succession to the throne caused bitter feuds between the Spanish and Scottish parties. The three centres of this quarrel were Wisbech, Flanders, and the English College in Rome. The whole period is a sad one in the history of the exiles.[3] The accession of

[1] With the disunion which arose over the armed intervention of Catholic Europe in English affairs and which created two factions among the English exiles, the Spanish and Scottish parties, FATHER POLLEN, S.J., has already dealt in an admirable series of articles in the *Month* (vols. CII–CIV, 1902–4), on the *Politics of the English Catholics in the Reign of Elizabeth.*

[2] The whole question of the Spanish pensions is an extremely complicated one; it has been treated in detail by REV. R. LECHAT, S.J., whose volume is in course of publication at the expense of the *Commission Royale d'Histoire* of Brussels.

[3] KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, *op. cit.*, vol. IX, pp. 70–2; 146–8. For Wilson's journey to Liége, and his attempt to have the Countess of Northumberland expelled from the principality, cf. State Archives at Liége, *Dépêches du Conseil Privé*, t. VII, f. 370. Cf. also KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, *op. cit.*, vol. IX, f. 246. Pope Gregory

James I. (1603) and the death of Father Robert Persons (1610) lessened this discord among the exiles ; and after the Treaty between England and the Low Countries, the activity of the English Catholics abroad found its truer sphere in the Foundation Movement.[1] This Movement grew so quickly beyond every possible control on the part of the governmental spies and agents that, from James' reign down to the end of the eighteenth century, instead of lists of exiles, the State Papers give us lists of foundations ; and in sending these lists the English agents at Brussels appeal constantly to the King and the Government to legislate against the steady flow of subjects into the English foundations. The reign of Albert and Isabella (1598–1621) was peculiarly adapted for the spread of the Foundation Movement. The majority of the English Colleges and Convents were founded before the death of Isabella (1633), and the subsequent period, known in Belgian history as *le siècle de malheur* (1621–1715), found them all so firmly established that no appreciable obstacle to their progress is visible. Many influences concurred to encourage the English exiles in the Movement. The re-organization of the Church in the Low Countries and the extension of the Belgian hierarchy (1559–1560) ;[2] the impulse given to education by the foundation of the University of Douay (1560) ; the prominent part taken from the outset by the Low Countries in the growth and activity of the Society of Jesus, and the rise of the Jesuit Colleges which soon superseded all others by the excellence of their pedagogical methods ;[3] the creation of a distinct nunciature at Brussels, through which all the religious and educational activity of the Low Countries was joined to Rome, as the river is to its source ;[4] and the dynamic energy which

XIII.'s letter to the Prince-bishop in favour of the Countess will be found in THEINER, *Annales Ecclesiasticae*, vol. II, p. 33.

[1] *Politics of the English Catholics during the Reign of Elizabeth*, article by J. H. POLLEN, S.J., in the *Month*, vol. CII (1902), p. 467. Cf. KNOX, *Allen*, p. lxi, 222.

[2] *La situation réligieuse des Pays-Bas Catholiques sous les Archiducs Albert et Isabelle* (1596-1605) *d'après les correspondances du Nonce Ottavio Mirto Frangipani*, in the *Rapport du Séminaire Historique* of Louvain, 1908. *Annuaire de l'Université*, 1908, p. 341.

[3] PIRENNE, *Histoire de Belgique*, t. IV, p. 452. Brussels, p. 1911.

L'organisation de la nonciature de Flandre, depuis son origine jusqu'à la

the Counter-Reformation with a young giant's strength threw into all phases of Catholic effort[1]—these are some of the forces which influenced the exiles at the beginning of James' reign, and which buoyed them up in the dark days that followed the intolerant bigotry of the Puritan outburst of 1605. The religious terrorism that reigned in England from the passing of the barbarous Act of 27 Elizabeth (1585) which condemned priests to death for coming to England and which made all Catholics outlaws, had proved too unsuccessful a weapon in the hands of the Government; but any hope of relief was dashed by the reversal of public feeling after the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot. From this time down to the end of James' reign, a constant exile-movement can be traced.

The English Catholic exiles found Continental Europe, and more especially Belgium, vibrating with the strength of the true Reform which the mother Church carried out between the Council of Trent and 1648. It was the cool refreshing calm after the storm of the first half of the sixteenth century. Men and women had caught the spirit of youth and courage which permeated the ranks of the faithful children of the Church, and everything lent itself not only to the creative spirit but also to the spirit of bold, dauntless endeavour for the cause of Christ. It is a subtle thing to follow—the ideas that reigned in and governed the Catholic world in these splendid days of the Counter-Reformation; but the more they are studied and weighed, the better we realize the all-pervading and invigorating action of the Spirit of God over the troubled waters of His holy Church. Rome may have occasioned much that led to the disaster in Germany and England; but nobly she took her place as the Spiritual Ruler of the world, and from her heart went out the pulsations of that magnificent effort to reconquer all that was lost. The forces at war with the Church were nowhere more bitterly determined to crush

Révolution française (1596–1795), in the *Rapport du Séminaire Historique* of Louvain, 1898. *Annuaire de l'Université*, 1898, p. 341; CAUCHIE, *De la création d'une École Belge à Rome*, Tournai, 1896; (*Congrès Archéologique et Historique de Tournai en* 1895); CAUCHIE-MAERE, *Récueil des Instructions Générales aux Nonces de Flandr* (1596–1635). Brussels, 1904.

[1] Cf. Article, *Counter-Reformation*, by J. H. POLLEN, S.J., in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. IV, p. 437 ss.

her than in England; and one would look in vain for a period in history similar to the reign of Elizabeth. How far the Queen herself was guilty of the savage despotism of the latter half of her reign, may still be a question open to discussion. The leaders of that awful persecution, Huntingdon, Cecil, Walsingham, and "presbyter-mastiges" such as the infamous Topcliffe,[1] were probably more responsible in shaping the Government's bloodthirsty zeal than the Puritans; but the Government had been taught a salutary lesson by the courage and the number of those willing to die for conscience' sake. As Father Pollen, S.J., has pointed out, the comparatively mild persecution of the earlier years of Elizabeth's reign was strikingly successful in its object, while the terrorism of the latter years was as strikingly unsuccessful. "The losses to the old faith in the first period were to be reckoned by millions—in the second by thousands only. Accurate .estimates are of course unattainable, but so far as we can calculate from the numbers of priests, of prisoners, and the like, one would say that the number of fervent Catholics fell off very little after the revival of 1580, the losses (no doubt there were many losses) being made up by the converts. It was the so-called 'schismatics,' those who for fear of persecution were Catholic at heart only, who seemed to have been, as a class, exterminated by the length and severity of the struggle. We cannot deny that Elizabeth was victorious in planting Protestantism in this land, but the glory of the combat remains with those who, from this world's point of view, were vanquished." [2]

We hope to discuss in a subsequent volume the mutual action and reaction between the penal legislation of the period (1558–1795), and the growth of the Colleges, Seminaries, Convents and Monasteries on the Continent.[3] Among these

[1] KNOX, *Douay Diaries*, p. 238.

[2] *Religious Terrorism under Queen Elizabeth*, article by J. H. POLLEN, S.J., in the *Month*, vol. CV (1905), p. 287. "In Elizabeth's reign of forty-five years, more blood was spilt on the scaffold for violation of the Penal Laws, than ever was shed in Portugal by the Inquisition of that country, during the whole term of its existence, little short of three centuries." MADDEN, *History of the Penal Laws, enacted against Roman Catholics*, p. 108, London, 1847.

[3] *An Abstract of all the Statute Laws of this Kingdom, now in force, made against Jesuites, Seminary Priests, and Popish Recusants.* Published by JOHN STARKEY, London, 1675; British Museum MSS. Add. 17, 022; ANSTEY, *A Guide to the Laws of*

penal laws, some had a direct bearing upon the Foundation Movement, while others were caused by the Foundation Movement itself. From 1559 to 1581, the charge upon which the martyrs were put to death was the second refusal to take the Oath of Supremacy. The other penalties were commonly confiscation of property, praemunire, imprisonment, and the payment of fines. Among those who were constituted within the Act of Supremacy were all who printed, imported, published, or disposed of, books maintaining papal authority. Gradually the apostolic zeal of the Seminary Priests and the enthusiasm created by the Jesuit Mission caused the Government to formulate laws which would affect those who were not bound to take the Oath of Supremacy; and the Act of 23 Eliz. c. i. (1581) made it high treason to absolve or to withdraw any one from the royal obedience or from the established religion. This Act caused many to leave the country, and though not affecting directly the Colleges at Rheims and Rome, made it impossible for the priests to stay more than three or four years in any given locality in England. The *Douay Diaries* mention constantly the coming of priests from the Missions, especially after the passing of the ferocious Act of 27 Eliz. c. i. (1585), which made the Priesthood itself sufficient cause for high treason and death. This Act was the parting of the ways. It marks the Government's firm determination to annihilate Catholicism in England. The effect of this Act upon the exiled establishments (Rheims, Rome, and Eu) was quickly and forcibly felt. Not only were these three colleges cut off from all economic help on the part of those whose sons were students in them, but every English boy in these colleges, who did not return within six months from the proclamation of the Act to take the Oath of Supremacy, was declared an outlaw, a rebel, and a traitor to the crown. It appeared as if every semblance of Catholic life would in a short time be crushed out in England when these three centres of English Catholic activity were prevented from supplying the depleted ranks of the clergy, and the very

England affecting Roman Catholics. London, 1842; ID., *The Queen's Supremacy considered in its relations with the R.C. Church in England, being a supplementary chapter to "A Guide, etc."* London, 1858; LILLY-WALLIS, *A Manual of the Law specially affecting Roman Catholics*, London, 1893.

existence of Catholics was rendered legally impossible. However, instead of the Missions in England going begging for labourers, especially during periods of persecution such as those which followed Campion's apostolate in 1580–1581, the opposite was the case. For the story of the martyrdoms was published in every language at the time, and at each fresh outburst of persecution the capitals of Europe rang with praise of the men who dared death, in the most brutal form then in existence, to save the Church in England from utter shipwreck. Allen's influence lived on at Douay, and the English College continued to send year after year a "pépinière d'apôtres et de martyrs qui malgré tous les obstacles pénétrant en Angleterre, maintint contre la toute puissance d'Elizabeth la foi qu'elle avait juré d'abolir dans toute l'étendue de son royaume."[1] As early as 1588, Bridgewater's *Concertatio*, containing notices of over a hundred English martyrs and six hundred exiles and confessors for the faith, took Catholic Europe by storm. Catalogues of martyrs and martyrologies were published in English, Spanish, and Italian, and the influence of their vivid pages is not only visible upon the young ecclesiastics who were students in the Colleges with these martyrs, but also upon the whole ecclesiastical body at large. The Archives of Propaganda contain many pathetic but noble petitions from individual priests and religious, as well as from entire monasteries, asking for permission to go to England to gain the martyr's crown. Propaganda's firm and prudent refusal to allow this unnecessary multiplication of the martyrdoms brings out with even greater emphasis the sufferings of the English men and women who gave up their lives in defence of Catholic doctrine. Even in the Colleges, the enthusiasm of the young men was kept alive by means of plays which taught them heroism in the face of death—the favourite drama being a loyal Catholic son and an apostate father, who later is the cause of his son's death.[2]

From the day when the three Carthusian priors were put to death at Tyburn (1535) to the martyrdom of Oliver Plunket,

[1] *Les Réfugiés anglais et irlandais en Belgique à la suite de la Réforme réligieuse établie sous Elizabeth et Jacques Ier*, article by J. J. PROOST, in the *Messager des Sciences Historiques* of Ghent, t. XXII (1865), p. 288.

[2] *Vat. Libr., MS. Vaticana, Lat.*, t. 8263, f. 389.

Archbishop of Armagh (1681), over two hundred and sixty persons died for the faith. The long bitter persecution of a century and a half "could reckon among its victims persons of every rank and condition in society—bishops and noblemen, monks and friars, Jesuits and Seminary priests, ladies and poor servants, merchants, lawyers, schoolmasters, tradesmen—whose biographies supply us with rare examples of every virtue in every sphere of life, and who, for the most part, crowned with the glory of martyrdom lives already illustrious for eminent sanctity and heroic self-sacrifice."[1] Law gives the statistics of Elizabeth's reign, and later down to 1681, as follows:—Secular Priests, 146; Benedictines, 8; Franciscans, 7; Jesuits, 23; Laymen (including one Benedictine and one Jesuit Lay-Brother), 73; women, 3. The overwhelming majority of martyrdoms among the Secular priests from Douay and Rome bear out Allen's and Barret's testimony that many of the students longed for martyrdom from the very beginning of their studies.[2] And what was true in Allen's day lasted all through the seventeenth century, and found its culminating note in the noble words of Cardinal Barberini—"pro qua (Anglia) ego etiam libenter sanguinem profunderem."[3]

We know how unsuccessful all the Government's efforts were either to hinder the supply for the Missions from the Colleges or to stamp out the Faith itself in England. The other penal laws of Elizabeth's reign (29 Eliz. c. 6, 1587, and 35 Eliz. c. 1, 2, 1603) bound the Catholics within the realm hand and foot, and so rendered communication with the Continent difficult and perilous. But *sanguis martyrum semen Christianorum* was as true in Elizabeth's day as in that of the early persecutions. The young Englishman, who left his home and his loved ones because he heard the voice of God calling him to the sublime vocation of the Priesthood, and who went abroad with the almost certain knowledge that from that moment he was a doomed man, was no less courageous and noble than the Englishmen historians love to boast about who

[1] LAW, *Calendar of English Martyrs* (1535-1681), p. 4. London, 1876; SPILLMAN, S.J., *Geschichte der Katholikenverfolgung in England*, vol. I, p. 21. Freiburg, 1900–1910, 5 vols.

[2] KNOX, *Douay Diaries*, p. lxxxi.

[3] *Vat. Libr., Bibl. Barb.*, t. 1939, f. 120. Barberini to George Fortescue, Rome, November 19, 1643.

built up England's navy and founded the supremacy she still holds to-day. He went to Douay or to Rome with his eyes wide open, his determination to suffer the last agony of the executioner's knife for the cause of Christ. The marvellous part of the courage of these young soldiers of the Church is that so many of them enlisted in the new army of the Society of Jesus; for they well realized that once captured on their return, there would be no mercy in England for the hated and feared Jesuit.

Under James I., the Government, though re-enforcing all the laws of Elizabeth's reign, to a certain extent changed its methods. It recognized that all the penal laws of the preceding reign had tended only to inspire the young Seminary priests and Jesuits with an unflinching courage which carried them into the very heart of the danger. It seemed politic to approach the problem from another standpoint. The first Act, therefore, of James I. (1 Jac. I., c. 4, 1603) was aimed directly at the English Colleges on the Continent. During the first period of the persecution in England, Father Persons had succeeded, with almost superhuman courage, in establishing schools and Colleges at Valladolid (1589), Seville (1592), Saint Omer (1592), Madrid, San Lucar, and Lisbon (1598–1604). These Colleges were in themselves an answer of no mean value to the savage despotism of the latter half of Elizabeth's reign, for their presence on Spanish territory was considered a dangerous menace to the supremacy of the established religion in England. This Act attempted to stop the sending of English boys to the Continent by making it difficult to leave the country. Any one, therefore, who sent his child or ward "beyond sea" to enter into, or to be resident in, any College or Seminary, forfeited £100, and the child or ward in question was disabled from inheriting. The Acts (3 Jac. I., c. 4, 5; and 7 Jac. I., c. 6) had a similar effect, and were, no doubt, caused by the wonderful outburst of religious activity on the part of English Catholics abroad during the reign of James I. The organization of the English Jesuit Province at the end of his reign was complete; the novitiate erected at Louvain in 1607 was transferred to Liége in 1614, and to Watten in 1625. The Jesuit Colleges of Saint Omer and of Liége for elementary and classic studies had also begun classes of philosophy and

theology. The House of the Third Probation was founded at Ghent in 1621. Similar elementary classes for girls had been begun by Mary Ward at Saint Omer, Liége, Rome, Naples, Cologne, and Trier. The Anglo-Benedictine Congregation, founded in 1617, possessed monasteries and schools at Douay, Dieulouard, Paris, St. Malo, and Lambspring, with a convent of Benedictine nuns at Cambrai. Other English Benedictine convents had been established at this time in Brussels and Ghent. The Second Province of the English Franciscans was erected in 1625, though St. Bonaventure's monastery at Douay dates from 1617. The English Poor Clares were established at Gravelines (1607), and at Dunkirk (1623); and the nuns of the Third Order of St. Francis founded St. Elizabeth's Convent in Brussels in 1619. The English Carmelite nuns were at that time at Antwerp, and the Austin Canonesses at Louvain. This marvellous growth, which went on increasing during the seventeenth century, was a cause of constant alarm to the English Government. and the watch kept upon the foundations is very evident in the State Papers. As an example of these lists, the following document shows to what extent the enquiry was pushed :—

"*A List of the Semminaryes, Monasteries, Cloisters, and Colledges of his Ma^ts Subiects in the Provinces of the Netherlands, under the King of Spaines obedience and the Dioces of the Bishopp of Lige.*

Antwerp . . .	A Monasterie of English Nonnes of the order of the reformed Carmelites, or Terresians	020
	A privat Seminary of English Prists, lately governed by F. Tempest	013
Bruxelles . . .	A Monasterie of English Nonnes of the order of St. Bennet.	070
	Another of English Nonnes of the order of St. Clare . . .	025
Cambray . .	A Monastery of English Nonnes of the order of St. Bennet .	015
Doway	A Semmenary Colledge for English Youth	120
	A Cloystre of English Moncks of the order of St. Bennet .	040
	A Semminary for Scottish youth	025
	A Semminary for Irish	060
	A Cloystre of English Francisken Fryers	015
	A Cloystre now intended to be built there for English Nonnes of the order of the Terresians	
Gant	A Monastery of English Nonnes of the order of St. Bennet .	022
	A Colledge of English Jesuitts	015
Gravelinge . .	A Monastery of Eng : Non^s of the order of St. Clare . . .	065
		505
Lovayne . . .	A Colledge of English Jesuitts	060
	A Cloystre of English Nonnes of the order of St. Monacha .	050
	A Cloystre of Irish Francisken Fryers	070

Lysle	A Semmenary of Irish youth	023
Liege	A Colledge of English Jesuitts	060
	A House of English Jesuittesses, Wardists, Expectatives, or galoping Gurles	070
Malines . . .	A Cloystre of English Carthutiens Monckes	025
St. Omers . . .	A Colledge of English Jesuitts	040
	A House of English Jesuittesses	060
Tournay . . .	A Semminary for Irish Youth	026
Watten	A Colledge of English Jesuitts	012
		598
		505
		1103

Rating the year by maintenance of these persons at twenty pounds sterling a year, after the preportion paid by the students at St. Omers it amounteth to . . . 22,060. It is to be noted that many of the English which entered into the Religious houses before mentioned doe bring in great sommes of monyes for their portions, as some 1500, some 1000, others 800, 600, 500, 400, and none are admitted under 200 which monyes falling with their morte can never be recovered agane."[1]

The penal legislation of Charles I.'s reign resembles that of James I., in this, that every effort was made to restrain Catholics from sending their sons and daughters "beyond the seas" to be educated, or "to be Popishly bred."[2] The effects of the penal statutes of his reign (3 Car. I., c. 2; 13–14 Car. I., c. 1; 17 Car I., c. 2) were of an economic aspect; though, despite the poverty they caused, students still continued to flock to the Continent.[3] The legislation of Charles II. (22 Car. II., c. 1; 25 Car. II., c. 2; 30 Car. II., c. 1) was directed more against the growth of the Church in England than against the Colleges and Seminaries, although indirectly they too suffered. Under William and Mary (1689–1702), the penal laws gave the death blow to whatever Stuart hopes there were in the hearts of the exiles, and were mainly passed for the general purpose of "preventing the growth of Popery." The Act of 11 and 12 William III., c. 4, imposed a fine of £100 on any one sending a child "beyond sea" to be educated.

[1] *P.R.O. State Papers, Dom. Charles I*, vol. XIII, f. 22. This is the List mentioned by TIERNEY as *Recusant Paper* 444. DODD-TIERNEY, vol. IV, p. 103 note.

[2] *Biblioteca Casanatense* (Rome), *MS. Lat.* 2462, f. 259 (*Declaration de l'estat des affaires des Catholiques d'Angleterre apresent faict le 7me de avril* 1626).

[3] Another contemporary list (1626) of all the Colleges and Convents will be found in LEWIS OWEN'S *Running Register, recording a true relation of the State of the English Colledges, seminaries and cloysters in all forraine parts. Together with a brefe and compendious discourse on the lives, Practices, Coozenage, Impostures, and Deceits of all our English Monks, Friers, Jesuites, and seminarie Priests in generall.* London, 1626.

The presence of the hierarchy in England gave the Government much concern, but Parliament was too occupied at the time with insuring Protestant succession to attempt to deal with the problem of the Catholic exiles. After the reign of George I., no new legislation against Catholics was passed. The Acts of his reign (I Geo. I., cc. 50, 55; 3 Geo. I., c. 18; 9 Geo. I., cc. 1, 18, 29) were all directed towards impoverishing the Catholics at home; and thus, it was hoped, the exiled foundations would be crippled. Catholic and Jacobite were synonymous terms even before 1715, and the Government attempted to control the situation by forcing all Catholics to register their names. Those in England were given till May 20, 1717, to make the declaration; the Catholics in America till May 20, 1718. The iniquitous tax of 9 Geo. I., c. 18, was perhaps the worst blow the Catholics received from Elizabeth's day. It beggared the Catholics at home and had such a paralyzing effect upon the state of the Church in England that the College and Convents were in direst distress. During the reign of George II. (1727-60) no further additions to the penal code were made, and under his successor, George III. (1760-1820), the work of repeal was begun.

The development of the Foundation Movement in the seventeenth century is seen from

"*A List of the Monasteries, Nunneries, and Colleges, belonging to the English Papists in several Popish Countries beyond sea. Published to inform the People of England of the Measures taken by the Popish Party for the Re-establishing of Popery in these Nations. In a Letter to a Member of Parliament.*[1]

Sir, I find that your honourable House is fully sensible of the dangerous consequence of the numbers of Papists amongst us, by your present proceedings; and to add what I can to your knowledge concerning Papists, I have here sent you a list of the seminaries and religious houses abroad, maintained at the charge of the English Papists. I cannot assure you the List is perfect, believing there are many more that have slipped my knowledge, but what I here send you is known to be true.

Lisbon . . . . . Here is a college of secular English Priests; in number about forty.

Here is also a monastery of English nuns, of the Order of St. Bridget; their community thirty.

Also a convent of Irish Dominican friars; in number sixteen.

Also Dominican nuns of the same country.

With a college of secular Irish priests, under the government of Portugese Jesuits; in number about thirteen.

[1] Printed in the *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. I, 437-9.

Valladolid in Spain . . .	Twelve secular priests, under government of Spanish jesuits. An English jesuit is the minister in the house, and is next to the rector.
Madrid	An English College, under the government of Spanish jesuits. An Englishman is the minister in the house; in number eight.
	A Scots and Irish college.
Sevil	An English college, under the government of Spanish jesuits.
St. Lucar	A small college of English, called St. George's.
Bilboa	A house, whereof father Anthony is chief.
Paris	In the Faubourge St. Jacques, is a convent of English Benedictine monks; they are in number twenty-four.
	A monastery of visitation-nuns, otherwise blue nuns; number twenty.
	A monastery of nuns of the Order of St. Augustine. The nuns are in number sixty, the pensioners as many more.
	A monastery of Benedictine nuns; in number thirty.
	A college of Irish secular priests, called Montacute College.
	A college of Scots secular priests.
	Near Paris a convent of English discalced, alias bare-legged, Carmelite friars.
Doway	A college of secular priests and students; in number about one hundred and fifty.
	A convent of Benedictine monks; in number twenty-five.
	A college in the convent of English youths; they have been known to be fifty-nine.
	A convent of Franciscan friars; in number sixty.
	A Scots college of jesuits.
Blois in France	A nunnery.
Pontois	A monastery of Benedictine nuns, under the direction of the jesuits.
Dunkirk	A monastery of Benedictine nuns, commonly called the Rich Dames, under the direction of the jesuits.
	A monastery of Poor Clares.
Gravelin	A monastery of English Poor Clares.
Flanders	A monastery of discalced, alias bare-legged Carmelite nuns.
	Two other monasteries of Augustine nuns.
At Burnham near Brussels .	A convent of Dominican friars, founded by Cardinal Howard.
Near that	A monastery of English Dominican nuns.
Near that	A convent of Carmelite friars.
Ares in Flanders	A monastery of Poor Clares.
Lovaine	A college of Dominican friars.
	A college of Irish capuchins.
Nieuport in Flanders . . .	A convent of Carthusian monks; in number twelve.
Cambray	A monastery of Benedictine nuns, under the direction of the monks of the same order; in number thirty.
Liege	A monastery of Cannonesses Regular of the Order of St. Austin.

Liege	A college of English jesuits, consisting of one hundred and eighty.
Ghent	A college of jesuits; in number six.
	A nunnery.
Bridges	A monastery of nuns of the Third Order of St. Francis; in number thirty.
	A monastery of Augustine nuns.
St. Omers	A college of jesuits about thirty, with one hundred and eighty English scholars.
Lanspring in Germany . .	An abbey of Benedictine monks, with a lord abbot; in number thirty.
Deiulward in Lorrain . . .	A convent of Benedictine monks; in number sixteen.
Rome	A college of secular priests under the government of the English jesuits.
	A Scots college.

By this account it appears, there are fifty-one religious houses maintained at the charge of the English Papists, which carries vast sums of money yearly out of the nation, and returns nothing in lieu thereof, but a sort of vermin, that are a common nuisance to church and state. The methods, how to prevent this growing evil are left to the great wisdom of your honourable house. I am, Sir, yours, etc."

The effect of the different crises which occurred during this period, such as the Gunpowder Plot (1605), the Titus Oates Plot (1678), and the two Jacobite risings (1715, 1745), was felt nowhere more acutely than in the Colleges and Convents abroad. Dependent as the students were on the alms of their relations and friends in England, they were the first to suffer as each fresh law was passed to cripple the Catholics at home.[1] The gradual extinction of the faith under the penal laws of the seventeenth century, and the despair of all who were loyal to the Stuart cause, were naturally experienced in these centres of English Catholic life, where more than ordinary courage was needed to support the unhappiness of the Exile.[2] During the Commonwealth the exiled communities suffered from want and privation. All hope of help from Spain was abandoned and the Internuncio at Brussels saw that if the Holy See did not come to their aid, the work of the English Colleges and Convents would soon be a ruin. A list, drawn up in 1658, contains a summary of the English Foundation Movement in Belgium up to that date.[3]

[1] *Prop. Arch., Visite e Collegi*, vol. 36, p. 744.

[2] Cf. Instructions for Claudio Agretti, Administrator at the Brussels Nunciature, 1669. *Prop. Arch., Scritture riferite nei congressi, Anglia*, t. I, f. 290–325.

[3] "*Nota delli Conventi e Collegi Inglesi nei Paese basse.*

Il Collegio Inglese di Douay sotto il clero secolare, tiene convittori et alcuni alunni del Papa.

Il Collegio Inglese a Douay dei Padri Benedettini Inglesi fondato dall'abbate di S. Vedasto di Arras.

This may be taken as a proof that the authorities at Rome were beginning to realize the deplorable condition of the English exiles; but it is not until 1680 that the latter received a grant from the Holy See.[1] The economic aspect of the Foundation Movement holds an intimate relationship with every other aspect of the Exile. In Philip II.'s day it caused schism and disunion among the exiles; and it was the question of money on the Missions in England which lay at the root of all the trouble between Seculars and Regulars, and between College and College on the Continent. Dissensions also between the Irish Colleges and the English College in the Low Countries were not of infrequent occurrence, when papal subsidies were given.

Il convento dei Francescani Inglesi a Douay.
Il Collegio et il Seminario Inglese di S^te^ Omero fondato dal Rè di Spagna tiene più di cento convittori e cinque scuole.
Il Collegio Inglese della Compagnia di Giesù a Liege fondato dal Duca di Baveria.
Il Novitiato Inglese della Compagnia di Giesù a Watten, fondato dall'archiduca Alberto et Isabella con licenza del Papa sopra alcuni beni della Abbatia di Watten.
La Casa della Terza Probatione Inglese a Gant della Compagnia di Giesù fondata dalla Contessa d'Arundell.
Il monasterio Inglese di Monache Benedettine a Bruxelles.
Il monasterio Inglese di Monache Benedettine a Gant.
Il monasterio di monache Inglese di Sant Agostino a Lovanio.
Il monasterio di monache Inglese di Sant Agostino a Bruges.
Il monasterio di monache carmelitane di Sante Teresia in Aversa.
Il monasterio di monache carmelitane di Sante Teresia a Lira.
Il monasterio di monache Inglese di San Sepulchro a Liege.
Il monasterio di monache Inglese del Terzo ordine di San Francesco a Nieuporto.
Il monasterio di Clarisse povere Inglese a Doncherca.
Il monasterio di Clarisse povere Inglese a Gravelinga.
Il monasterio di Clarisse povere Inglese a Aire.
Il monasterio di monache Inglese di San Benedetto a Cambray.
Il convento di Certosini Inglesi a Nieuporto.
Il convento nuovo di Dominicani Inglese a Borrem.
In Roma stano nel Collegio di San Giorgio in Trastevare il P. Giovanni Wilfrido monacho Benedettino Inglese et il P. Bernard Palmio anche monache Inglese di S. Benedetto Procuratore della congregatione Inglese."
Vat. Arch., Nunz., di Fiandra, vol. 42.

[1] "It is not easy for me," the Internuncio writes from Brussels, July 22, 1679, "to describe the grave condition to which the monasteries and colleges subject to the King of England are reduced for want of money. The persecution in England goes on unceasing, furthered in a great measure, by the present conspiracy (Titus Oates Plot), and the number of those who are fleeing from England and who come to the English exiles, seeking help, grows despite the fact that they have nothing to give them." *Vat. Arch., Nunz. di Fiandra*, vol. 69.

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To the distress caused during the eighteenth century by the gradual weakening of the bond between the Catholics at home and this—their "outlaw race of schools and colleges," must be added the terrible straits to which the English Foundations were reduced when the Low Countries were overrun by armies, when the towns were blockaded or besieged, when supplies were cut off, and famine and pestilence threatened them. Another important factor in the trouble is the gradual relinquishing of all Stuart hopes on the part of the exiles. James I., Charles I., and Charles II., had been unable to keep their royal word to grant toleration in any form. The reigns of William and Mary (1689–1702) and of Queen Anne (1702–1714) were as bitter in their persecution of the Catholics as that of Elizabeth, and with the accession of the Hanoverians a sentiment of despair is evident in the letters of the exiles, and in the annals of the different houses. The two Stuart Risings of 1715 and 1745, though only of local importance,[1] left the trace of sorrow at their failure in the English Convents abroad, where, in the execution of the leaders, there were nuns who mourned their nearest relatives.

One of the interesting phases of this period when the Stuart cause was gradually given up by the exiles, is the career of Dr. Thomas Strickland. He was the fourth son of Sir Thomas Strickland, of Sizergh, and was born about 1679. Educated at Douay, and Paris, he quickly rose to a position of eminence in the political world, and was one of the first Catholics to rally to the Hanoverian King. In 1717, he went to Rome, on the recommendation of the Duke of Norfolk and Bishop Stonor, to urge the validity of the oath of allegiance to George I. Through the English King's influence he became Abbot *in commendam* of St. Pierre de Préaux in Normandy, in 1718; and the following year he was in London endeavouring to persuade the Catholics to acquiesce in the *de facto* government. His efforts proved fruitless. George I.'s influence obtained for him in 1727, the See of Namur. The documents for the period are eloquent of Bishop Strickland's unceasing efforts to promote the Hanoverian

[1] *The Position of the Catholic Church in England and Wales during the last two Centuries. Retrospect and Forecast.* Edited for the XV Club, with a preface by the Lord Braye, President of the Club, pp. 26–31. London, 1892.

cause among the exiles. He died at Namur, January 12, 1740, aged 60. Between this date and the end of the century, the penal laws were less vigorously applied; but the Gordon Riots of 1780 proved how deep-rooted the hatred to the Church was, when "without the shadow of a grievance, at the summons of a madman, a hundred thousand people rose in insurrection."[1] The number of Catholics diminished during the eighteenth century; for whereas there may have been 400,000 Catholics under James II., the number under George II. has been estimated at 60,000 and even less. All this meant proportionate difficulty in obtaining support as well as vocations to continue the religious life in the Low Countries, which had been begun with such touching and pathetic zeal two centuries before. There is to be recognized, in the communities of women especially, a gradual decline in numbers all through the eighteenth century;[2] and for this

[1] MACAULAY on *Education*, quoted in the *Position of the Catholic Church, etc.*, p. 38.

[2] *CATALOGUS OMNIUM CAENOBIORUM PERTINENTIUM AD SUBDITOS REGIS ANGLIAE IN BELGIO.*

Bruxellis	duo coenobia: alterum Benedictinarum ubi sunt viginti et sex religiosae, alterum Dominicarum, ubi degunt decem et octo.
Antwerpiae	item duo, alterum Carmelitarum discalceatarum, ubi sunt circiter viginti religiosae, alterum Presbiterorum Hibernorum, ubi vivunt circiter decem.
Lirae	unum coenobium Carmelitarum discalceatarum, ubi sunt viginti et una religiosae.
Hogstradae prope Bredam .	unum item coenobium Carmelitarum discalceatarum ubi morantur quinque vel sex religiosae.
Bornhemi prope Antwerpiam.	unum coenobiorum Dominicanorum, ibi degunt octo vel novem Religiosi.
Leodii	duo coenobia, alterum Jesuitarum, ubi sunt circiter sexaginta religiosi, alterum monalium Sancti Sepulchri, ubi vivunt circiter quadraginta moniales.
Gandavi	item duo coenobia, alterum Jesuitarum, ubi sunt octo vel novem Jesuitae, alterum Benedictinarum, ubi morantur circiter quinquaginta religiosae.
Brugis	duo etiam coenobia, alterum Augustinianarum, ubi sunt quadraginta religiosae, alterum Monalium Sanctae Clarae, ubi vivunt viginti religiosae.
Ipris	unum coenobium Benedictinarum, ubi sunt tres vel quattuor moniales.
Dunkerke	duo coenobia, alterum Benedictinarum, ubi morantur religiosae viginti quinque, alterum monialium Sanctae Clarae, ubi sunt quindecim religiosae.
Gravelinge	unum coenobium monialium S. Clarae, ubi sunt religiosae quinquaginta.

reason, it may not be an exaggerated view to consider the French Revolution a blessing in disguise to the exiled Catholics.

About the same time (1791) the "Toleration Act" was passed, and with the growing liberality of the times, Catholics were enabled (31 Geo. III., c. 22) to open schools in England, and the Exile was over. Nowhere were the horrors of the French Revolution better known than in England, and the principal event of the times which bears upon this thesis was the arrival in England of the French refugee priests, "most of them in a state of poverty or even destitution, which brought forth one of the greatest national acts of charity recorded in our history."[1] To none in England was the progress of the Revolution a cause of greater dread or anxiety than to the English Catholics, whose most important colleges and monasteries were in France and Belgium; and in the generous outburst of hospitality on the part of hundreds and thousands of English Protestants, the exiled Catholic English men and women saw the dawn of a larger spirit of tolerance to themselves. It was a phenomenon to see so many hundreds of priests walking unmolested in the streets of London, twelve years after the Gordon Riots. Subscriptions were raised for their support; the Government placed the King's house at Winchester at their disposal, where six hundred priests were sheltered in 1793. A community of French Benedictine nuns from

Wattenis prope Audomarum. Tyrocinium Jesuitarum, ubi sunt religiosi triginta quinque.

Audomari . . . . . Seminarium, ubi degunt dirciter triginta Jesuitae et ad centum viginti Seminaristae.

Airae . . . . . coenobium monialium S. Clarae, ubi vivunt quindecim religiosae.

Duaci . . . . . Quattuor coenobia, Benedictinorum ubi sunt Religiosi tredecim, Seminaristae viginti quinque; Sacerdotum saecularium, ubi morantur sacerdotes duodecim, scholares octuaginta; Franciscanorum, ubi sunt religiosi quadraginta; et Scotorum ubi sunt Jesuitae quinque, seminaristae quindecim.

Lovanii . . . . . tria coenobia: Franciscanorum Hibernorum; Dominicanorum etiam Hibernorum; et Augustinianarum ubi sunt quadraginta religiosae.

Cameraci . . . . . unum coenobium Benedictinarum ubi degunt religiosae viginti. *Vat. Arch., Nunz. di Fiandra*, t. 66, 1675–1682.

[1] WARD, *Dawn of the Catholic Revival in England*, vol. II, p. 1. London, 1909.

Montargis, thirty-six in number, landed in London in the autumn of 1792, and were received by the Prince of Wales, Mrs. Fitzherbert, and others. Some difficulty, however, arose over their presence in the country, but when this was settled they took up residence at Bodney, and eventually settled (1835) at Princethorpe, where the community still flourishes. A second community, that of some French Trappist monks, after having found a refuge in Switzerland, and in the Netherlands, came to England, and were given a monastery on the Lulworth estate, the property of Mr. Weld. These were the forerunners of the English communities. Then came Mgr. Erskine's Mission in 1793–1795 to thank the King and the Government for the help and generous attitude of the English people towards the exiles. The English communities were mostly in the territory affected by the French Revolution, and all were broken up; their inmates in many cases were imprisoned, their property confiscated, and all returned to England between 1794–1795. "Nevertheless that which seemed at the time so great a calamity to the Church in England, in the end turned out to be a blessing; for it is doubtful whether anything short of absolute necessity would have supplied the requisite stimulus to induce the religious to break up their foreign establishments and face the difficult task of refounding them in England. Not only had they become devotedly attached to the very walls of their foreign homes, where they and their spiritual ancestors before them had lived a religious life, but through long habit they had acquired the practical conviction that the necessary peace and security for following such a vocation could only be obtained on the Continent, in a Catholic country. Even in the case of the colleges, the superiors had grown so accustomed to their being at a distance, that they had come to believe that their far-off situation was a positive advantage for them, as it freed the students from the distractions to which they would have been liable nearer home. Moreover, there was a special proviso in the Act of 1791 forbidding the foundation of colleges or convents in England, and in the event of a popular outcry, this clause might easily have been put in force, so that at best, a return to England would have brought with it new anxieties and apprehensions. Nothing short of an immediate

and pressing urgency would have induced them to face these dangers. Fortunately, however, the progress of the Revolution allowed no choice in the matter, and in the event, greatly in consequence of this, the suffering communities were received in England with every mark of popular sympathy. No objection was raised to their permanently settling in this country, and the establishment of colleges and religious houses in their midst, gave renewed life and vigour to the Catholics of England."[1]

It was but natural that the communities on reaching England would at once go to those who had befriended them in the past. The homes of Catholics in London were thrown open to them, until they had found a place in the country where they could continue life as before. All of them began in the houses of Catholic noblemen or gentlemen of means, whose sons or daughters had either been educated in the English Colleges and Convents abroad, or had become members of the different exiled communities. For the time being all thought of recovering their property in the Low Countries was abandoned; but it was not because they believed they had found a permanent home in their own country. The transplanted communities felt that once events quieted down in France the measure of tolerance shown them by their fellow-countrymen would be at an end; and that in some new outburst of Protestant bigotry, like that of 1780, they would either be victims to the fury of the people who hated their religion, or forced again to seek an exile abroad for conscience' sake. All the communities, therefore, retained as far as possible their hold upon their property in the Low Countries, and in one case (that of the Austin Canonesses at Bruges), we see the love of their old home so strong that once peace came after the Treaty of Amiens, this community returned to its convent where it remains to-day.

One hundred and twenty years have elapsed since the exiled English Colleges and Convents left their homes in the Low Countries to re-establish monastic and collegiate life for English Catholics at home. From the nucleus of these old

[1] WARD, *Dawn of the Catholic Revival in England* (1781–1803), vol. II, pp. 69–70. London, 1909.

English Foundations[1] has been radiating for over a century that wide-spread and marvellous religious activity which has already found its reward in the Oxford Movement, in the growth of the Church in England during the nineteenth century, and lately in the reorganization of the English Hierarchy.

[1] See Table on page 40.

Foundations of Men.		Foundations of Women.	
Place.	At present represented by	Place.	At present represented by
ENGLISH COLLEGES at		BENEDICTINE CONVENTS at	
Douay	St. Edmund's, Old Hall; St. Cuthbert's, Ushaw	Cambrai	Stanbrook
Rome	Rome	Paris	Colwich
Paris	Paris	Brussels	East Bergholt
Lisbon	Lisbon	Ghent	Oulton
Valladolid . . .	St. Alban's, Valladolid	Ypres (after 1684, exclusively Irish) .	Ypres
Seville		Boulogne - Pontoise - Dunkirk . . .	Teignmouth
Madrid		CARMELITE NUNS at	
San Lúcar . . .		Antwerp	Lanherne
JESUIT COLLEGES, etc., at Saint Omer, Bruges, Liége, Louvain, (Ghent Watten)	Stonyhurst	Lierre	Darlington
		Hoogstraeten . . .	Chichester
		Bois-le-Duc, Alost, Cologne, Dusseldorf, Munsterfeld, Nürenberg, etc. . . .	——
BENEDICTINE MONASTERIES at		AUSTIN CANONESSES at	
Douay	Downside	Louvain	Newton Abbot
Dieulouard . . .	Ampleforth	Bruges	Bruges
Paris	Woolhampton	Paris	Hull
Lambspring . .	(Fort Augustus)	BRIDGETTINE NUNS at Termonde - Rouen - Lisbon	Chudleigh
Saint Malo . .	——	FRANCISCAN NUNS	
FRANCISCAN FRIARS at Douay . . .	(Forest Gate)	(1) of Second Order, Poor Clares, at Gravelines, Dunkirk, Aire, and Rouen. .	Darlington
DOMINICAN FRIARS at Bornhem-Louvain	(Woodchester)	(2) of Third Order, at Brussels - Nieuport - Bruges	Taunton
CARMELITE FRIARS at Tongres . . .	(London)	Paris (Blue Nuns) .	——
CARTHUSIAN MONKS at Nieuport . .	(Parkminster)	DOMINICAN NUNS at Vilvorde—Brussels .	Carisbrooke, Isle of Wight
		INSTITUTE OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY at Saint Omer, Liége, Hammersmith, Cologne, Trier, Naples, Presburg, Prague, Vienna, Perugia, Paris, etc., etc.	——
		Munich	Nymyphenburg
		Rome	Rome
		York	Bar Convent, York
		CANONESSES OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE at Liége	New Hall

CHAPTER II

THE ENGLISH CARTHUSIANS

THE tragedy of the fall of the Charterhouses of England began with the martyrdom at Tyburn of the three Carthusian Priors, Blessed John Houghton, of London; Blessed Augustine Webster, of Axholme; and Blessed Robert Lawrence, of Beauvale, on May 4, 1535.[1] Of the forty-eight members who remained in the London Charterhouse after Houghton's death, thirty were choir monks, and eighteen lay brothers. On May 18, 1537, the Royal Commissioners came to their monastery and exacted the Oath of Supremacy from the Prior and twenty of his subjects. Of the twenty-eight others, seventeen died for the Faith,[2] and all the others were expelled with a small pension of £5 a year;[3] among these latter was Dom Maurice Chauncy, the principal authority for their history.[4]

[1] D. MAURITIUS CHAUNCY, *Historia aliquot Martyrum Anglorum maxime octodecim Carthusianorum*, pp. 99-106. Monstrolii, 1888. English translation, pp. 54-60: London, 1890. HEIMBUCHER, *Die Orden und Kongregationen der Katholischen Kirche*, vol. I, p. 483. Paderborn, 1907.

[2] GASQUET, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 237. Here they were courageously visited by Margaret Giggs, the wife of Dr. John Clement and the adopted daughter of Blessed Thomas More. An interesting account of their imprisonment is contained in the Life of her daughter, Mother Margaret Clement, who was for thirty-eight years Prioress of the Flemish Canonesses of St. Augustine, in Louvain. Cf. J. MORRIS, S.J., *The Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers, First Series*, pp. 3-27. London, 1872.

[3] GASQUET, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 236.

[4] Maurice Chauncy (also written Chamney, Chawney, Chancy, Channy, Cheyne, Chasee, and Chawsey) was born in the year 1513 at Ardeley in Hertfordshire. He was educated at Oxford, and later went into residence at Gray's Inn to study law. At the age of twenty he entered the London Charterhouse. When the Oath of Supremacy was forced on the English Carthusians, Chauncy was among those who signed it, and, as his later life shows, never ceased to repent his weakness in the trial which sent his Prior and seventeen monks to their death. After the final surrender of the Charterhouse on June 10, 1537, Chauncy was allowed to leave England, and went to Flanders where he entered the Charterhouse of Val-de-Grace, in Bruges, and remained there

We have no accurate record of the subsequent fate of all who were expelled from these three houses of the Order. "To repair to other monasteries of the English Province was quite out of the question; for all were on the eve of dissolution, and were destined within a year to share the fate of the Charterhouse of the Salutation of Our Lady by London. A few, though this was dangerous and difficult, escaped beyond the seas, to continue in a foreign Charterhouse their lives of penance, prayer, and praise, and to await the return of their country to the ancient faith."[1] When that restoration did take place on Mary's accession to the throne (1553), it found the remnant of the London Charterhouse gathered around their future Prior, Dom Maurice Chauncy, at the Carthusian monastery of Val-de-Grace, in Bruges, where they had already been received with generous hospitality by the Flemish Carthusians after their first flight from England in 1538.[2] Cardinal Pole's restoration of the religious Orders included the opening of the Charterhouse at Sheen; and in May, 1555, Chauncy and his fellow-monks returned from Bruges, going first to apartments in the Savoy Palace, where they were joined by several of the dispersed

until 1555, when he received orders from the General to return to England to re-establish the Rule. His zeal and his learning, together with the humility he always showed in consequence of his weakness under Henry VIII., won him the respect and admiration of all. He was chosen Prior of the restored monastery at Sheen in 1557, and governed the community until his death in 1581. The place of his death is given by GILLOW as the Charterhouse at Bruges, but Prior LONG'S *MS.* gives Paris as the place. (HENDRICKS, *The London Charterhouse*, p. 307. London, 1889.) He was the author of several treatises :—

1. *Historia aliquot nostri saeculi Martyrum in Anglia, cum pia, tum Lectu ucunda, nunquam antehac typis excusa*, published at Mainz, 1550, with many subsequent editions: Munich, 1573; Bruges, 1583; Brussels, 1608; and recently, in 1888, with notes, at Montreuil. An English translation: *The History of the Sufferings of Eighteen Carthusians in England*, was recently published in London, 1890. (V. *Analecta Bollandia*, vi. 35; xiv. 249, 268; xxii. 51.)

2. *Vitae Martyrii Carthusianorum aliquot, qui Londini pro unitate Ecclesiae adversus Haereticos strenue depugnantes varie trucidati sunt.* Louvain, 1572,—a reprint by Chauncy of DOM PETER SUTOR'S, *De Vita Cartusiana*, Paris, 1522.

3. *A Book of Contemplaycon, the whiche is clepyd the Clowde of Unknowyng* (*Harl. MSS.*, 674, art. 4, and 959) attributed by ANTHONY À WOOD to Chauncy (*Athenae Oxonensis*, Ed. Bliss, 1813–1820, vol. I, p. 459), though by later writers it is considered to be the work of an earlier author (*D.N.B.*, vol. IV, p. 172).

[1] HENDRICKS, *op. cit.*, p. 240. STEPHENS, *New Commentaries on the Laws of England*, vol. II, p. 505. London, 1883. (*Stat.* 5 *Richard II.*, 1381, which remained in force until 1606.)

[2] DODD-TIERNEY, vol. II, pp. 156–157.

Carthusians ; and later, in November, 1556, to their old home at Sheen.[1] The restored community numbered nineteen in all. For two years religious life was carried on with exact scrupulousness, but when Elizabeth threw off all disguise in her attitude towards the Protestant element of her Government, it was imperative that the religious houses should leave England at once or disband.[2] Through the influence of the retiring Spanish ambassador, Count de Feria, and his wife, Lady Jane Dormer, the Carthusians early in 1559 obtained permission to quit the kingdom unmolested.[3] Under the leadership of Dom Maurice Chauncy, they went back to the Charterhouse of Bruges, where they occupied part of the house with Chauncy as their Superior in spiritual matters, being supported by a pension from Philip II, and by donations from rich English Catholic exiles in Belgium.

The arrangement at the Charterhouse at Bruges was not altogether a peaceable one. The irregularity of the Spanish pensions rendered it difficult for the English Prior to meet his share of the expenses ; and his subsequent election in the General Chapter of 1561 as Prior of the whole monastery led to some misunderstanding on the part of the Flemish members of the community. The house was overcrowded as it was, and their situation was made even more embarrassing by the desire of the English monks to erect a separate novitiate of their own in the monastery. The General Chapter of 1562 reminded Chauncy that his officials should be, if possible, Flemish ; but acquiescence in this regulation did not settle the question, and in 1568 a separation was deemed necessary. The following year, a house was taken in the *rue Sainte-Claire*. Chauncy

[1] ZIMMERMAN, S.J., *Cardinal Pole, sein Leben und seine Schriften*, pp. 303-319. Regensburg, 1891. Cf. HENDRICKS, *op. cit.*, p. 279.

[2] THOMPSON, *History of the Somerset Carthusians*, p. 187. London, 1845.

[3] Lady Jane Dormer, grandniece of Blessed Sebastian Newdigate, one of the Eighteen Carthusian Martyrs of 1535, and granddaughter of Jane Lady Dormer, the unfailing friend of the exiles in Belgium, married the Duke of Feria, December 29, 1558. Cf. DOM BEDE CAMM, O.S.B., *Blessed Sebastian Newdigate, Courtier, Monk, and Martyr*, p. 60. London, 1901 ; HENRY CLIFFORD, *Life of Jane Dormer, Duchess of Feria*, edited by J. STEVENSON, S.J., p. 19 ss. London, 1887. (*Quarterly Series.*)

[4] "Carthusiani sub Cheseo, viro singulari, omnes in Flandria obtenta principis venia trajecerunt." *Publ. C.R.S.*, vol. I, *Miscellanea* I, p. 19. (*Sander's Report to Moroni*, 1561.) Cf. also *ibid.*, vol. II (*Miscellanea*), p. 62, *Persons' Memoirs*, p. ii, *Domesticall Difficulties*. London, 1906.

resigned his Priorship of Val-de-Grace, resuming his old title of Prior of Sheen, and from this time forward the English Carthusians always called their monastery Sheen Anglorum. During the nine years they remained at Bruges (1569–1578) the community was augmented by several students who left the English College of Douay to enter the religious life, and Chauncy endeavoured to draw more young men to his monastery by publishing a new edition of Don Peter Sutor's book: *De Vita Carthusiana.*[1]

Apart from his own interesting personality, Chauncy will always be best known among the pioneers of the Foundation Movement as the one to whom we are indebted for a very valuable letter from Cardinal Allen in defence of the pastoral methods used at Douay and Rheims as well as those in vogue on the mission in England. Whether Chauncy himself objected to these methods, or merely, as Allen's friend, repeated the charges in order to forewarn the English College Rector, we do not know for certain. At any rate, the Carthusian Prior is the spokesman for many of the older clergy who found the training at Douay-Rheims insufficient, who considered the priests too young, their disguises on the Mission derogatory of their high calling, and their attitude of kindly conciliation and peace highly detrimental to the progress of the Faith. It is an evidence of the severe trials Allen received from those who should have been his foremost supporters, and his reply to these charges forms a very precious page in English Seminary history. What adds to the suspicion that Chauncy was not loyal to his friend is the fact, as Allen seems to hint, that the Carthusian Prior had been embittered by a false report to the effect that Allen was plotting to have the pension granted to Sheen Anglorum by Philip II. transferred to what was surely at the time the more important work: the training of young priests for the active life

[1] KNOX, *Douay Diaries*, pp. 98, 99, 142, 156, 157. Proportionate to those who entered the Society of Jesus, the number of students of the English College, Rome, who became religious before 1622, was small. Only two are mentioned as having joined the Carthusians (H. FOLEY, S.J., *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, vol. VI, pp. 142, 184. London, 1880). It is a significant fact that of three students who left the English College of Lisbon to enter Nieuport, two returned on account of the severity of the Rule. CROFT, *Historical Account of Lisbon College*, pp. 176, 206, 234. London, 1902.

on the Mission. Allen denies this accusation with a humility that bares his soul to Chauncy :—"The quarrel is God's ; and but for His holy glory and honour I might sleep at ease, and let the world wag and other men work!"[1]

The year 1578 marks the end of the first period in the history of the English Catholic exiles in Belgium. Not only does it chronicle the end of the Louvain School of Apologetics, the books and treatises of which were feared by the Government in its attack on the Church, but it saw also the expulsion of the English College from Douay. Don Juan's failure to cope with the political situation left the Low Countries at the mercy of a fanatical band of Calvinists and Lutherans, and, along with other cities, Bruges was captured by the Protestants in the course of this same year.[2] Chauncy's account of the siege of Bruges and the exile of his community appears to be lost, but Long's *Notice* contains a contemporary account written by John Suertes, who was sacristan at the Sheen Anglorum of Bruges at that time.[3] The soldiers who quartered themselves for six weeks in the monastery appear to have belonged to the party who murdered the twelve Carthusians at Ruremonde in 1572.[4] Later, when the Spaniards recaptured the city, the magistrates, for reasons that are not given, ordered the English monks to quit the city within twenty days. On April 23, 1578, they left Bruges to begin a long wandering of forty-eight years from town to town in Belgium and in France, seeking a place in which to settle, until finally, in 1626, the community went to Nieuport where they set up the Sheen Anglorum, and where they remained

[1] KNOX, *Allen*, pp. 31–37 ; A. BELLESHEIM, *Wilhelm Cardinal Allen und die Englische Seminare auf dem Festlande.*, pp. 52–56. Mainz, 1885.

[2] PIRENNE, *Histoire de Belgique*, t. IV, p. 130. Brussels, 1911.

[3] This *MS.* (*Notitia Carthusianorum Anglorum*) by DOM JAMES LONG, Prior of Sheen Anglorum of Nieuport, 1750-1759, is now in the possession of the English Canonesses of St. Austin of Bruges. (Cf. HENDRICKS, *op. cit.*, p. 278, who made use of it as one of his chief sources.) A copy : *Acta S. Brunonis et historia Carthusianorum Anglorum a primo eorum in Angliam ingressu usque in praesentem annum*, 1754, *a Jacobo Long*, is in the Bibliothèque Royale at Brussels (MS. 4530, (555-576) f. 92). A modern French translation (1882) is in the possession of Canon de Schrevel of Bruges. The original has never been printed, but will find its way no doubt into the published series of the Catholic Record Society.

[4] DOM ARNOLD HAVEN, *Historica relatio duodecim martyrum Cartusianorum qui Ruremondae in Geldria anno* 1572 *agonem suum feliciter compleverunt.* Brussels, 1608. Reprinted with a compendium of Chauncy's History at Brussels, 1753.

in security until dissolved by Joseph II. in 1783. From Bruges they went to Lille, and thence to Douay, where they received scanty hospitality, being ordered to leave before four o'clock the morning after their arrival.[1] The journey was continued to Cambrai, which town they did not enter, having been warned that they would be cut to pieces if they did;[2] they then went on to St. Quentin, where they were housed by the magistrates and the people for several months.

They were in the most abject poverty. The annual pension of 1200 crowns granted to them by the Spanish Government in 1566 was never regularly paid,[3] and the small sum of 50 crowns a year they received out of the Papal grant (1560) of 500 crowns a year to the exiles hardly paid for the necessary food and clothing.[4] Chauncy had continually made appeals to Philip II. to help his community, but the unsettled state of Spanish finances rendered it impossible for the King's minister to keep pace with the royal generosity.

During their stay in St. Quentin, Chauncy appealed to Pope Gregory XIII., relating to him the shattered hopes of his community when Queen Mary died, their subsequent exile at Bruges, and the condition they were then in, making a plea for help from the Holy See and begging that the Holy Father would use his influence with the Governor of the Low

[1] KNOX, *Douay Diaries*, p. 139.

[2] MS. LONG, *Notitia Cart.*, *Appendix VIII*, quoted by HENDRICKS, *op. cit.*, 302.

[3] Shortly after their arrival in Flanders in 1559, Marguerite de Parme, Governess of the Low Countries, wrote to Philip II. on their behalf, and on December 8, 1559, 400 livres were added to the annual budget for their support. (Cf. GACHARD, *Correspondance de Marguérite d'Autriche, duchesse de Parme, avec Philip II.* (1559–1563), vol. I, p. 60. Bruxelles, 1867–1881.) The following year, August 27, 1560 (*ibid.*, vol. I, p. 262), a fresh demand was made, and on October 5, 1560, Philip II. ordered his agent at Brussels, Juan Lopez Gallo, to pay whatever was necessary for their support (*ibid.*, vol. I, p. 284). This opens up a situation, sad in its way, in the history not only of the Carthusians, but of almost all the exiles during Philip's reign: the king on the one hand writing to his agents in Belgium to assist them, and they on the other unable to correspond to the generous spirit of their sovereign. The Duke of Feria used every influence at his command to have this pension paid regularly (*ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 455, 466, 492), but help came slowly; though from 1562 to 1578, when the monks left Bruges, there are occasional notices in the registers of the Chambre des Comptes at Lille (Cf. FINOT, *Inventaire des Archives du Département du Nord*, no. 2554, ff. 307, 325, t. v. Lille, 1885), which lead one to believe that they were not wholly forgotten by the Government of the Low Countries.

[4] *Vatican Library, MSS. Regina Lat.*, 2020, ff. 445–446. Thomas Clement to Cardinal Sorleto Louvain, 1575 (?), in a list of the recipients of the 500 crowns given annually by the Holy See to the English exiles in Belgium, credits the *Conventus monialium Carthusianorum* with 50 crowns.

Countries to grant them a place where they could live together and perform the duties of the religious state.[1] Three months later, July 26, 1578, Gregory XIII. wrote to Don Juan of Austria recommending them warmly to his well-known charity, and beseeching the Governor to assign a place to them where they could dwell together.[2] Chauncy meanwhile had appealed in person to Don Juan, and before an answer had come from Rome the Governor had obtained a shelter for them with the monks of the Charterhouse of Louvain, whose Prior, Dom Peter de Mercia, was his personal friend.[3] Here they began community life on July 17, 1578, numbering at the time eighteen choir monks and two lay-brothers. Don Juan's death, October 1, 1578, left them without a protector, and Dom Peter made it difficult for them by refusing them food unless they could pay for it. It became necessary for the General and the Provincial Visitor to intervene to save them from being wanderers again. On September 29, 1579, Dom Peter died, and though the new Prior, William Beyeren, was as a father to the exiled English monks, the same source of misunderstanding which existed in the Flemish convent of Austin Canonesses at Louvain, and in the Bridgettine convent at Termonde, in both of which convents English and Flemish nuns lived under the one roof, together with the extreme poverty of the Louvain Charterhouse would have forced the English Carthusians to find another home for themselves, had it not been for Lady Hungerford and Sir Francis

[1] *Vat. Arch., Nunz. d'Inghilterra*, vol. I, p. 125. Chauncy to Pope Gregory XIII. St. Quentin (?), April 27, 1578.

[2] "Monachi etiam Carthusiani . . . nuper e civitate Brugensi, in qua sustentabantur Catholici Regis munificentia, Angliae illius furiae postulatione ejecti miserrime vivunt in civitate Sancti Quintini, jamque amissis rebus omnibus sola ipsis spes salva est in tua praestanti humanitate et Catholici Regis munificentia, orant igitur ut eos commendemus Nobilitati tuae. Id vero facimus toto pectore, rogamusque ut jubeas locum aliquem ipsis assignari in quo possint simul vivere, etc." THEINER, *Annales Eccles.*, vol. II, p. 436, Pope Gregory XIII. to Don Juan of Austria, July 26, 1578. "Our Carthusians at Bruges, who have been driven hither and thither in different ways, at length have settled—in misery and in danger—at Louvain, that is at the very city whence, on account of fear at the impending dangers and the extreme dearness of all things, the rest of our countrymen have fled to Namur, Rhemes and elsewhere." BURTON, *Douay Diaries*, vol. II, p. 563 (*Rheims Annual Report*). Cf. also *Gallia Christiana*, vol. V, p. 4; DOREAU, *Henri VIII., et les martyrs de la Chartreuse de Londres*, p. 325. Paris, 1890.

[3] *Chronique de la Chartreuse de Louvain* (MS. 771a, *Archives Générales du Royaume*. Brussels), edited by Canon REUSENS, in the *Analectes pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de la Belgique*, t. XVI (1879), pp. 210–212.

Englefield, through whose generosity they were able for a time to pay their share of the expenses in the Louvain monastery. Chauncy now decided to go to Madrid to appeal to the King for money to erect a separate English house. He set out from Louvain on February 24, 1580, arrived at the Spanish capital in the autumn of the same year, and was entertained by the Duchess of Feria. Philip II. gave him the necessary amount of money, and Chauncy started on the return journey full of hope for his beloved community, but got no farther north than Paris, where he died, June 12, 1581, at the age of 68.[1]

The death of Chauncy meant almost the dissolution of the little community. They held together, however, under the two subsequent Priors, but the withdrawal of the Pontifical pension by Sixtus V., who was then directing Papal resources towards the *Enterprise*, obliged most of the English Carthusians at Louvain to seek refuge in other houses of the Order. Their Prior, Dom John Arnold, the first student of the English College of Douay to become a Carthusian, realizing that gallant efforts alone would save the community, went to Spain to obtain from the King an increase of the annual pension which, indeed, seems to have been much smaller than that mentioned by Worthington.[2] In this he was successful; and with the alms he collected on the journey from English Catholics in whose hearts the Carthusians held a distinct place as the last relic of English monasticism, he was able to keep the remnant of the community intact at Louvain. Pope Sixtus V., in a Brief to Cardinal Cajetan, the Protector of the Carthusian Order, ordered the General, the Visitors and Priors of the Order to provide a proper house at Louvain for the English monks and to send there all who were living in the different foreign Charterhouses. It is difficult to believe that the Order at the time, especially in Spain and Italy, was so poor that something could not have been done to relieve the English from their misery.[3] The only part of the Pope's

[1] HENDRICKS, *op. cit.*, p. 307.

[2] WORTHINGTON, *Catalogus Martyrum in Anglia ab anno* 1570 *ad annum* 1612, *cum Narratio de Origine Seminariorum, et de Missione Sacerdotum in Anglia*, p. 6. Douay, 1614.

[3] *P. R. O.*, *Flanders Correspondence*, vol. XII, Brussels, January 11, 1615–1616. Turnbull to Walsingham, in reporting the proposed erection of the English Franciscan

orders which was fulfilled was the sending back of the English to Louvain. The increased pension from Spain, which was regularly paid for a time, kept them from starvation. Prior Arnold alienated many former benefactors of the monks by his participation in the Morgan-Paget dissensions. His second journey into Spain in 1589, while ostensibly to collect funds for the new monastery, was undertaken at the request of Morgan and his faction to intrigue against Allen and against the Spanish party among the exiles, which was led by Father Persons and some of the English Jesuits. The "poore unfortunate prior,"[1] as Allen calls him, died on his journey, leaving the burden of the proposed English house on the new Prior, Dom Walter Pitts, under whom the English community left Louvain and went for a short time to Antwerp, and later to Mechlin, where they settled in a large house in Bleek Street.[2] Many journeys were made by members of the community from Mechlin to Madrid for the purpose of collecting the Spanish pensions during the twenty-five years they remained there.[3]

When hopes arose for the cessation of the penal laws against Catholics in England on account of the projected marriage of the Prince of Wales (Charles I.) with the Infanta of Spain, the Prior of Sheen at that time, Dom Hallows,

monastery under Father Gennings, mentions that the Orders did not look favourably upon the English, and adds that "the clergymen of these provinces are most subject to the Synne of avarice, especially towards strangers." The explanation of this seeming neglect, however, is the state of the Order itself at that time. At the end of the sixteenth century the different houses were not centralized as they are to-day each Province remained separate from its neighbour, though under the jurisdiction of the Father-General and the Visitors. In each Province, each house regulated its own financial affairs, and the Order as such possessed no property. When a house found itself in want, in principle the Province came to its assistance. In the case of the English Carthusians, the General Chapter had only two means of helping them; to recommend them to the generosity of the Province in which they were at that time, or to send collectors around to the richer houses to beg alms in their favour. There is no doubt that this was done; but, owing to the disturbed condition of the Low Countries, it was impossible to relieve their distress.

[1] KNOX, *Allen*, pp. 322, 327, 394. Cf. TAUNTON, *History of the Jesuits in England* (1580–1773), p. 225. London, 1901.

[2] HENDRICKS, *op. cit.*, p. 313; GODENNE, *Malines Jadis et Aujourd'hui*, p. 21 ss. Malines, 1910. VAN CASTER, *Les Rues de Malines*, p. 210 ss. Malines, 1882.

[3] *P. R. O.*, *Flanders Correspondence*, vol. XI, f. 369,—Turnbull to Walsingham, Brussels, August 4–14, 1615. "The Prior of our English Carthusian Moncks at Mechlen, is by the councell of the Jesuits, to goe unto Spaine there to be a suitor for some revenues or meanes in these partes to mayntayne his cloyster."

obtained the consent of the General to send one of his community to England to look for a home to which the English Carthusians might return ; but the breaking off of the match showed them, as it showed all the exiles, how futile it was to hope for a change for the better in the face of the bigotry still existing in their native land.

We have no means of computing the exact amount of the alms given the Carthusians during their long stay at Mechlin, but it must have been considerable; for, in 1626, they bought a large property at Nieuport in order to be nearer England and to receive postulants more easily. They were only ten in number when they left for Nieuport. Candidates for the religious life came from England and from the English College, Douay, and with the aid of some generous benefactors, one of whom gave £1000, Sheen Anglorum was soon in a flourishing state.[1] The high cost of living, however, brought about by the religious wars, exhausted their capital, and they were obliged to send a lay-brother to England to collect alms for their maintenance. From this time onwards the community flourished both in religious perfection and in numbers, although the decree of Propaganda forbidding students to enter religion, together with the Alumni Oath of 1624, made it very difficult for Pontifical alumni to join the Order.[2] During the first years of residence at Nieuport, the English Charterhouse was subject to the General of the Order as well as to the Provincial Visitor of Belgium. An attempt seems to have

[1] *Publ. C.R.S.*, vol. X (1911), *The Douay College Diaries*, 1598–1654; edited by E. H. BURTON, D.D., and T. L. WILLIAMS, M.A., vol. I, p. 115. London, 1911. See also the case of one Robert Edmunds, who had entered the English Carthusian Novitiate at Mechlin, but who was not judged sufficiently fitted for the life, and was sent by the Prior to Douay to try his vocation there, November, 1602; he left Douay beloved by all, April 2, 1603, "jam expertus quod non possit in literis proficere," to return to England. *Ibid.*, pp. 46–49. Later, students and priests left Douay from time to time to join the Carthusians at Nieuport. (Cf. *ibid.*, vol. I, p. 305; vol. II, pp. 444, 447.) The most noteworthy example is that of Edmund Ireland (*vere* Dutton), to whom we owe the IV *Douay Diary* (*ibid.*, vol. I, pp. xi, xxii), and who, as Procurator of the English College (1641–1647), restored its financial condition to a flourishing state. GILLOW (*Dict. Eng. Cath. Biog.*, vol. III, p. 548), states that he died at Nieuport, April 1, 1652. There is no mention of his death in the Douay Diaries, but he is mentioned as living at Nieuport in March, 1652, when his nephew, Richard More, a student at Douay, went there to consult him on the question of receiving holy orders (*ibid.*, vol. II, p. 516).

[2] *Propaganda Archives, Scripta Varia, Decreta*, f. 349; *ibid., Miscellanea Varia* t. VI (1621–1654), f. 161 (printed copy of the Decree of Propaganda, November 24, 1625). Cf. DODD-TIERNEY, vol. V, p. cclxxix.

been made by the Belgian Superiors (probably on account of the small number of the English monks), to have them accept Flemish postulants; and it appears they tried also to force Flemish Priors on the struggling community. The English Carthusians appealed to the Pope in June, 1654, and the Internuncio at Brussels was ordered to inform the Holy See about the juridic situation of the monks. He had some difficulty at first to learn anything about them, but through a Canon of the Cathedral Church of Ypres, Francis Persyn, he ascertained that the convent had always been governed by English Priors, by Vicars, and other officials, who were always English, though under the jurisdiction of the Visitors of Belgium in virtue of the brief of foundation by Sixtus V. Further, he was told that the Visitors attempted in many ways to get complete control of the English Convent by trying to incorporate it with the other Charterhouses in Flanders, and had made serious efforts to put Flemish superiors over the house. The English monks strenuously opposed this change, and knowing that they would not submit to it, the Internuncio agreed thoroughly with their attitude in the matter.[1] Whether Rome spoke in favour of the English monks is uncertain, but it would appear from the documents that the case was allowed to drag. The Prior, Thomas Gerard, resigned in 1654, and was succeeded by Dom Transam, whose manuscript history of Sheen Anglorum was known to Long. At any rate, we find the English Carthusians appealing to Cardinal Barberini, the Protector, begging that their difficulty be presented to Innocent X. (1644–1655), and that the brief of Sixtus V. giving them freedom of action in the management of the Convent, be confirmed, lest anything regarding the method of governing the monastery be changed.[2] No doubt this was

[1] *Vat. Arch., Nunz. di Fiandra*, vol. 38, Internuncio Magnelli to Chigi, Brussels, December 5, 1654.

[2] *Vatican Library, Biblioteca Barberini*, t. 8621, f. 68, the English Carthusians to Cardinal Barberini, Nieuport, 1654. "Eminentissime et Reverendissime domine, Patres Carthusiani Angli, qui Neoporti in Belgio hodie monasterium habent, semen sunt, et soboles illius celeberrimi conventus Londinensis, qui fere totus sub Henrico VIII. gloriosam pro fide catholica mortem obivit. Sub initium regni reginae Elisabethae concesserunt Lovanium in Belgio; atque ob summam rerum inopiam paullo post in varia monasteria dispersi sunt. Catholici Angli aegre ferentes ex hac dispertione paullatim tanti conventus memoriam interire, supplicarunt bonae memoriae cardinalibus Henrico Caietano, et Guilielmo Halano, ut intercederent apud Sixtum V.

done, for all attempts on their liberty by the Belgian Superiors seem to have been abandoned. The English Carthusians played a very small part in the wonderful missionary activity of the exiles. They must be judged, however, in their own true sphere of contemplation. Their life went on from day to day, undisturbed by the political changes taking place around them in England and Belgium, and hardly an echo of those changes would have penetrated the cloisters at Nieuport, were it not that their prosperity, like that of all the English foundations, rose and fell with the persecutions in England. On July 22, 1679, the Internuncio at Brussels writes to Rome to describe the great poverty to which all the monasteries and convents of the nations subject to the King of England were reduced owing to the persecution in England which had been renewed with increasing vigour, helped in a great measure by the Titus Oates plot. The monasteries and convents not only suffered privations, but their lamentable state was augmented by the number of those who came to them, refugees from England, while all the old sources whereby alms reached them from home were cut off. He had hopes, he writes, that the monks and nuns would have been helped by the superiors of their respective Orders, but there has never been any sign of help from that quarter, and now he writes urging the Papal grant of 20,000 florins which had been promised.[1] Curiously enough the Carthusians at Nieuport do not figure in the list of English

quatenus ipsius auctoritate iterum collecti unum distinctum monasterium constituerent, ubi deinceps per tot annos in summa vitae sanctimonia cum omnium approbatione junxerunt. Iam vero Patres Carthusiani Belgae hanc unitatem evertere praetendunt, et superiores Belgas introducere, ex quo sensim deficiet Anglorum religiosorum successio, et memoria illius celebris conventus Londinensis evanescet. Quapropter non solum doctorum patrum, sed omnium etiam catholicorum Anglorum nomine, quibus illud monasterium et honori, et edificationi semper fuit, humiliter supplicatur, Eminentiae Vestrae, ut auctoritate sua procuret apud generalem ordinis Carthusiani, ne quid hac in re innovetur. Deinde etiam supplicatur, ut ad maius firmamentum solius negotij intercedere dignetur apud Sanctissimum Dominum Nostrum Innocentium X. ut benigne confirmet, et per breve speciale perpetuum robur adjiciat ijs, quae Sixti V. auctoritate gesta sunt, prohibendo omnibus illius ordinis superioribus, ne quidquam circa modum gubernandi illud monasterium immutent. Quod pro summa gratia accipient, etc. Quam Deus, etc."

[1] *Vat. Arch., Nunz. di Fiandra*, vol. 69 (1679), Abbé di S. Maria to Propaganda, Brussels, June 24, and July 22, 1679; *ibid.*, vol. 66 (1676–1682); vol. 71 (1681); vol. 72 (1682); cf. MORAN, *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, t. II, p. 282 (*An account of the sums distributed to English and Irish ecclesiastics and nuns by the Internonce at Brussels*, May 17, 1686).

and Irish drawn up by the Internuncio, but they appear on the two lists of payments of 1682, having received in all 84 florins, the number of the community at that time being eight. In the *Status Monasterii Carthusianorum Anglorum Neoporti* of 1694, there are still but eight monks in the monastery.[1] Their unhealthy situation near the sea, together with the calamity which befel them the previous year when all the older monks were carried off by the plague, kept young men from joining them. Some of the younger fathers died also during this plague, and they feared that unless help came quickly the community would have to be dissolved. Again efforts were made by the Belgian superiors to make the convent Flemish, but the eight young monks who remained resisted the attempt, and elected one of their own number as Prior, in order to escape a foreign superior. The result was not favourable to the spirit of the monastery, for "young monks, neither fully formed to regular discipline nor acquainted with the spirit of their Order, were in charge."[2] In these straitened circumstances, the Novitiate suffered most, and the general of the Order decided to close it for a time, in order that the young postulants might be formed to the Carthusian ideal in other monasteries of the Order. In this the General was right, and it is due to the fact that the young novices of this period were trained in the Charterhouse at Brussels that the English community survived. In 1695, the English Prior was deposed, and a Flemish monk, Dom Van Herenbeck, from the Charterhouse of Val-Royal at Ghent, was sent to Sheen Anglorum as Prior. This arrangement was objectionable to the English monks, and in 1696, Dom Van Herenbeck returned to Ghent, and an English monk, Dom William Hall, was elected Prior. Dom Hall held office for three years and then resigned, to be succeeded by another Flemish monk, this time from Brussels, Dom Jerome Nyversele, who ruled the house a few months only, and was succeeded by one of the English monks, Dom George Hunter, who held the office from 1700 to 1715.

We now enter upon the period of decline in the Foundation Movement. From the beginning of the eighteenth century

[1] *Propaganda Archives, Miscellanee dei Collegi,* t. I (*Collegio Inglese, Ibernese Scozzese, di Duaco, dall'anno* 1568 *al* 1790), f. 122.

[2] HENDRICKS, *op. cit.*, p. 324.

down to the French Revolution, vocations grew less frequent in the Monasteries and Convents, and they seem principally to have existed in a languishing state, although their religious fervour never slackened for a moment. The Carthusians are no exception to this lessening of numbers. In 1761, they numbered five choir monks and one lay-brother; and when the Edict of Suppression of a large number of religious houses in his dominions was signed by Joseph II., on March 17, 1783, Sheen Anglorum consisted only of eight members. The English Charterhouse at Nieuport was the only English foundation suppressed at this time.[1] The last Prior, Dom Williams, accepted a pension of 700 florins from the Austrian Government and resided as chaplain in the Convent of the English Canonesses of Bruges, having been permitted by the Bishop of Ypres to live as a secular priest. Very little is known of what became of the others after their departure from Sheen Anglorum, June 30, 1783. Dom James Bruno Finch, the last of the English Carthusians, found shelter at St. Monica's Convent, Louvain.[2] He came to England in 1794 and died there in 1821. The Prior, Dom Williams, went from Bruges to Bornhem in 1785, where he stayed with the English Dominicans, and in 1789, went to act as chaplain for the Austin Canonesses of St. Monica's, Louvain. After the death of Joseph II., steps were taken to recover their home at Nieuport, and the community returned there for a time, three in number.[3] The French Revolution scattered even this feeble remnant of the English Carthusians, and Prior Williams returned to England and died at Little Malvern in 1797.[4]

[1] LAENEN, *Etude sur la suppression des couvents par l'empereur Joseph II., dans les Pays-Bas autrichiens et plus spécialement dans le Brabant*, pp. 419–464. Antwerp, 1905.

[2] *Publ. C.R.S.*, vol. V (*Miscellanea*), p. 93 n. London, 1909.

[3] *MS. Annals of the English Carmelites of Antwerp*, Lanherne, England, p. 80. "This year (1790), several religious men and women returned to their convents; the English Carthusians at Newport also took possession of theirs."

[4] HENDRICKS, *op. cit.*, 347; during the unfortunate discussion which arose at the suppression of the Jesuit College of Saint Omer in 1762, a charge was made against the Carthusians of Nieuport by some Jesuits in Lancashire to the effect that they had intrigued for its transference to the Secular Clergy. Against this Father Williams issued a strong protest, dated, Nieuport, February 9, 1753, in which he declares, "God be praised we are all innocent of ye base infamy laid to our charge . . . nor have any of us at any time ever mentioned in our letters to England ye least word relative to St. Omer's. This we are ready to testify upon oath if necessary" (GILLOW, *Dict. Eng. Cath. Biog.*, vol. III, pp. xiv, 408).

Dom Bruno Finch's death in 1821 closed the long history of the Charterhouse of Sheen, which dates from 1412, when it was founded by Henry V. The scanty remains of their archives and library, together with the seal of Sheen Anglorum, are now in the possession of the English Charterhouse at Parkminster, in Sussex.

CHAPTER III

THE BRIDGETTINES OF SYON

THE history of the English Bridgettines resembles in many respects that of the Carthusian monks. Syon House, their old home from 1415, was suppressed by Henry VIII. in 1539.[1] It consisted then of twelve monks, five lay-brothers, fifty-two choir sisters and four lay-sisters—in all seventy-three religious.[2] The majority of the community resisted the royal will; the others were sent off to their homes with small annual pensions. The only one who suffered death was Father Richard Reynolds, who was martyred for the Faith the same day as the three Carthusian Priors.[3] Some time after the final dissolution, Sister Catherine Palmer gathered around her all the monks and nuns of Syon House still able to carry out the severe rule of their Order, about twenty in all, and conducted them to Flanders, where they lived for a time with the Austin Canonesses in Antwerp;[4] later, they went to Termonde where they occupied a part of the Bridgettine monastery until 1554, when they returned to England at Cardinal Pole's command, and began community life again at Syon.[5] After the passing of

[1] AUNGIER, *The History and Antiquities of Syon Monastery*, p. 88, London, 1840.

[2] AUNGIER, *op. cit.*, pp. 89–90; GASQUET, vol. II, p. 236.

[3] GASQUET, vol. I, p. 459. See list of these pensions, AUNGIER, *op. cit.*, pp. 89–90. DOM ADAM HAMILTON, O.S.B., *The Angel of Syon—The Life and Martyrdom of Blessed Richard Reynolds, Bridgettine Monk of Syon, martyred at Tyburn, May 4, 1535. To which is added a sketch of the History of the Bridgettines of Syon, written by Father Robert Parsons, S.J., about the year 1595, edited from a MS. Copy at Syon Abbey, Chudleigh.* London, 1905.

[4] PAPEBROCHIUS, *Annales Antuerpienses ab urbe condita ad annum* 1700, edited by F. MERTENS and E. BUSCHMANN, vol. III, p. 21. Antwerp, 1845–1848; J. C. DIERCXSENS, *Antverpia Christo nascens et crescens*, vol. II, p. 347. Antwerp, 1773.

[5] GASQUET, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 483; *Publ. C.R.S.*, vol. II, p. 189. The Deed of Restoration is dated at Greenwich, March 1, 1557, and endorsed by Cardinal Pole. From the will of the last Abbess, Agnes Jordan, dated October 28, 1545 (*Extracts Prerogative Court of Canterbury*, preserved at Somerset House), we learn that after

the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, Catherine Palmer saw that their hopes of keeping the community alive in England were fruitless, and with the aid of the Duke of Feria, she obtained the Queen's licence to leave England.[1] The community, though by this time reduced in numbers, for twenty years had passed since the first migration, crossed the Channel again to Termonde and set up an English Monastery in part of the same house with Catherine Palmer as Superior, "making, as it were, two monasteries, one of the Flemish, the other of the English nuns, and each having their own abbess."[2] For four years they lived here (1559–1563), supported by the alms they received from exiles in Flanders and from their families at home.[3] The outbreak of the religious wars made their

the suppression of Syon monastery, she lived in a house called *Southlands*, in the parish of Denham, where she and some of the sisters resided until her death, January 30, 1546. Sister Catherine Palmer was probably a member of this community at *Southlands*, and it was upon her that the leadership fell after the Abbess' death. The Deed of Restoration contains the same names as the above-mentioned will.

[1] "Monachi et moniales ordinis S. Brigidae sua domo ejecti in alienam in Flandria recepti sunt." *Publ. C.R.S.*, vol. I, p. 19 (*Sander's Report to Moroni*), London, 1905.

[2] AUNGIER, *op. cit.*, p. 100; STEELE, *Story of the Bridgettines*, p. 241. London, 1910; *Publ. C.R.S.*, vol. II, p. 62. Later, they were joined by nine other members of their monastery, who had conformed, but, repenting, had begged the Spanish ambassador, Aquila, to obtain for them leave to join their sisters at Termonde. Cf. KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, vol. II, p. 579, Aquila to Granville, July 8, 1561; *ibid.*, vol. II, p. 584, Aquila to Marguérite de Parme, July 19, 1561. There exists at Syon Abbey, Chudleigh, among other relics, the apostolic Brief of Pius IV. (1559-1565), dated May 8, 1564, to the Archbishop of Cambrai, asking him to secure a separate house for them in his diocese, where they could carry out their Rule with all the privileges, indulgences and prerogatives granted to the English branch of the Order since 1415.

[3] Philip II. granted them an annual sum of 1200 florins. "Singulari pietati motus, serenissimus Hispaniarum rex, Philippus II., circa annum Domini 1566, Anglis pro fide exulibus in Belgio versantibus annuam quater mille florenorum eleemosynam dederat; nimirum mille sexcentos florenos sacerdotibus aliisque sacrarum literarum studiosis, conventui Cartusianorum et conventui monalium ordinis Sanctae Brigittae alios 1200 florenos," WORTHINGTON, *Catalogus Martyrum*, p. 6. They also benefited largely from the annual Papal grant of 500 crowns to the exiles in Belgium until their departure for Rouen in 1580; cf. *Vatican Library, Regina MS. Latin*, 2020, fol. 446: "conventui monialium sanctae Brigittae sc. 200." How much they received from individual Catholics both in England and on the Continent would be hard to say; here and there mention is made of their having benefited under the will of generous Catholics, priests and laymen; cf. FOLEY, *Records*, vol. VII, part I, p. 350 (*Will of Father Eliseus Haywood*, 1578). For the different exemptions from taxes granted them by the magistrates, cf. R. LECHAT, S.J., *Une Communauté anglaise réfugiée à Malines, au XVIe. siècle, Les Brigittines de Sion*, p. 248. Malines, 1911. Their revenue in 1712 was valued at 5000 crowns (cf. ABBÉ MANN, *Archeologia*, vol. XIII, p. 258).

position somewhat dangerous, and Marguerite de Parme, then Governess of the Low Countries, obtained for them an abandoned Monastery, called Bethany, at Zurick Zee in Zeeland.[1] The unwholesome climate of the place proved such a drawback that Dr. Nicholas Sander, whose sister was a member of the community,[2] bought a home for them at Mishagen, near Antwerp.[3] Here they remained (1568–1571) harassed continually by the Calvinists and Lutherans, and were finally forced to take refuge in Antwerp itself. In 1572, they went to Mechlin, where they obtained a house through the generosity of Sir Francis Englefield, then the leader of a certain section of the exiles, and they remained at Mechlin until 1580, with a community numbering twenty-two in all.[4] During the religious troubles at Mechlin in 1579–1580, the Bridgettines abandoned their home in the town,[5] and under an escort of English soldiers from the army of the Prince of Orange, went to Antwerp, where they embarked for Rouen.[6] Here they were

[1] FOLEY, *Records*, vol. VII, part 1, p. 350.

[2] *Poor Souls' Friend*, vol. I (1893–1894), p. 236.

[3] F. DONNET, *Les Brigittines anglaises à Mishagen*, in the *Annales du Congrès historique et archéologique de Malines*, 1911, t. II, *supplément*, pp. 55–63; D. LOGEMAN-VAN DER WILLIGEN, *Iets over Birgittinessenkloosters*, article in the *Dietsche Warande en Belfort*, July, 1913, pp. 4–8.

[4] R. LECHAT, S.J., *Une Communauté anglaise réfugiée a Malines, au XVIe siècle* in the *Annales du Congrès historique et archéologique de Malines*, t. II, pp. 243–259. Malines, 1911. *Archives de la ville de Malines, Correspondence of the Magistrates*, Series 8, reg. I, ff. 37–38 (*Supplique des Brigittines anglaises*, November, 1574).

[5] *Poor Souls' Friend*, October, 1908, p. 128. VAN DOREN and HERMANS, *Inventaire des Archives de la ville de Malines*, t. VI, p. 252, Malines, 1859–1895, 8 vols.

[6] "And those outside England thrust from their homes and so from their monasteries, and, as it were, again exiled from their exile, that they consider it a great benefit that they are expelled and not killed, and that they can in safety escape together elsewhere. Among these are our nuns at Mechlin, some of whom this year past are secretly supported in England by Catholics; and others, on the capture of the town by heretics, lately went to Rouen." BURTON, *Douay Diaries*, vol. II, p. 563 (*Rheims Annual Report*). The loss of the Spanish pension at this critical juncture in the life of the community forced the Abbess to send some of the nuns back into England, to be maintained by their parents and to collect alms for the rest. They were arrested on arrival and were committed by the Queen to the custody of various persons. Eight of them were lodged at Lyford, in the house of Mr. Yates, whose widowed mother joined the community. It was during his visit to them at Lyford that the brilliant young Jesuit proto-martyr of England, Edmund Campion, was taken by the pursuivants, July 16, 1581. See R. SIMPSON, *Edmund Campion, Jesuit Proto-martyr of England*, pp. 310–323, for the whole of this story in which the imprudent desire of the nuns to see Campion and to hear him preach involuntarily robbed the English Counter-Reformation of its foremost leader (cf. FOLEY, *Records S.J.*, vol. III, p. 27; BARTOLI, *Dell' Inghilterra*, vol. III, p. 8. Turin, 1825).

welcomed by John Leslie, the exiled Bishop of Ross, who was acting as coadjutor to the Cardinal Archbishop of that city, and by the many other English Catholic exiles who lived there.[1] The defeat of the Catholic League, of which Bishop Leslie and their confessor, Father Foster, were influential members, rendered their position insecure, and in 1593, an attempt was made by the Huguenot leaders to send all the nuns back to England.[2] Flight was necessary, and on Good Friday, 1594, the community, consisting of twenty-nine nuns, set sail for Lisbon, then in Spanish territory (1580–1640).[3] The journey seems to have been taken without much preparation, for on their arrival, they were obliged to prove their status as religious to the Archbishop of Lisbon, who put many obstacles in their way in order to prevent them from founding a monastery in his diocese.[4]

[1] The Duke of Maine gave them a house, and the generosity of the citizens of Rouen enabled them to build a church. The Parliament of Rouen voted them an allowance, which in addition to the Spanish pension if paid would have enabled them to live in comfort. There were many English exiles in the city (cf. *Dom. Cal. Eliz.*, 1591–1594, Dieppe, April 27, 1594, W. Orme to Lord Burghley), but they were appealed to so often for alms that help from them was not always possible. Allen, for example, in a letter to Fr. Agazario, S.J., dated Rheims, December 6, 1582, speaks of the Bridgettines being then in great distress: "Rothomagi aliquid tentatur, sed quid fiet nescio, et si aliquid ibi accidat, sanctimoniales nostrates quae ibi sunt debent necessario habere bonam partem, quia indigent et dignae sane sunt" (*Arch. Dioc., Westminster*, vol. III, fol. 193). To this period also should be assigned the petition for aid sent out by the Bridgettines to their friends in England: *Supplication to all charitable and well-disposed Catholics in behalf of the Religious Virgins and Brethren of Syon in England, of the Order of St. Saviour, commonly called the Order of St. Byrgitt, dissolved by King Henry VIII., when Catherine Palmer with other sisters withdrew into Flanders, but are now residing in great distress at Rouen, in Normandy* (cf. *Cal. Dom. Eliz.*, vol. CXLVI, no. 114, published in KNOX, *Douay Diaries*, pp. 360–362; DODD, *Church History*, vol. II, p. 42).

[2] DODD-TIERNEY, vol. II, p. 158 note (*Chudleigh MS.*); HAMILTON, *Angel of Syon*, p. 110.

[3] THOMAS ROBINSON, *The Anatomy of the English Nunnery at Lisbon*. Lisbon, 1622. On their arrival in Lisbon, Philip II. sent them 800 crowns to pay the expenses of their voyage, and the Archbishop placed them with the Franciscan nuns of the monastery of our Lady of Good Hope. The city magistrates gave them a pension of 5 crowns a day. (Cf. *Vat. Arch., Archivio Borghese*, III, vol. 242, f. 60, Cresswell to Aldobrandini, Madrid, March 12, 1595).

[4] The difficulty between them and the Archbishop seems to have arisen over the ceremony of their profession, which the Archbishop held was contrary to the Roman Pontifical and the decrees of the Council of Trent. Despite the testimony of such eminent exiles as Sir Francis Englefield, who was then at Madrid, the Archbishop still refused to allow them to have the profession according to the old Rule of Syon. It was then that Father Persons was appealed to, and the matter was carried to Rome with the result that Clement VIII. placed them under his own protection (cf. AUNGIER, *op. cit.*, pp. 109–113).

Before this misunderstanding was settled, he refused to allow them to erect a monastery unless they subjected themselves to his jurisdiction. This was always the critical point in the history of the English Convents: to allow such a jurisdiction might eventually prove fatal to their continuance as distinctly English establishments, and the Bridgettines appealed to Rome in the matter. A Brief of Clement VIII., in 1596, placed the new Convent directly under Pontifical authority.

Some time afterwards, a noble Portuguese lady of Lisbon, Isabel de Azevedo, made them a gift of part of her town residence, where they set up their Monastery. Clement VIII. by a Brief of February, 1603, gave her permission to enter that part of the house at pleasure. Paul V. recalled this privilege by a Rescript, March 8, 1614, and in 1622, she petitioned Gregory XV. for its restoration. The Pope permitted her to enter four times a year, but not to remain in the Monastery overnight.[1]

Even after Portugal became independent in 1640, they were not subject to the Archbishop of Lisbon, but remained under the immediate jurisdiction of the Holy See until 1861. In 1651, a fire at the Convent destroyed most of the archives, and the documents relating to this canonical dispute between them and the diocesan authorities were lost. We have little definite information about the English monks of the Order. The Abbess Hart, under whom the community left Rouen for Lisbon in 1594, and one of her sisters who accompanied her, were probably aunts of the Rev. William Hargreaves, who was appointed President of the English College of Lisbon (1634–1637).[2] This brought about a friendly feeling between the two establishments of English exiles in the Portuguese capital, but whether it caused many of the students to join the Bridgettines we cannot say. In the Register compiled by Mr. Joseph Gillow, and printed in Canon Croft's Historical Account of Lisbon College,[3] only two students are mentioned as having joined the Order, both about the year 1650. There must have been others before that time, however, for in 1634 English Bridgettine monks petitioned Propaganda to give them the privilege of doing missionary work in England so as to

[1] *Vat. Arch.*, *Bibl. Barb.*, t. 6618, ff. 68–70.
[2] CROFT, *Historical Account of Lisbon College*, p. 209. London, 1902.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 169-275.

collect alms for the Lisbon monastery, which was then in debt.[1] This petition was renewed in 1652. In 1692, the nuns asked Propaganda to allow them to have as confessor a priest from Lisbon College who might join them at any time despite the student-oath of not entering religion.[2] Four years later the last of the monks died out, and no effort to resuscitate this part of the Order, if made, was successful, until 1912, when the English branch of the Fathers of the Bridgettine Order was begun at Earlsfield, London. There exists another petition of 1726 asking for a priest from the College to be allowed to start the Order anew, but what came of it is not known.[3] No doubt a thorough search in the Episcopal and Municipal Archives of Lisbon would reveal much of interest for the history of this remarkable community —the only one from pre-Reformation days to remain intact. In 1755 the earthquake partly destroyed their Convent, and a petition to the Catholics of England was printed and sent out, and with the alms which came in the home was repaired.[4] The French invasion in 1809 caused part of the community to seek refuge in England ; the Abbess and nine nuns with the

[1] *Propaganda Archives, Atti* (1634), Cong. 195, no. 14, July 31, 1634, fol. 89. They petitioned Propaganda for leave to begin a mission in England, as the other English religious orders were doing, in order to help their monastery at Lisbon by collecting alms for the same, and also to facilitate the journey of any young ladies who might have vocations for the Order. They were ordered to send the names of those considered capable for such work, in order that the matter might be properly discussed in the Congregation. Subsequent *Atti* are silent on this petition.

[2] *Prop. Arch., Scritture Antiche*, vol. 297, p. 75 ; *Prop. Arch., Atti* (1692), Cong. 55, no. 5, June 16, 1692.

[3] *Prop. Arch., Scritture riferte dell'anno* 1708–1727, *Anglia*, t. 2, f. 552. For twenty-five years, as they relate, they have been destitute of monks of their Order, under whose spiritual direction they are accustomed to live. Perhaps some young alumnus of the English College had made application to them, for they petitioned that one be allowed to come to them, after ordination, and receive the habit, so that their religious life may be fully complete according to their Rule. From 1714 or earlier to 1768, the spiritual needs of the community were looked after by the English Benedictine Monks, one of whom, Fr. Augustine Sulyard, was also Procurator for fifty years to the community. For the recent restoration of the English monks of the Order, cf. *The Catholic Review*, a quarterly Review of the Bridgettine Order, pp. 42–44 (*The Revival of the Bridgettine Fathers*), January, 1912.

[4] Printed in AUNGIER, *op. cit.*, p. 101 ; even as late as 1760, the old fears the communities had of their convents losing their distinctly English character existed at the Bridgettine monastery in Lisbon. An interesting account of their state at this time will be found in BARETTI, *A Journey from London to Genoa*, vol. I, pp. 135–136. London, 1760. To obviate the necessity of keeping Portuguese sisters in their community, four of the English nuns were sent out in 1685 to found a separate convent for them at Marvilla (cf. *P.S.F.*, vol. V (1897), pp. 240–242).

Nuncio's permission left Lisbon to settle in their native country. The only importance of this unfortunate move was that the archives and relics taken with them became scattered when the last of these nuns died in 1837.[1] The desire to return to England prevailed also among those who remained, but a favourable opportunity did not present itself before 1861, when the community, consisting of ten choir nuns and two lay-sisters, returned to England. Twenty-six years later they purchased the house at Chudleigh, where they still reside, and where, in 1915, they will celebrate the 500th anniversary of the foundation of their Order in England—the sole community among those that returned from the Continent which can trace its ancestry in an unbroken succession back to the century before the Reformation.

[1] Dom Antonio Staerk, O.S.B., *Collections des Réproductions Phototypiques. Textes et Miniatures*, t. I, p. 2, no. 3 (*L'ordre du Très-Saint, Sauveur, dit de Sainte Brigitte de Suède en Belgique et en France.—Liturgie, chartes et sceaux*). Kain-les-Tournai, Belgium, 1913.

CHAPTER IV

THE ENGLISH COLLEGE AT DOUAY.

FIRST PERIOD: 1568–1613.

1. *At Douay*: 1568–1578.

THE English College at Douay, the mother of all the other English colleges on the Continent during the Exile,[1] has not lacked historians to do justice to its prominent place in the modern part of English Church history. What Knox,[2] Tierney,[3] Ward,[4] and Burton,[5] have done to reconstruct its life for English readers, Bellesheim,[6] Haudecœur,[7] Destombes,[8]

[1] "Madre et nutrice di altri Collegi . . . da quel Collegio sono usciti uomini rari per dottrina, li quali si sono distinti tra i primi scrittori e theologi della cristianità; al medesimo Collegio si attribuisce la maggior parte del frutto che ha riportato la religione Cattolica in Inghilterra, mentre egli solo ha somministrato più missionari che tutti gl'altri Collegi unitamente." *Prop. Arch., Visite e Collegi*, t. 42 (*Visite riferite dei Collegi Pontifici di Vilna, Brusberga, Fulda, Inglese di Douay, etc., nelle congregazioni particolari degl'anni* 1741 *e* 1742), p. 292. V. also KNOX, *Douay Diaries*, p. 252; WORTHINGTON, *Catalogus Martyrum in Anglia ab anno* 1570 *ad annum* 1612, *cum Narratio de Origine Seminariorum, et de Missione Sacerdotum in Anglia*, p. 100. Douay, 1614.

[2] KNOX, *The First and Second Diaries of the English College, Douay, and an Appendix of unpublished documents, edited by Fathers of the Congregation of the London Oratory, with an Introduction by* THOMAS FRANCIS KNOX, D.D., Priest of the same Congregation. London, 1878.

[3] TIERNEY, *Dodd's Church History of England from the Commencement of the Sixteenth Century to the Revolution in* 1688. *With Notes, Additions, and a Continuation by the Rev.* M. A. TIERNEY, F.S.A. (vol. II, pp. 156–181; Appendix, pp. cccxxx–ccclxxviii: *Colleges founded abroad*). 5 vols. London, 1839.

[4] WARD, *History of St. Edmund's College, Old Hall.* London, 1893.

[5] BURTON, *The Douay College Diaries, Third, Fourth, and Fifth* (1598–1654), *with the Rheims Report*, 1579–1580. 2 vols. London, 1911 (*Publ. Cath. Rec. Soc.*, vols. 10 and 11).

[6] BELLESHEIM, *Wilhelm Cardinal Allen und die englischen Seminare auf dem Festlande.* Mainz, 1885.

[7] HAUDECOEUR, *La Conservation Providentielle du Catholicisme en Angleterre* ou *Histoire du Collège Anglais, Douai* (1568–1578)—*Reims* (1578–1593)—*Douai* (1593–1793). Rheims and London, 1898.

[8] DESTOMBES, *Memoires sur les séminaires et collèges anglais fondés à la fin du XVIe siècle dans le Nord de la France.* Cambrai, 1854.

and Meyer[1] have also done in German and French. It cannot be said, however, that we have at present a complete history of the English College of Douay. It is so difficult to separate the inner history of this great seminary from the current of events, national and international, which took place outside its walls, that a real history of the College would be tantamount to the history of the Catholic Church in England during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. Douay was the natural outcome of the School of Louvain apologists, as well as the result of the foundation of the new University. For a decade of years before the opening of the University of Douay, October 5, 1562, a considerable number of English Catholic exiles had formed a community in the city, and the influence of the exiled Catholic students and professors from Oxford[2] was almost as strongly felt in the formation of its first faculty of teachers as the influence of its older sister, the University of Louvain.[3] The new Catholic Oxford became in consequence the logical home for the plan Allen had in view: namely, the centralization of all the English scholars living in exile, in a college where they might keep up their reputation for scholarship, and be ready to return to England once the re-establishment of Catholicism in England was effected.[4] This factor—the delusion, it might

[1] MEYER, *England und die Katholische Kirche unter Elisabeth und den Stuarts*, t. I, chapter sixth, pp. 77–101 (*The Foundation of the Seminaries on the Continent*). Rome, 1911.

[2] Cf. *Messager des sciences Historiques*, 1875, p. 284 (*Les membres du Collège d'Oxford refugiés à Anvers*).

[3] The first Chancellor of the University of Douay was Dr. Richard Smith, Fellow of Merton College, Oxford, and Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford. Dr. Owen Lewis, Fellow of New College, and Regius Professor of Canon Law at Oxford, held a similar position at Douay. Dr. Richard White, also a Fellow of New College, became Principal of Marchiennes College, while Allen in 1570 was nominated Regius Professor of Divinity.

[4] Cf. *Arch. Dioc. West.*, vol. IX, f. 443: *How the Catholic religion was maintained in England during 38 years of persecution, and how it may still be preserved there*, 1596. Printed by KNOX, *Douay Diaries*, pp. 376–387; cf. *ibid.*, p. 270: *Names of Englishmen who took the degree of Doctor in theology or law at the University of Douay, or who being already doctors in law taught in that University* (Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels. MS. 17,594, in the handwriting of Foppens); *ibid.*, p. 272: *A list of English* (1562–1750), *Irish and Scotch who took degrees in theology at the University of Douay from* 1564–1587 (*Arch. Dioc. West.*, vol. IV, p. 53); *ibid.*, p. 275: *A list of Englishmen who matriculated at the University of Douay before* 1612 (*Arch. Dioc. West.*, vol. XII, p. 21).

be called, of all the early exiles, namely, the prompt return of England to the Faith, once the throne was vacant, must be clearly borne in mind if Allen's rectorship (1568–1588) is to be judged fairly. His aim in the establishment of the College, as he himself saw it in the clearer light of a decade later, was "first, to enable English students abroad to have the benefit of collegiate training; secondly, to form a body of learned priests capable of restoring the Catholic religion in England whenever circumstances should permit; and thirdly, to instruct in their religion English youths who might come for their education to the College. The missionary work in England was an after-thought. It seemed hopeless to train priests for the English mission while the power was in the hands of heretics."[1] The immediate founding of the College was decided upon during a journey Allen made to Rome in the autumn of 1567 with Dr. Vendeville, then Regius Professor of Canon Law at Douay, and afterwards Bishop of Tournai.[2] Allen began the College in a hired house on Michaelmas Day, 1568. The first members of the College consisted of a number of English ecclesiastics and laymen of marked ability—Richard Bristow, John Marshall, Edward Risden, John White, John Wright, Richard Storey, Thomas Darrell, and Morgan Philipps, who were mostly members of colleges at Oxford. Between 1568 and 1573, when the first students were ordained, Douay became the principal refuge for young men from Oxford and Cambridge who remained loyal to the Faith, and it soon became evident that the College was to fulfil a second purpose—the formation of a body of young priests who would return to their country to preach the Gospel and to stem the tide of schism and heresy.[3]

The organization, both material, intellectual, and spiritual, of the English Seminary at Douay must always fill a very important page in the history of the education of the Catholic clergy. The first Seminary of its kind in point of time to be erected in accordance with the rules and constitutions of the Council

[1] KNOX, *Douay Diaries*, pp. xxvi–xxvii: Allen to Vendeville (1578 or 1580). Cf. also (DODD), *History of Doway College*, p. 9. London, 1713.

[2] For an account of this saintly ecclesiastic and his part in the foundation of the College, cf. A. POSSOZ, S.J., *Mgr. Jean Vendeville, Évêque de Tournai* (1587–1592), pp. 42–57. Lille, 1862.

[3] KNOX, *Douay Diaries*, pp. xxix–xxxi.

of Trent, its system, with but few exceptions, has been followed throughout the world wherever seminaries for the training of the young clergy have been founded.[1] Into what the original plan of Allen would eventually have developed, it would be difficult to say; for, up to April 10, 1575, when it was made a Pontifical College subject directly to the Holy See and supported by papal alms, Allen governed his community with no written laws and rules, such as are customary to-day. This condition still existed up to the year 1600, when Rome insisted upon a written constitution for the government of the students. One notable fact in the history of the College is that the twenty years during which Allen governed it by the force of his own loving and lovable disposition, are among the most productive and the most intellectual of the whole two centuries and a half of its existence.

We have divided the history of the English College at Douay into two parts: the first, from its foundation in 1568 to the end of Worthington's almost disastrous rectorship in 1613, and the second, from the appointment of Matthew Kellison in 1613 to its suppression in 1795. This separation is necessary, if the position of the College in English Catholic affairs of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is to be understood properly; for, about the year 1613, three distinct elements in the English Counter-Reformation arose, two of them at Douay itself, and their influence and activity have as great an effect on the College as they had on one another. These are the gradual organization of the English branch of the Society of Jesus into a separate factor in the work of the Mission and in the education of English Catholic youth; the rise of the Anglo-Benedictine Congregation from the ashes of its glorious past and the quick spreading of its monasteries and schools and its missionary activity; and the formation of the second Franciscan Province by John Gennings in 1618. Not only do we see these three religious orders imitating the work of Douay; but, in the case of the Benedictines and Franciscans, the central point of their activity was Douay itself, while the English Jesuit College of Saint Omer was but a short distance away. Similar activity and the same field of work, the same end in view and the same implements with

[1] Sess. xxiii, *cap.* xviii.

which to carry it out, the same difficulties to meet and a divergence of views in coping with them, begot naturally competition and rivalry; rivalry brought in its turn misunderstandings and jealousy and, as in the case of the English exiles, enmity and hatred among brethren. It is true that before this time the seeds of disorder which were sown at an earlier date at Wisbech Castle, and the disturbances which were due to a mishandling of the Spanish pensions, together with political differences which split the exiles asunder up to the accession of James I., had caused much bitterness in Flanders, Rome, and England and wherever a cluster of exiles existed. The lack of official ecclesiastical organization and the delays at Rome to fashion the Church in England upon new lines, added fuel to the fire of discontent, and it may be said without exaggeration that feuds begun before the close of the sixteenth century lasted down to the very last days of the Exile. It will be more, therefore, in questions of jurisdiction and in matters of economic interest that we shall find practically the whole history of the numerous difficulties which caused separation of exile from exile, and engendered suspicion and distrust among those who were ordained for the same work in God's Vineyard. The sources at our command for this first period of Douay's part in these conflicts, particularly the College *Diary*, will be found to be very laconic on the matter of jurisdiction and on the question of the great poverty and privation the inmates must have suffered, when nothing but Allen's charming and affectionate optimism could have kept them all, professors and students, together under the same roof, sharing the same hardships and difficulties for the great Cause which throbbed in Douay's heart—the Conversion of England.

The long litany of these difficulties at the English College begins even before its foundation, for there were not wanting among the exiles and among the faithful in England those to whom this venture of attracting students to a new College without the means of supporting them seemed to be the act of a man bereft of prudence. From the very first, the erection of the college was opposed, not only because of prejudice against scholastic theology which was being taught at the University of Douay, but also from the belief that it would be a difficult

matter to obtain sufficient means for the permanent support of the professors and students.[1] The economic conditions in Belgium at the time were very unstable, and the townspeople feared to burden themselves with another ecclesiastical establishment which might eventually have to be kept up by alms.[2] This opposition had the unfortunate effect of diverting much help from the College at the outset. Dr. Vendeville, who was heart and soul in the new college, asked donations from the Abbots of St. Vedast, Anchin, and Marchiennes, and other generous-minded ecclesiastics, who were not slow in responding to his appeal. He presented a petition likewise to the Duke of Alva for 300 crowns, but whether it was granted or not has not been recorded. Allen, no doubt, on his journey to and from Rome in 1567, had spoken to eminent men of the necessity for the new seminary and opened his empty purse to their generosity. It would seem also that he visited Saint Charles Borromeo at Milan to ask for alms. Here he would have found several notable Welsh ecclesiastics in the court of the Cardinal—Robert Griffith, who published the first Welsh Catechism at Milan in 1575, a priest named Harris, and many other Welsh Catholics who had taken refuge there in 1559.[3] In 1570 Allen was appointed Regius Professor of Divinity at the University of Douay with an annual salary of 200 crowns. This was the first permanent help the College received; for, with characteristic charity, Allen used it to better the food and to supply clothing for the students who were then arriving, among whom was Edmund Campion. A community numbering nearly one hundred persons two years after its foundation was not an easy one to provide for, and the religious wars which broke out during the regency of the Duchess of Parma (1554–1567), and lasted through the regencies of her two successors, Alva (1567–1570) and Requesens (1573–1576), down to the pacification of Ghent (November 8, 1576), practically cut the College off from the alms of Catholics at home as well as from the alms of the exiles in other towns of Belgium who found it harder to

[1] B. CAMM, O.S.B., *William Cardinal Allen, Founder of the Seminaries*, p. 45. London, 1908.

[2] KNOX, *Douay Diaries*, p. xxix, 377.

[3] *San Carlo Borromeo nel Terzo Centenario*, p. 240 (*San Carlo e Maria Stuarda ed una Colonia di profuggiti inglesi a Milano*). Milan, 1908–1910.

support themselves owing to the high cost of living. Moreover, the Bull of Excommunication against Elizabeth (1570) openly placed the Queen under the ban of the Church, and was at once met in reprisal by the Parliament Act of 1571, interdicting all relations with any one recognizing the authority of the Pope. The war against the Faith had begun in earnest, and the Seminary, as the bulwark between the Church in England and total apostasy, soon began to feel the effects of the penal laws. The unsavoury business of keeping watch on the exiles by means of spies, informers, and traitors among the exiles themselves, kept the Government in touch with the whole political activity of the Catholic refugees and also gave it clues for following up recusants at home.[1] The exiles were obliged to become most wary for fear of giving up a relative or a friend accidentally to the pursuivants, and so practically all source of revenue was cut off from the College.[2] It was about this time also that the use of aliases began.

Allen found himself obliged to have recourse to the Pope in this extremity, and the Holy See, by Brief of April 5, 1575, conferred on the College an annual pension of 1200 crowns. Douay now became a Pontifical College; the internal status of the College was somewhat changed; and, although it meant bringing more students to the College and lessening the fears of those who thought it was tantamount to starvation to go to

[1] The complete knowledge Elizabeth's Government possessed of the exiles' movements and political designs is quite clear from the reports sent between London and Brussels during the time when the Enterprise was being promoted; and there is a certain naïveté about the action of the exiles which is almost pathetic and which is shown in the success of informers and traitors such as Cecil, Parry, Tyrrell, Munday and others. (Cf. *Calendars of State Papers, Foreign Series, Eliz.*, vol. XVI (May–Dec., 1582), p. 162, Cobham to Walsingham, Brussels, July 16, 1582.) Elizabeth knew that it was the influence of the exiles, particularly those at Rome, which had brought about her excommunication. Dr. Nicholas Morton, English Penitentiary at St. Peter's (1563–1579), was the leading witness examined at the judicial trial at Rome for evidence of Elizabeth's guilt. He had just returned from England, after having begun the plans which resulted that same year in the Northern Rising of 1569. SANDERS, *De Visibili Monarchia*, l. 7, p. 730. Cf. POLLEN, *Month*, February, 1902.

[2] For a flattering appreciation of Elizabeth's methods in dealing with the Catholic question at home and abroad, cf. MERRIMAN, *Some Notes on the Treatment of the English Catholics in the reign of Elizabeth*, in the *American Historical Review*, April, 1908, t. XIII., pp. 480–501; *Cal. Dom. Eliz.*, 1581–1590, p. 317, Rogers to Walsingham, March, 1856, who reports a scheme proposed to him by the Paget-Morgan faction by which the correspondence of all the leading Catholic exiles of the Spanish party could be copied.

Douay, this grant ultimately brought about some of the troubles which arose within the Seminary during the next forty years. The students were of two classes : Alumni, who were supported by the papal pension, and Convictors, or those who were sent on bourses by ecclesiastics or friends in England, or who were supported by their parents. This papal grant was augmented by Pope Gregory XIII. (May 18, 1575) to 175 Italian crowns a month, or 2100 yearly.[1]

The College was now placed on a substantial footing, and its international importance in the political history of England now assumed a tangible shape. Elizabeth had long since looked upon Douay as a nest of dangerous traitors. The protection granted to the exiles in the principal Belgian centres of the time—Antwerp, Brussels, Mechlin, Louvain, and Douay, aroused suspicion in London, and soon after the foundation of the College, official complaint was made to the Brussels Government against the presence of the exiles in these towns. It was, indeed, difficult for a body of exiles for religion's sake not to be considered a danger to the English crown.[2] The very union of religious and political supremacy in one and the same person, the Queen, made it impossible for them to deny her spiritual power without at the same time seeming to be disloyal in their duties towards their country and their sovereign. Moreover, all the exiles were not priests, nor religious of either sex ; there was a goodly contingent of the rebels of 1569—men and women who had seen their homes and their property, the legacy of centuries, swallowed up in the whirlpool of greed under the guise of hatred for their faith —and they could not be expected to bear this terrible injustice without a murmur. Impatient of the bloody reign of persecution which began in earnest with the death of Douay's protomartyr, Cuthbert Maine (November 29, 1577), and grasping at the possibilities that seemed available to them in the vague doctrines held by some upon the legitimacy of tyrannicide, certain of the exiles allowed themselves to be drawn into

[1] This pension was continued down to 1793 ; and afterwards when Crook Hall and St. Edmund's were begun, was divided equally between them, as the two offshoots of Douay. It ceased altogether with the occupation of Rome in 1799.

[2] WILLAERT, S.J., *Négociations politico-réligieuses entre l'Angleterre et les Pays-Bas catholiques* (1598–1625), in the *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* (1905), t. VI, p. 597.

culpable plots against the State,[1] though, soberly considered, these are much fewer than is commonly believed.[2] Elizabeth

[1] The *Enterprise*, which is the best known among the projects for the restoration of England to the Church by force of arms, was first proposed in 1578 by the Duke of Guise to the Spanish Ambassador at Paris. Its initial project was the deliverance of his kinswoman, Mary, Queen of Scots. F. Persons, on leaving England, in 1581, had gone straight to Rouen, the seat of the Guises, and a chief centre for the exiles (*Dom. Cal. Eliz.*, 1581–1590, no. 64), to spend the winter. He was probably first brought into the plans of the Guises through the foundation of the college for young boys at Eu, a town not far from Rouen, in the possession of the Duke through his wife, Catherine of Cleves, Countess of Eu. Persons' information about the state of affairs in England and Scotland was first-hand and the surest obtainable. The following year (1582) he was the leader in the plans which finally culminated in the Armada. Later, the Duke of Guise, it seems, had retired from the whole project, at least from taking a principal part in it. Philip II. became (December 31, 1584) a member of the association, of which the Duke of Guise was the head, and from this time he took the *Enterprise* into his own hands. The death of the saintly, but inefficient Pontiff, Gregory XIII., April 10, 1585, brought a warrior to the See of Peter in Sixtus V., whose plans for the good of the Church were, for the most part, too lofty to be practical. Philip found that the new Pontiff would lend his spiritual influence to the idea of reducing England by force, and that same year, in order to begin the negotiations, Persons went to Rome from Rouen, and Allen from Spa, where he had gone to take the waters. With Persons and Allen, Sir Francis Englefield made up the three English Catholic exiles whom Dr. Nicholas Sanders considered it would be a mistake not to consult in all questions concerning England (KNOX, *Allen*, p. 27. Dr. Nicholas Sander to the Cardinal of Como, Madrid, March 30, 1576). Allen now gave up his missionary work, and his political life began. His cardinalate (1587) and nomination to the See of Mechlin (1589) are incidents in the Spanish policy to make England Catholic again. (*Vat. Arch.*, *Archivio Borghese I*, vol. 799, f. 230, Sixtus V. to Philip II., Rome, August 3, 1587. Printed in HÜBNER, *Sixte-Quint*, t. III, p. 236, and KNOX, *Allen*, p. 298.) The sailing of the Armada from Lisbon in 1588, and its failure brought an end for a time to the policy of invading England as a means of restoring it to Catholic unity. Another abortive attempt in 1597 only increased Elizabeth's hold on her people—Protestants and Catholics alike. "The undisputed accession and untroubled reign of James I. made it evident that the long-continued and crushing tyranny of the penal laws had proved effective, not, indeed, in destroying Catholicism, but in establishing Protestantism as the ruling power in England. Thenceforth, no one, however sanguine, hoped or laboured to bring back the kingdom, as a kingdom, to the Catholic Church. All that Catholics now sought was some degree of toleration for themselves and to win individuals here and there to the old religion." KNOX, *Allen*, p. xxiii. To the rest of Europe, it must be admitted, the *Enterprise* was more of an academical discussion than a practical one (*Vat. Libr., MS. Ottobon.*, vol. 2510, f. 199). Cecil quite understood that he could have won over the Spanish party at any time by allowing Catholics the full exercise of their religion (*Dom. Cal. Eliz.* (1592–1594) no. 167); and there were leaders in the Government at the time who did not see why the Catholics should not be given liberty of worship in England as they had in Germany, and as the Huguenots had in France. If Cecil, it was thought, had only thrown in his influence with the Catholic plea for toleration, the Catholics would form a corporation to govern themselves, would dissolve the Colleges and Seminaries, and discharge their own affairs themselves without appealing to Rome or to Cardinal Allen (*ibid.*, no. 168).

[2] *The Politics of English Catholics during the reign of Queen Elizabeth*, article by FATHER POLLEN, S.J., in the *Month*, vol. C. (1902), pp. 71–88 (*Plots and Sham Plots*).

used two means of protesting against the exiles. The one was open and official, namely, the expulsion of the English Catholics from Spanish territory, in which she had little hope of success, because at the same time she was protecting Flemish and Walloon exiles from the Archduke's territory, and secretly sending help to the Netherlanders in their long struggle against the Spanish in the Low Countries. Only once did the English Government succeed openly—in 1575. A treaty of peace for the regulation of commerce between the two countries was necessary to Belgium, and step by step Elizabeth took advantage of her position to force the Governor, Requesens, to order the Catholic exiles to leave the country. On March 1, 1575, the Governor gave the order, and the exiles withdrew to Cambrai and Liége. The College of Douay was not included in this order, for the Queen made a pretence of wishing only political rebels to be exiled. But the English seminary was not to escape, for the English authorities had a second method, an underhand one, in their persecution of the Catholic exiles across the Channel. Even deliberate plots against the leaders of the exiles, of which there were more than one during Allen's rectorship, were not too crude for her statesmanship. By means of spies every effort was made to corrupt the starving exiles with offers of money and reconciliation with the Queen if they would become informers. They were offered the restoration of their lands at home and high places in the Government at the price of treachery to their friends and fellow-Catholics; how well she succeeded becomes more and more astonishing as we read the correspondence of these numerous traitors to the Catholic cause. The interception of correspondence, much of which can still be seen at the Public Record Office (London), not only between the exiles abroad and their relatives and friends at home in England, but between exiles of different towns in Belgium—and even, strange as it may seem, between exiles in the same town and between ambassadors and their sovereigns—kept the English Government in close touch with every aspect of activity abroad. The immediate effect of this spy-system on Douay was to cut it off from all sources of revenue in England, and to prepare the way for its expulsion from the town in 1578. It was soon evident that the papal

pension would not suffice, for students kept coming in greater numbers as the persecution waxed stronger. No one was turned away, for that was the golden rule at Douay, and the number of poor Catholics fleeing from England who came to its doors as their last refuge, to be housed and fed by the College, soon rendered the situation precarious.[1]

It was at this juncture (1575) that Allen made his second journey to Rome. For some time there had been talk about the advisability of turning the old English hospice in the Eternal City into a College for students, so as to share with Douay the burden of educating the young English clergy.[2]

[1] We should not lose sight of the fact that, apart from the apostolic zeal shown by the priests sent out from Douay, there was also a silent force at work on the part of the young men who had come to Douay, and who discontinued their studies for the priesthood, and returned secretly to England to instruct their parents and relatives by word and example in Catholic faith and practice. Others became tutors in the families of the nobles, and so became helpers of the priests when fleeing from pursuivants; while others, such as the young men who shielded Campion and Persons, devoted their lives wholly to assisting the priests from place to place. Cf. *De ratione et progressu Seminarii cleri Anglicani in universitate Duacena* (*Vat. Arch., Miscel. Arm.* XI, x. 94, fol. 208). Cf. MEYER, *op. cit.*, p. 179; DODD-TIERNEY, vol. II, p. 168.

[2] Like many others among the English Colleges and Convents, the history of the English College in Rome has not yet been written. Sources that have been discovered since Tierney's day, and publications of documents of all kinds relating to the constant current of thought and action between English Catholics at home and this, their *Collegium Anglicanum de Urbe*, have been brought to light by the *Catholic Record Society*. In this way a literature has grown up within the last ten years which will prove valuable to the future historian of the College. Down to its suppression at the time of the French invasion of Italy, in 1797, two hundred years of untiring activity for the conversion of England had been its glory. It was founded in 1576, with ten students sent from Douay. Between 1576 and 1578, twenty-two in all had gone (KNOX, *Douay Diaries*, p. 25). The incapacity of the first rector, Dr. Maurice Clenock, provoked opposition on the part of the students, with the result that in 1579, the Holy Father, Gregory XIII., ordered the General of the Jesuits under obedience to take charge of the new College. The Jesuits continued to rule the college down to their suppression. It is not our purpose to enter into the history of the English College, but as there will be occasion to quote its Archives, a brief description of their present state may prove interesting. There are in all about four hundred separate bundles and bound volumes, kept with great care in a special room of the College. The manuscripts are in good condition, in bundles or bound volumes, each bundle or volume having an indication of its contents on the outside. This is not always, however, a sure test of the manuscripts contained therein. A tentative division of these valuable archives may be given as follows:—

I. The old REGISTER of the Students (1579-1783), containing brief notices of about one thousand four hundred and eighty students, as well as the Annals of the College down to 1702. It consists of one volume, bound in red morocco, and hence known as the *Liber Ruber*, a copy of which is among the *Roman Transcripts* at the Public Record Office. Foley has published an incomplete edition of it in the *Records S.J.*, vol. VI.

II. A cabinet of twelve drawers containing original parchments: *membranae ad Collegium spectantes adservantur in armorio duodecim ordinum ejusdem Collegii*. Cf.

But before the English College at Rome was founded, Douay had suffered the penalty of its allegiance to the true

Index Archivii Collegii Anglorum Urbis (*ordine alphabetico*), s. v. *Membranae* III, 653).

III. MSS. :—

1. *Conti e obblighi*, 1579–1797 ; 57 vols.
2. *Chronologia*, 1578–1773 ; 12 vols.
3. *Libri : Entrata ed uscita*, about 200 vols.
4. *Scritture ;* 39 vols.
   a. *Status Collegii*, 1640–1713 ; 5 vols.
   b. *MSS.* relating to different properties in possession of the College.
   c. *Scholares* ; 10 vols.
   d. *Lettere diverse* ; 4 vols. Here we found much that was of interest for the relationship maintained by the English College of Rome with the Colleges of Spain and Portugal and with Rome, though in the majority of cases it is about some financial matter common to two or more Colleges.
5. *Clergy Agents' Papers* ; Letters to the Agents of the English Clergy at Rome. These letters are mostly of modern times. MGR. WARD has made extensive use of them in his *Eve of the Catholic Emancipation.*

IV. The Archives have so far two Indices :

1. The first is an *Index Chronologicus* of all the documents relating to the old English Hospice and the College. It consists of two volumes :—
   a. Vol. I, ff. 301 (March 9, 1101—September 15, 1610).
   b. Vol. II, ff. 581 (January 16, 1611—December 24, 1859).
2. The second is an *Index Alphabeticus*, containing an Inventory of all the documents. It consists of four volumes, folio :—
   a. Vol. I, A-CUS.
   b. Vol. II, DA-FUS.
   c. Vol. III, GAB-NUT.
   d. Vol. IV, OB-ZAN.

Through the courtesy of the late Rector these precious Archives were thrown open to me during my stay in Rome. Perhaps the easiest way of describing the results of the researches among them would be to say that the documents one would naturally expect to find there are conspicuous by their absence. Of international affairs, of the crises that arose between different Rectors and the students, of the influence of the canonical difficulties in England upon the peace and harmony of the College, there is still sufficient matter to complete the story already known through Tierney's edition of Dodd ; but of the broader questions, such as the political activity of the exiles at Rome, the Foundation Movement, and the English Counter-Reformation, little remains. The most important records have been copied and the Transcripts are now in the Public Record Office, under the title of *Roman Transcripts.*

In the Library of the College there are some volumes of MSS. of particular interest to the College : 1. MS. Copy (*Scritture* 57, no. 5) : *Relatione dello Stato del Collegio Inglese di Roma, presentata all 'Emmo Sigre Cardinale Barberini Prottre quando venne a visitar detto Collegio alli* 16 *Giugnio MDCLVII.* 2. *MS.* Copy (*Libri*, vol. 224) : *Acta Sacrae Visitationis apostolicae Ecclesiae S. Thomae et Collegii Anglorum a SSmo. E.N. Papa Clemente XII. Commissae Emis. et Remis. Cardinalibus de Via, Rivera, et R.C.D. de Monte, die* 14 *Sept.* 1737. The Library is also rich in early English controversial works of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, some of which Gillow has missed in his *Biographical Dictionary.* It was a disastrous moment for the English College, and especially for its Archives in 1773, after the suppression of the Jesuits, when Mgr. Foggini, who had been Cardinal Corsini's secretary, obtained the presidency of the English College, for a large part of these invaluable Archives were sold as waste paper. A great many were lent to Tierney, Kirk,

faith by being expelled from Spanish territory. Allen had returned to Douay, July 30, 1576, after an absence of eight months, to find everything within the College in a flourishing condition owing to the papal pension. The number of students beginning the academic year 1576–1577 was about one hundred and twenty. But this state of prosperity was about to be rudely disturbed by the political events which were agitating the Low Countries. The Calvinists, who were the backbone of the party of the Prince of Orange, had brought anarchy into the country; and all the chief cities of Artois, Hainault, and Flanders were feeling the effect of these internal disorders. It was not a difficult matter to stir up the citizens of Douay, who, despite their Catholicism, had no great love for their Spanish rulers; and the English students as partisans of the King of Spain were soon out of favour with the townspeople.[1] False rumours of all kinds, fomented by the English spies, aroused the magistrates; the College was subjected to domiciliary visits, and it became unsafe for the students to appear in the streets, for they were insulted and called traitors to England and to the Low Countries which harboured them. The terror of the collegians soon put a stop to study, for it was well known that paid adventurers were in the town for the purpose of assassinating Allen. It was deemed so unsafe for the English Rector that he withdrew for a time to Paris. Students began to leave; some returned to England, others joined the English Catholic colonies in cities beyond the reach of Calvinistic fury; and in January, 1577, of the one hundred and twenty who began the school year only forty-two remained.

Allen had foreseen the ultimate result of the expulsion of the exiles (March 1, 1575) from Brussels, Antwerp, Mechlin, and Louvain, and on November 10, 1576, two of the masters were sent to Rheims to ascertain whether the College might be transferred there. He was most unwilling to do this, for it meant quitting the territory of the Spanish King, whose treatment of the English exiles had always been generous. France at that time was friendly-disposed neither towards the

Lingard, and others, and some also found their way into episcopal Archives in England.

[1] *DNB.*, s. v. *Allen*, vol. I, p. 317.

English nor towards Spain, and Allen would have preferred to remain within Philip's dominions. Besides, Philip had only that same year been petitioned to transfer the annual grant of 1600 florins which he had assigned from the Royal Treasury since 1566 for the support of the English priests and students, as a pension for the English College of Douay, to be spent at the discretion of the Rector. Allen himself had written to Don Juan, the Governor, begging that some other place in Belgium might be assigned to the College in the event of their expulsion from Douay. The Viceroy offered him a College at Louvain, but Allen was obliged to refuse it, on account of the expenses involved in such a long journey, and especially on account of the desolate state of the University of Louvain at that time.[1] The Perpetual Edict of Marche-en-Famenne of February 17, 1577, gave rise to great hopes for a new era of peace in the religious strife between the Calvinists and the Catholics, and it was proclaimed at Douay, on March 4th of that year, with great festivity. Allen returned at this moment, and the brighter outlook induced most of the students to return to the College; by June 24, 1577, the number was again increased to one hundred and twenty. There is no doubt that this sudden increase taxed the College resources to their utmost, but the year of peace which followed enabled the authorities to make ends meet. When, however, the old strife was renewed in 1578, the opposition of the townspeople to the College manifested itself more strongly than before. The students were forbidden by the acting-Rector, Dr. Bristow, to leave the College, and for nearly six months they were in a state of siege. Again negotiations were begun with the authorities at Rheims, and finally, March 22, 1578, under rather cruel conditions, the whole collegiate body, together with all the English exiles of the town capable of bearing arms, passed beyond the gates of Douay *en route*

[1] "Re agitur cum praecipuis communicata consiliariis et ipsorum sententia, (cum de Namurco aliquandiu R^mo D. Episcopo in deliberationem etiam adhibito cogitatum esset) Lovanium nobis, id nec petentibus nec certe propter itineris longitudinem, difficultatem, pericula ac sumptus de eo multum cogitantibus, assignatum fuit." Allen to Rector of Louvain University, Rheims, September 11, 1578. KNOX, *Allen*, p. 50; "Lovanii magna solitudo propter pestem et numerosum militem, Academiae vix ullum vestigium, ut ferunt; in ipsis collegiis desolatis et ruinosis stabulantur equi." Gregory Martin to Edmund Campion, S.J., Rheims, February 13, 1579. KNOX, *Douay Diaries*, pp. 318–319.

for Rheims. Pope Gregory XIII. had given 500 crowns at the request of Owen Lewis for the expense of the removal, and sent letters warmly recommending the exiles to the Cardinal Archbishop of Rheims and the Metropolitan Chapter.[1] They arrived at Rheims, March 27, 1578, and in a short time studies were resumed and the old life so well re-established under French auspices, that six months later when the magistrates of Douay, realizing the foolishness of their action and feeling no doubt the absence of the English guinea, wrote to Allen asking them to return, the invitation was respectfully declined.[2]

2. *At Rheims*: 1578–1593.

The natural effect of these political troubles upon the intellectual and the spiritual training of the students is to be seen in the documents which have come down to us; the loss of pecuniary help from the families and friends of the students and professors was even more fraught with danger to the existence of the College. The pensions—papal and Spanish—were insufficient to meet expenses, and the whole work of Allen seemed tottering to ruin. There were not wanting those among the faithful at home in England who prophesied a speedy ending to the English Seminary. Parents as a result refused to allow their sons to "go out to Douay," and those who could afford bequests and donations for the work were hindered by the reports which had come across the Channel of

[1] "Plurimum eos in Domino consolatur incredibilis erga nos Gregorii XIII. munificentia, procurante D. Audoeno Ludovico, qui necessitates migrantium quingentis scudis adjuvit, praeter menstruam largitionem quae certa et stata est." Gregory Martin to Edmund Campion, S.J., Rome, May 21, 1578. KNOX, *Douay Diaries*, p. 316. Cf. THEINER, *Annales Eccles.*, t. II, p. 434; MARLOT, *Metropolis Remensis Historiae*, t. II, p. 834; B. CAMM, O.S.B., *William Cardinal Allen*, etc., p. 90. London, 1908.

[2] KNOX, *Douay Diaries*, p. 302. *Brevissima epitome eorumque quae in Anglorum Seminario Pontificio Duaceno gesta sunt a festo Ascensionis an.* 1576 *usque ad cal. Januarii* 1577 (*Arch. Dioc. West.*, t. II., p. 201); *ibid.*, p. 304 (*A contemporary account of the Expulsion of the English from Douay*, 1578). BURTON has published in his *Douay Diaries* (vol. II, pp. 553–567) another valuable source for this period in the Rheims Annual Report, 1579–1580 (*Seminarii Pontificii Anglorum apud Rhemenses gesta a festo Sanctissimi Trinitatis anno* 1579 *usque ad festum S. Mariae Magdalenae* 1580 Julii 22) from the Archives of the "*Old Brotherhood.*" Cf. DODD-TIERNEY, vol. II, p. 166 note. V. *Prop. Arch., Misc. dei Collegi, Collegio Inglese, Ibernese, Scozzese di Duaco dall'anno* 1568 *all* 1790, ff. 5–31 (*Notizie del collegio Inglese di Douay*).

its lamentable condition. The fifteen years of the College residence in Rheims were not passed entirely in peace. It took eleven years for them to win their way to the hearts of the people of the town, who in reality hated the very name of England. The same routine of studies and student-life was carried on there as at Douay. The College authorities still held in their possession the houses and garden at Douay, and it served as a hospice for missionaries coming from and going to England. Later on, when the people of Douay were begging them to return, it was used as a residence for the young students who were studying philosophy at the Jesuit College there before going on to Rheims to complete their theology. During this period the elementary schools of Pont-à-Mousson, Verdun and Eu furnished the abandoned Douay house with philosophers. It was not until later, when the school and College was founded at Saint Omer by the Jesuits, that the English boys received a complete education at the hands of English masters. We have no means of knowing the exact amount of money it cost to keep the College these fifteen years, nor what was the total amount of the contributions from England. A comparison of the number sent on the Mission from 1568 to 1578, namely forty, with the number sent the following fifteen years, namely, two hundred and ninety-six, would indicate that these contributions, apart from the annual papal grant of 2000 crowns, and the royal subsidy of 1600 crowns, must have been extensive, because the travelling expenses to England (usually called the *viaticum*) for these young missionaries, amounting as it did to about 45 crowns apiece, would bring the total up to nearly 10,000 crowns. Considerable help came no doubt from the Guises, who were ardent champions of the Stuart cause.

We are at the zenith of the English Counter-Reformation in the Rheims period of the English seminary, and everywhere the progress of the College was hailed as the foremost agency in the stemming of the tide of apostasy in England. Bishops in other parts of Europe wishing to begin the constructive work of training their young clergy according to the new regulations of Trent wrote to the Rector at Rheims for a description of the work done in the College. When Philip II. began the foundation of two Seminaries in Belgium,

he ordered that they be modelled upon the system at Rheims. John Leslie, the exiled Bishop of Ross and the ambassador of Mary Stuart, desiring to do for Scotland what Allen was doing for England, erected on the Rheims model the Scottish Seminaries of Paris, Rouen, and Douay. We have a clear insight into what that system was, and how potent its effects were in the training of the young students in Allen's long letter to Dr. Vendeville which was written about this time. Rheims was now in its fullest vigour,[1] ordaining as many as fifty priests in a year for the Mission, besides sending others to Rome and Spain to finish their theological studies. Allen made another visit to Rome in 1579, to assist in quelling the disturbances which had occurred in the English College there, but returned to Rheims in the spring of 1580, and remained in charge of the College till 1585, when Sixtus V. summoned him to Rome to take part in the reforms he was beginning. Two years later, August 7, 1587, Allen was created Cardinal Priest, and with new honours and occupations falling to his lot, his immediate connection with Rheims was over.

During the eight years of Cardinal Allen's absence, the College suffered a heavy drain on its resources. "To carry on the Seminary with success, three things were needed: students to teach, competent masters to teach them, and money to meet the expenses attendant on such an establishment."[2] Students there always were in goodly numbers. In 1578, there were fifty-five, of whom forty-four lived in the College, and eleven in the town. In July, 1580, there were one hundred and twelve in the Seminary; others were resident in the town, and a number were at Douay following the lectures in philosophy at the Jesuit College. In 1582, there were one hundred and twenty at Rheims; and, in

[1] The greatest glory of the English College at this time was the translation of the Bible into English. Gregory Martin, Richard Bristow, and other scholars at Rheims, had a major part in this undertaking. We shall speak more of this when treating the literary work of the exiles. The important part at present is the fact that the translation cost Allen 1500 crowns (over £3000 of our money to-day) for the New Testament alone, and it is a standing marvel how it was possible to complete the work, owing to the shortness of funds. *The Origin of the Douay Bible*, by HUGH POPE, O.P., in the *Dublin Review*, vol. 147 (July, 1910), pp. 98-118; *The Rheims Version of the New Testament*, by the same author, *Dublin Review*, vol. 152 (April, 1913), pp. 176-300; KNOX, *Allen*, p. 109.

[2] KNOX, *Douay Diaries*, p. lxxi.

spite of fresh legislation in England making it high treason to go to Rheims or Rome, almost eighty students left the English schools and universities that year to begin their studies at Rheims. The total number for the year was almost two hundred, without counting others who, on account of youth or the lack of education, had been sent to the schools at Pont-à-Mousson, Verdun, and Eu. Every year a large number of picked students were sent to Rome. "Thus in spite of all the obstacles which Queen Elizabeth's ministers put in the way of scholars going to Rheims and the heavy penalties to which those who went thither exposed themselves,[1] there was never any deficiency or permanent falling off in the numbers of those who came to seek a Catholic and ecclesiastical education at Allen's hands."[2] The learning, piety, and zeal of the first professors of the College at Douay had left a stamp upon the College life which was ineradicable. The most distinguished scholars of Oxford were among the early professors of the College, and they had all given the rising Seminary the advantage of their brilliant learning. What Oxford was in Catholic England before Henry VIII.'s reign, Rheims and Douay were during the reign of Elizabeth. The disadvantage, if one may be permitted to call it such, was that profound learning went always hand-in-hand with the desire for a higher life of perfection in one or the other of the religious communities which were then forming. Risden, for example, joined the English Carthusians at Bruges; Campion joined the Jesuits at Rome; and in this way Rheims lost many (as Douay did later), who would otherwise have shed lustre on her name. As in the beginning at Douay, so during these fifteen years at Rheims and afterwards, when the College had returned to Douay, one of the chief difficulties of the College life and one of the causes of all the trouble was the question of money. In 1582, the yearly income from the papal subsidy amounted to 2000 crowns, and a similar amount came from the pension of the King of Spain. These were the only stable revenues

[1] STRYPE, *Annals*, vol. III, book i, pp. 40-42: *Proclamation for the recall of all students from the foreign seminaries and for the banishment of all Jesuits and Seminary Priests from England*, January 20, 1581; *ibid.*, p. 84: Proclamation of April 1, 1582.

[2] KNOX, *Douay Diaries*, p. lxxii.

of the College.[1] Whatever surplus it received came from individual donations, from the sale of books published by the professors, from the sale of the *New Testament*, and from collections made now and then by the authority of the Holy See through the Church for its support. These sums, though never very great, enabled Allen to employ the best professors and to pay the travelling expenses of promising students from England. He was always hampered by lack of means in carrying out all that he wished to do for the complete service of the Church. The papal pension would only support forty alumni, a number which he calls contemptible and useless compared to the necessities of the English Mission. Books in refutation of attacks on the Church had to be printed, and besides this, the cost of food, clothing, class-books, medicine and numberless other expenses, such as the *viaticum* of departing missionaries or of students setting out to Rome, the cost of correspondence, and the alms given to worthy English exiles who came to the College destitute—all this made it difficult to keep the College on a firm financial basis. Cardinal Allen made many attempts at Rome to stir up more enthusiasm for the work, but without success. The fact that the College did not succumb to these adverse circumstances is one of Allen's greatest claims to fame. To be the animating spirit of a college where the students, many of whom were the sons of gentlemen and nobles,[2] were living in a sort of poverty, sometimes without proper food, and where the zeal of the professors to convert the heretics at home by writings was hindered for lack of funds, and when all saw their work handicapped by this want, was not indeed an easy task. This very want of the necessary things was in itself of a nature to breed discontent and discouragement, but Allen's dominating mind, his loving disposition, his powers of

[1] The state of the Pontifical Treasury at the time would not permit further donations to this very important work; but Gregory XIII., by a Brief dated January 21, 1582, authorized collections of alms to be made throughout the whole of Christendom on behalf of the College (KNOX, *Douay Diaries*, p. lxxiv; 340–345). The Bull *Afflictae* of Sixtus V., September 3, 1586, likewise recommended the College to the Catholics of the world. (*Dom. Cal. Eliz.*, 1581–1590, no. 30, p. 106.)

[2] During the rigour of the persecution of 1583, fifty youths of quality arrived in Rheims (see Allen's letter to Agazzari, August 8, 1583). "Many of these were graduates of Oxford and Cambridge and others the sons of noblemen; some were only sons and heirs of rich parents." *Publ. Cath. Rec. Soc.*, vol. IV, p. 116.

sympathy, his gentleness and optimism, and above all his complete spirit of detachment and his unselfishness, overcame all these difficulties and calmed the spirit of those prone to fret and to worry under such hardships. To such a man and to such a system, rules and statutes were unnecessary in the College; though in the readjustment of the College discipline after Allen's time, it was seen that the anomalous condition of these first twenty years, while thoroughly praiseworthy in itself, had proved detrimental to the future progress of the College.

The Penal Statute of 1581 ordering the banishment of all Jesuits, Seminary priests and other priests ordained from the year 1559 up to that time, and obliging all the subjects of the Queen who were students in any College or Seminary beyond the sees to return within six months and take the Oath of Supremacy, and also imposing a fine of £100 on any parent who sent his or her child abroad without special licence, had like all similar legislation against the Church a baneful effect on the College income. The Government had now taken up in earnest the task of starving the exiles into submission.[1] There was a financial aspect to many of the penal laws of this period, for the years 1580–1588 were the most critical of Elizabeth's reign; and it was during this time that the political activity of the exiles, led by the Pope and the Spanish King, and by Father Persons, Mendoza, Tassis, and Allen, who were all acting under their orders, was being directed towards the liberation of Mary Stuart. Scotland was the vulnerable point in Elizabeth's attack on Catholicism, and her plan for meeting danger from that part, so far as Catholics were concerned, was to hold them within the realm, to segregate the leaders at Wisbech, Ely, and Broughton, and to impoverish the faithful by a system of fines and penalties of a Draconian severity, which provided a really effective source of revenue to carry on the war against the foremost Catholic power of the day. The Catholic exiles

[1] "Many thousands," writes Allen to the Cardinal of Como from Rheims, January 16, 1585, "certainly would be given by our foes to obtain the destruction of this institute; while on the other hand no very great increase of the present annual pension, added to the alms of pious persons, which we will collect (for this work of ours does not demand an unlimited expenditure) would enable us by Christ's help to hold on our course against our adversaries." KNOX, *Douay Diaries*, p. lxxvii.

beyond the seas were to be harried by spies and divided into factions by the shibboleth of loyalty, upon which she could always rely. How well she succeeded in this is evidenced by the antagonism against Spain which arose among the very exiles who had been pensioned by its King for many years before the Spanish Armada. Allen took a leading part in this campaign of plot and counter-plot, and to a certain extent these last nine years of life at Rome were practically wasted years so far as the clergy supply for the English Mission is concerned. Discontent soon showed itself at Rheims in Allen's absence. On October 31, 1588, Dr. Richard Barret was appointed President of the College.

The fall of the Guises, the assassination of the Duke of Guise, December 23, 1588, and the execution of his brother, the Cardinal Archbishop of Rheims, on the following day, together with the accession of Henry of Navarre in August, 1589, not only robbed the English College of its protectors, but left it at the mercy of any political upheaval which might occur in the city in consequence of the Huguenots' success. The people of Rheims were loyal, for the most part, to the Guises, and it is in this extremity that the *Diary* makes the first mention of the English Seminary being treated in a friendly manner by the townsfolk.[1] The civil war which followed the assassination of Henry III. made the situation there a precarious one. Moreover, Dr. Barret's rule of the College during this first year of his presidency had given much offence to many of the students, and had roused so many dissensions that at Rome Allen had grave fears for the continuance of the College. In January, 1589, Dr. Thomas Worthington, who had been chaplain to the English soldiers in the Spanish army, was made Vice-President, and with these two men as Rectors (Worthington succeeded Barret in 1599), the College began that series of unfortunate years which brought it almost to the verge of ruin. It was clear that the College could not remain much longer in Rheims. On March 31, 1590, Dr. Barret wrote to the Nuncio at Paris, who was then the Ordinary of all the English exiles, asking advice about returning to Douay, and was told to remain at Rheims. A visit later in the same year from Cardinal Cajetan quieted

[1] KNOX, *Douay Diaries*, p. 225.

the fears of the students, but it soon became evident that the return to Douay was imperative. Most of the French benefactors of the College were dead. The conversion of Henry IV. in 1593 was no reassurance to the English Catholic exiles in his realm, and his subsequent alliance with Elizabeth and the war with Spain (1595) showed later the danger of their situation had they remained. Cardinal Allen was personally opposed to the new King whose sincerity he doubted,[1] and all this political turmoil, together with the absence of the Spanish pension which had not been paid for some years, finally induced Barret to return to their old home at Douay where they would not have to pay rent for their house. He asked the Nuncio at Paris to intercede with the Pope for an extraordinary alms for the expenses of the journey. On the advice of Cardinal Cajetan, some of the students were sent to Rome, others to Valladolid, where the Seminary had just been founded, and others to the English missions ; but the greater part of the students returned with the Rector to Douay, June 23, 1593.[2]

[1] *De Henrici Regis Navarrae Rebenedictione*, *Vat. Arch.*, *Arm. IV*, Cap. I, no 8, published by BELLESHEIM, *Card. Allen*, p. 279 ; *ibid.*, 196–7 ; KNOX, *Allen*, pp. 342–363.

[2] KNOX, *Douay Diaries*, pp. 232–237. Between August 22, 1590, and June 27, 1593, over sixty students were sent to Rome, Valladolid, Douay and to the Mission. The foundation of the English Colleges at Valladolid, Madrid, Seville, Sanlúcar, and Lisbon during the years 1589–1622 was a work of prudence and utility but at the same time a practical failure. These foundations, with the possible exception of Lisbon College, were all due directly or indirectly to the indefatigable energy of the famous English Jesuit, Robert Persons. At the time when the College was overwhelmed with the burden of educating so many students and was facing the necessity of breaking the ties it had formed at Rheims, neither France nor Belgium presented a very attractive aspect to the English exiles. No one could predict where the *politique de bascule* practised by England and France would lead, and it was imperative that the English students be housed where they would have sufficient quiet for their studies and where the generosity of the faithful could reach them most easily. No man of his time saw more clearly the trend of political events than Persons ; but, instead of proving a lasting source of help to the Missions in England as well as a sharer in the burdens of Douay, the English Colleges of Spain and Portugal had only a short period of brilliant activity and then entered into the lethargy which crept into Spain from the middle of the seventeenth century down to the French Revolution. A monograph on the English colleges in Spain would form a valuable addition to English Church history. For this we should need a detailed inventory of the Archives of the College at Valladolid. We have mentioned these colleges more in detail in the chapter on the Jesuits, as forming more particularly an aspect of the work of the Society. Here it is sufficient to note the fact that the College of Douay-Rheims furnished some of the first students to all these colleges ; but the relationship between them and the mother-college was never strong. Spain was too far away to be logically the home for future missionaries

3. *The Return to Douay*: 1593–1613.

If the story of the century of conflict between Seculars and Regulars which begins simultaneously with the return of the collegians to Douay, and with the activity of the Jesuits and other religious Orders in the education of the young and in the work of the Mission, has been told with historical impartiality by Dodd and Tierney, Taunton and other writers, such as Destombes and Haudecoeur, then the Society of Jesus has a most deplorable charge against its name. This charge is not only that of obstructing at every point the good work of the Colleges and the activity of the young priests on the English Mission, and of striving to bring every aspect and phase of the English Counter-Reformation under the girdle of the Society, but also of deliberately sowing the seeds of discord among the exiles in Flanders, Spain, France, and Italy, by a stubborn prosecution of political views which neutralized the work of the priests, vitiated the fruit of so many martyrdoms, and paralyzed the generosity of the persecuted Catholics at home. The blame of all this has been heaped upon Robert Persons, and after him, upon the leaders of the English branch of the Society. Many claim to prove, as Taunton has done,[1] that what is called by the enemies of the Society, Persons' Spanish intrigues, his management of the seminaries after Allen's death, his countenancing the Jesuits' side in the unsavoury Wisbech troubles, his alleged underhand appointment of the first Archpriest, his part in the harsh treatment meted out to the Appellants at Rome, his alleged opposition to the Benedictine Mission, his attitude on the Oath of Allegiance, and his unlawful influencing of Dr. Worthington,—in a word, that the whole warp and woof of the man's life, beginning from the rather inglorious part he played in Campion's success in England, is all one piece of a single and consistent Puritan policy which embraces practically the whole active life of a

in England. Meyer sees in these foundations a most remarkable exhibition of courage on the part of Persons; the two important houses (Valladolid, 1589; Seville, 1592) being founded soon after the destruction of the Armada: "Der ungebrochene Mut beider Männer, des englischen Jesuiten und des spanischen Königs, kann nicht besser gekennzeichnet werden als dadurch, dass die beiden wichtigsten Gründungen, die englischen Kollegien von Valladolid und Sevilla, fast unmittelbar auf die Vernichtung der spanischen Armada folgten." *Op. cit.*, p. 99.

[1] Cf. *The Tablet*, vol. LIX (1898), pp. 59, 96–97, 134.

man whose stupendous abilities in those days of great men, whose restless activity and thorough want of scruple have singled him out for all future time as the type of dangerous Jesuit. They would fain make us believe that his aim throughout the whole of his career was to secure the practical subjugation of the English Mission either directly, or by means of dependants. The clergy were to be the hewers of wood and the drawers of water, and in order to accomplish this paramount design, namely, the religious domination of England by his Society, he gained, it is alleged, the complete control of six successive Popes, cut off the access of letters from the clergy in England to them, and encroached upon the appointment of all positions of superiority. To claim all this and to expect to prove it by the historical evidence we possess is as foolish an undertaking as it is a libel on the great Jesuit's noble work for the cause that pulsated more strongly in his heart than in that of any other exile, not even excepting Allen, namely, the conversion of his unhappy Fatherland to the union of peace and charity with the Mother-Church at Rome. No one, it is true, not even the most faithful enthusiast of the Society of Jesus of which Persons was the greatest English member of his time, would wish to praise unconditionally all that he did or to justify all the means he used to accomplish his purpose. That he was ever too ready to advise and to give counsel unasked, ever too ready to throw himself into every aspect of the politico-religious situation of the times, that he tried in every way to make up for the lack of canonical organization for which Allen must be held in great part responsible, that he carried out his projects with an unfortunate mistrust of the Secular Clergy, and that he was mistaken to an appalling degree in his estimate of the character of the Englishman of the period—all this is true ; but to make him entirely responsible for the sad situation in the English Church, is equally to claim for the Secular Clergy a purity of intention and a simplicity of motive which they do not always merit. As long as there are volumes of Persons' correspondence at Simancas, Seville, Madrid, and Rome, still unpublished, the conclusions drawn from the documents we possess, although explaining to some degree the truth of this difficult problem in the history of the exiles, and particularly

in that of Douay College, are too one-sided to enable us to consider the question definitively a settled one; and until we have his motives clearly explained in his own way, and as far as possible in his own words, a final judgment ought not to be given.

So far as this present thesis is concerned, the history of the English Jesuits only interests us in its direct relation to the Foundation Movement of the Colleges and Convents on the Continent. It is true that one of the desiderata in English Church history is an exhaustive account of their political and religious activity, both at home and abroad, and that this would be a good opportunity to place the whole controversy before the reader.[1] But it is both unnecessary and inadvisable; unnecessary, because it has no direct bearing upon the scope of the work in hand, and inadvisable, because the history of the English Jesuits is being prepared by an eminent scholar from sources which we have not had the time or the opportunity of studying.[2] But the whole story of the College of Douay is so linked with that of the Jesuits that the points under discussion must first be given in outline. To understand these different points of conflict, let us see what was the situation of the English Catholics from 1559 to 1593, when the quarrel broke out at Douay. There were many sides to the conflict, and it is difficult to keep the different elements separated, but they can, in a general way, be reduced to three: (1) the question of episcopal authority in England (1559–1621); (2) the factions among the exiles over the Succession to the throne (1580–1603); (3) and the Archpriest controversy (1599–

[1] It is to help the reader to form a proper judgment of the position of the English College during this century of conflict (1593–1715) that we have deferred to a subsequent chapter the second part of the history of Douay which begins with the appointment of Kellison as rector, in 1613. This will enable us to follow in separate chapters the work of the Jesuits, Benedictines, and Franciscans, before resuming the latter part of the College history (1613–1795). What has just been said in reference to the accusations against Persons and the Society will be sufficient to make the next twenty years of Douay's history (1593–1613) better understood by the reader.

[2] The work is being done by the able English Jesuit historian, Fr. John Hungerford Pollen, S.J. When completed, it will be part of the collection now being published by the Jesuit Fathers, Fouqueray, Astrain, Hughes, Tacchi-Venturi, and others. Father Pollen has already contributed considerable material for the subject in his numerous articles in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, and in the *Month*, particularly the series of studies on the *Politics of the English Catholics during the reign of Queen Elizabeth*, vols. XCIX–CI (1902–1904).

1621). The scenes of the conflict on the Continent were the English College at Douay, the Spanish Colleges, and the English College at Rome. The unrest caused by the dissensions at home was carried abroad, not unconsciously perhaps, by the young men who left England for Douay, Valladolid, Saint Omer, and Rome, and the frequent interchanges of students between the Colleges served only to extend the area of discussion. On several occasions in the heat of the fight, dissatisfied students were sent from Rome to Douay, with the result that the same feelings were stirred up there, and at the time of Persons' death (1610) the collegiate body in several of the English ecclesiastical establishments was in a ferment of dissatisfaction and distrust towards superiors who seemed powerless to stem the current of the opposition against themselves.

The first point upon which English Catholics at home and abroad split was the question of the continuance of the hierarchy. The immediate effect of the Oath of Supremacy in 1559 was to deprive England of all its Bishops, except Kitchin, of Llandaff, who lived to be called the *calamitas sedis suae.* Ineffectual efforts were made by Pius IV., through the Legates Parpaglia and Martinengo (1560–1561) to arrange a new distribution of dioceses, and to provide the Catholics with a Bishop, but neither of them was permitted by Elizabeth to enter England. Affairs dragged on in a chaotic state until 1570, when Pius V. heroically closed all possible doors to conciliation by the Bull *Regnans in Excelsis*, by which he excommunicated the English Queen. In one sense the effect was disastrous. For up to that time "the Government was content with persecuting measures short of death, hoping by a well-planned system of fines, confiscation, imprisonment, and the general extinction of the clergy, little by little to rob the people of England of their newly-recovered faith."[1] Mary Stuart's arrival in England in 1568 provided a focus for political and religious intrigue, while the foundation of Douay the same year brought into a compact attacking force the controversialists and apologists of Flanders and France. The exile of those concerned in the Rising of the North in 1569

[1] T. G. LAW, *A Calendar of the English Martyrs of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, p. 5. London, 1876.

brought Flanders more closely into contact with the movement in England to throw off the oppression of the English Queen, who now saw herself surrounded on all sides by those whose loyalty to their faith might eventually cause her to lose her crown. Consequently, when the Bull was published the following year, open war was declared against those who remained faithful to Rome. In 1571, the law of treason was extended to meet such acts as joining or reconciling others to the Church; praemunire was stretched to cover the mere possession of things blessed by the Pope, and the property of those who remained abroad without royal licence, was declared forfeit to the Queen. English Catholicism, now fighting for its very existence, was swept into the full flood-tide of the Counter-Reformation. The Government was more determined than ever to exterminate every evidence of the Faith in England, while on his side the Pope, as Spiritual Lord of Christendom, was equally determined to enforce his Bull, and in consequence called on Christian Kings and Princes to invade her land and depose her from the throne. Thus was begun the series of plots and counter-plots, real and feigned, and the enterprises of conquest which disturbed her long reign. One of the effects of all this was that no means were available of sending Bishops to the country, and the ever-dwindling flock was left to itself. Between the contemplated restoration of the hierarchy in 1561 to the death of the last English Bishop, Thomas Goldwell, of St. Asaph, who died April 3, 1585, no attempt was made to bring the scattered Catholics under an organized hierarchy.[1] It was felt in 1585 that any attempt to revive the old episcopacy would only precipitate a severer persecution against the Catholics; and, moreover, the fact that there were those who, like Chauncy, still clung to the old idea that disguise for the missionaries was a source of scandal, showed that the English Catholics were not yet ready to respect a missionary Bishop, who would be obliged to hide his dignity and travel from place to place disguised like the

[1] Concerning this attempted Restoration of the hierarchy in 1561, cf. BRADY, *Annals of the Catholic Hierarchy in England and Scotland*, A.D. 1585–1876. Rome, 1877, pp. 4–6. London, 1883. Five Bishops were to be consecrated from among the most learned of the exiled clergy, who would then proceed to the Council of Trent, and with the Bishop of St. Asaph at their head, "trattare le cose pertinenti alla reductione del regno alla vera Religione."

priests. Bishop Goldwell, if he had landed in England in 1580 with the forerunners of the Jesuit Mission, was to have acted as Ordinary over the whole of England, but neither his health nor his past activity was sufficient to arouse much hope. When Persons and Campion arrived in London in June, 1580, the Seminaries of Douay, Rheims, and Rome, had already sent more than a hundred priests, who were called by the Government "Seminary Priests" or "Seminaries" in contra-distinction to those who were ordained in the reigns of Henry and Mary Tudor, who are known to-day as the Marian Clergy.[1] The former were directed by the faculties given them on starting out, and were under the jurisdiction of the Rector of the English College of Douay, then at Rheims. Over the Marian priests (as the older clergy are called), who had been imprisoned at Wisbech and other places in 1579, Bishop Watson exercised a quasi-jurisdiction, but after his death in 1584 they were dependent upon Allen. The priests and ecclesiastics, ordained in Mary's reign and before that time, were living in hiding in the houses of Catholic nobles and gentry throughout the country. The coming of the young Seminary priests had not been welcomed with much enthusiasm by one or two of the older clergy, and the beginning of the Jesuit Mission was looked upon with equal distrust at first by the few Marian priests who remained, and who, rightly or wrongly, considered it an instrument in the Spanish designs upon England. Helpers and workers they did need, and needed in great numbers, but the older clergy had been already too much influenced against the Jesuits by the young priests from Douay and Rome to receive them in a spirit of friendliness. It took all of Campion's sweetness of disposition and sympathy, all Persons' diplomacy and tact at the meeting in Southwark (1580) to suppress a resolution to the effect that the Jesuits should leave England until a calmer time had come.[2] The Seculars feared that to defy the Government

[1] *The Political History of England*, edited by WM. HUNT and REGINALD POOLE, t. VI. *The History of England from the Accession of Edward VI. to the death of Elizabeth* (1547–1603), by A. F. POLLARD, pp. 370–372. London, 1911.

[2] *Memoirs of Father Robert Persons*, edited by the REV. J. H. POLLEN, S.J., part ii, *A Storie of Domesticall Difficulties in the Englishe Catholike Cause*, p. 178 (*Publ. Cath. Rec. Soc.*, vol. II, Misc. II. London, 1906). For a succinct account of this famous meeting at Southwark, cf. TAUNTON, *Jesuits*, pp. 55–58.

by bold methods, as they knew the Jesuits meant to do, would only precipitate the ruin which had been threatening the Church since the formation of the Scottish party among the exiles. After Goldwell's death, the recognized head of the English Secular Clergy was Allen.[1] From his point of vantage as Prefect of the English Mission,[2] Allen was able from 1581 to 1594 to guide the young missionaries in such a way that all friction between them and the older clergy was avoided. But the presence of the Society in England meant a distinct force, outside the jurisdiction of Allen, working within the same scope and with the same instruments, and it was at that moment if ever in the history of the Church in England that canonical authority was needed. The splendid success of the Jesuit Mission, with its ten thousand converts the first year, stirred the enthusiasm of all, but it showed equally the necessity of a systematic adjustment of respective workers in the same field. Campion's capture and death in 1581 and Persons' subsequent flight to the Continent, where during the rest of his life his energies were in part devoted to using political means for the conquest of England, practically robbed the Church of any lasting benefit from what must always be looked upon as the noblest part of the English Counter-Reformation.[3] Of Persons' educational activity which lay between 1581 and 1594, and which consisted in the foundation of the schools at Eu and Saint Omer, and of the Colleges of Valladolid and Seville, we shall have occasion to treat in speaking of the establishments due to Jesuit enterprise. When Allen died, in 1594, Cardinal Cajetan was Protector of the

[1] "Patriae nostrae unicum decus et lumen," Barret to Cardinal Cajetan, Rheims, January 6, 1590. KNOX, *Douay Diaries*, p. 252.

[2] BRADY, *op. cit.*, p. 42. We have no precise information of the nature and extent of his faculties. In the *Westminster Archives* (vol. II, p. 202; vol. III, p. 389; Vol. IV, p. 99), copies of the Briefs of St. Pius V., and of Gregory XIII., will be found, but it is impossible to gain from them a full list of the privileges granted to him as Prefect of the English Mission. (Cf. KNOX, *Douay Diaries*, pp. xxxiii-xxxiv.) This question of the Faculties granted to different superiors from 1568 to 1685 is being studied in a particular way by one of the English students at the Collegio Angelico at Rome, in a thesis for the doctorate in Canon Law; in a letter to the present writer, he has been forced to conclude that with all his researches the question still remains vague and uncertain.

[3] For Persons' reasons for leaving England, cf. *Memoirs of Father Robert Persons*, *Memoir IV*, *Punti per la Missione d'Inghilterra*, printed in *Publ. Cath. Rec. Soc.*, vol. IV, p. 27. London, 1907.

English nation, but in practically every aspect of his activity, the dominating voice was that of the Jesuit Persons. Persons had been of the same mind as Allen in the question of ecclesiastical organization of England. He had recognized better than the English Cardinal the evils which resulted from a want of superiors, and how unsatisfactory it was to have recourse to the Nuncios at Brussels or Paris. To a man brought up in the splendid military organization which the Society enjoyed,[1] the helplessness the clergy displayed in the Council of Southwark, where there was neither superior nor authority, made a deep impression on his mind. He wrote from London, September 17, 1580, to the Cardinal of Como that a Bishop was needed to consecrate the holy oils for baptism and extreme unction, and Gregory XIII. in consequence had resolved to send Bishops to England, but he died before his plans could be carried out.

Meanwhile, a change was visibly taking place in the attitude of the Catholic exiles towards the conversion of England. During the Pontificate of Sixtus V. (1585–1590), in the two Colleges of Rheims and Rome, and in the other centres where the exiles lived,—such as Louvain, Antwerp, Brussels, Paris, Madrid, and Rome, the religious aspect of the question of ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the English Catholics at home and abroad was lost sight of, or rather fused into the political crisis which began simultaneously with this change of attitude in the methods to be used in converting England. The gentler means had failed. Campion had mounted the martyr's Calvary at Tyburn, and the persecution raged more fiercely than ever. The ferocious Act of 1585 proved beyond doubt the cruelty and injustice of the Queen. From the beginning of her reign, every honest effort had been made to meet her fairly, but the brutal measures dealt out to Catholics showed how little hope there was for mercy. Force must be repelled by force. England and its Faith must be saved at all costs from a tyrannical Queen whose hands were red with the blood of God's priests. The exiles had lost patience completely. The Colleges were echoing with the burning tales of martyrdoms that rivalled those of the persecutions of Nero and Diocletian, and from Flanders to Rome,

[1] BOEHMER-MONOD, *Les Jésuites*, p. 253. Paris, 1910.

and from Paris to Madrid, the exiles, both lay and cleric, were drawn into the current of violence.[1] This was no new element in the religious history of the World; it has not been a dead factor in human progress since.

Let us be as fair towards the Catholic exiles as we have been towards the French Huguenots who were in a similar situation in England. It is impossible not to deplore the injury both the one and the other did to their respective countries; but in both cases, if they are culpable, it is the fault entirely "of men reduced to despair by an odious persecution, and it must rather be imputed to the advisers of the iniquitous measure which drove them to seek an asylum in countries where their misfortune was commiserated."[2] The vision of such a wondrous career as that of Campion fired the young Levites with a zeal which knew no bounds. Between them and the realization of their ideal—the complete victory of the Faith in England—stood Elizabeth and her cunning advisers. Events were now so forming themselves as to bring out a strong political party among the exiles, who meant to regain their altars and their firesides at the point of the sword. Acting at all times in obedience to his highest spiritual superior, Persons, who was then an acknowledged leader among the children of the *diaspora*, now came under the influence of the Guises, through whose generosity he had built the College at Eu, as well as into the circle of the magnetism which Philip II., despite his spirit of procrastination, exercised over all with whom he came in contact. At the first Conference held at Paris in May, 1582, to which two of the leading exiles, Morgan and Paget, were not invited, Persons was ordered to draw up a memorial upon the state of affairs in England.[3] In this Memorial he suggested a combined political and religious attack upon England. It was to be a modern crusade, between the Church and English Protestantism. Philip II. and Farnese were to conquer the country by arms, while Allen was to be made Bishop of

[1] J. KRETZSCHMAR, *Invasionsprojekte der Katholischen Mächte gegen England*, pp. 60–79. Leipzig, 1892.

[2] WEISS, *History of the French Protestant Refugees from the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes to the present time*, p. vi. London, 1854.

[3] TAUNTON, *Jesuits*, p. 96; cf. Persons' letter to Don Juan d'Idiaguez, concerning Paget, Morgan and others, June 30, 1597, printed in DODD-TIERNEY (English and Spanish), vol. III, pp. lix–lxvii.

Durham and to reorganize the spiritual affairs of the Kingdom. The result of these endeavours is too well known to need repetition. What is not well known is the predominating voice of Mary Queen of Scots in all these designs.

The formation of enormous associations for the safety of the Queen after the assassination of the Prince of Orange (July 10, 1584), the leisurely pace at which Philip proceeded in organizing the Armada, its subsequent failure, the official murder of Mary, Queen of Scots, and the whole complexity of events in which the most astonishing factor was the loyalty of the Catholics at home to Elizabeth, proved that the exiles (who, by reason of their learning, virtues and enterprise, were practically regarded as the leaders of the whole party) were completely out of touch with the condition of events in England itself. Both Allen and Persons, in promoting the Armada, were unconsciously behind the spirit of their age. "Had the leaders of the Catholic Revivalist movement confined their endeavour to the task of patiently repairing losses and maintaining progress, without for the moment looking further, a change in the balance of power in England or out of it might some day have brought them relief, and given stability to the work done. By violent endeavours to obtain emancipation, they unwisely furnished their enemies with a pretext for compassing their extirpation."[1] The spirit of Persons and of the Spanish party among the exiles was to procure the good of souls by political measures, and, so far, it had been a failure, and had only resulted in creating bitterness among them on the vital question of loyalty to their Queen as well as to their Faith. A series of enactments against themselves was carried out to the letter, in spite of the evidences of this loyalty. It led the Protestant leaders in England to strengthen their belief that the exiles, especially within the Colleges under Jesuit influence, were traitors to their country.[2] It did worse, for it divided the exiles into factions and threatened all combined effort in the conversion of England.

[1] *The Politics of the English Catholics during the reign of Elizabeth*, by J. H. POLLEN, S.J., in the *Month*, vol. XCIX (1902), p. 583.

[2] It was to refute these charges against the students that Allen wrote one of his best works: *An Apologie and true Declaration of the institution and endeavours of the two English Colleges; the one in Rome, the other now resident in Rhemes, against certain sinister informations given up against the same.* Mounts in Henault, 1581.

As long as Mary Stuart lived, the exiles were united in the one single purpose of placing her on the throne; but after her death (1587) the jealousies which began at the Conference of Paris (1582) manifested themselves in open division. With different political interests, different tendencies in their missionary activities presented themselves, and the two factions, each with separate objects, gradually assumed shape.[1] The first, called the Scottish party, with Morgan and Paget at its head, looked to the King of Scotland (James VI.) as the representative of his mother and the nearest heir to the English crown. To him its members turned as to their future and lawful sovereign; from him and from his gratitude they looked for toleration to the Catholic Church. Meanwhile, they sought to propitiate the existing Government by protestations of allegiance, by offers of personal service, and by communications which incidentally betrayed the plans and proceedings of their opponents. The second faction, called the Spanish party, was led by Allen and Persons, and other leading exiles, the Jesuits Holt and Creswell, Sir Francis Englefield, Sir William Stanley, Fitzherbert and Owen. The Colleges at Douay and Valladolid, being supported by Spanish pensions, officially gave their allegiance to Philip II. in the hope of seeing a Catholic sovereign on the throne of England,[2] but the students

[1] That Persons considered this the beginning of the fratricidal warfare which divided the exiles into two camps is evident from his Autobiography: "And for that Mr. Charles [Paget and Thomas] Morgan that named themselves servants of the Queen of Scots were not admitted to the consultation (which neither the Duke [of Guise] nor the Archbishop [of Paris] would agree unto), thereupon began they presently to be discontented and to oppose themselves against Dr. Allen, me, and the Seminaries, and this was the first beginning of all division among us, for these men could never after be pacifyed, though now it be 20 yeares gon" (namely, 1582; Persons wrote this part of the Autobiography in 1601). Cf. *Publ. Cath. Rec. Soc.*, vol. II, p. 31.

[2] DODD-TIERNEY, vol. III, pp. 29–30, note. *Cal. Dom. Eliz.*, 1591–1594, no. 181. *For. Cal. Elizabeth*, vol. V (1572–1574), no. 180, p. 59, March, 1572. *Sundry English rebels in Low Countries manifest express purpose in their letters of putting the Queen of Scots on the throne of England.* In the *Memorial* written under the direction of Persons, Creswell, and Holt, and presented to the Archduke Ernest in 1594, the situation of the exiles from the political point of view is explained at length. KNOX publishes it (*Douay Diaries*, pp. 401–408) from a contemporary paper in the *Archives of Westminster Diocese*, vol. X, p. 871a. There it is entitled: *Informacion de las cosas y personas de Ynglaterra en quanto apertenece al gobierno de Flandes.* During his researches at the Archivo Histórico Nacional at Madrid, the present writer found what he believes to be the original copy (MS. 8695, f. 841). It is entitled: *Informacion de las cosas y personas de Ynglaterra en quanto Al govierno de flandez, ordinada por los Padres, Roberto Parsons, Josepo Cresuuelo, y Guillemo holto de la Compaña de Jhus, confirmada por hugo ouuen y presentado a Su Magestad por francisco ynglefilde.*

took sides, and in this way the two factions perpetuated themselves in the Mission where the Secular Clergy, who were on the side of the Scottish faction, fought the Jesuits who were looked upon as the chief exponents of the theory of invasion and conquest. All the old animosities, therefore, on the question of ecclesiastical jurisdiction in England were now blended into the question of the Succession. The Spanish party, after Mary Stuart's death, was in favour of the Infanta Isabella, the daughter of Philip II., and it was to enforce her claims that Persons published, in 1594, the *Conference about the Next Succession*.[1] This book became known in the Colleges of Rome and Douay, and the opposition to the Jesuits on the part of the student body broke out afresh. In an instant, it

William Herle in a letter to the Prince of Orange, London, June 11, 1573, gives other reasons as understood in England for Philip's determination of a war with Elizabeth: (1) the desire of taking possession of the realm under the disguise of rooting out heresy; (2) the hospitality offered by Elizabeth to his sworn and deadly enemies, the Calvinist *émigrés;* (3) the fact that the Low Countries could be held in check if England were conquered; and (4) Elizabeth's support of the Low Countries. Cf. *For. Cal. Eliz.*, vol. X (1572–1574), no. 1030, f. 560; *Dom. Cal., Edward VI., Mary, Elizabeth* (1547–1580), p. 565, Sanders to Allen, Madrid, November 6, 1577: "The peace of Christendom depends wholly on the stout assailing of Elizabeth."

[1] *A Conference about the next Succession to the Crowne of Ingland.* Published by R. DOLEMAN. *Imprinted at N.* (*St. Omer*) *with license*, 1594. The interesting discussion which arose about the authorship of this much-hated book is explained by TAUNTON, *Jesuits*, pp. 125–126, 178–179; 426; GILLOW, *Dict. Eng. Cath. Biog.*, vol. V, p. 280; DODD-TIERNEY, vol. III, pp. 31–5. The two reasons which chiefly moved Philip II. and Sixtus V. in Allen's promotion to the dignity of Cardinal was that he might act as the head of all the English Catholics, "to whom all even the highest in birth and rank would not hesitate to bow as their guide, peace-maker and patron in their religious and political concerns, and especially in their relations with the Sovereign-Pontiff: thus supplying what Mary, Queen of Scots, had been to them during her life and consoling them for her loss. The second reason was that he might act as Papal Legate in the *Enterprise* of England and reorganize the English Church and State on Catholic principles, if the Armada should prove successful." (KNOX, *Allen*, p. cxvii.) Allen's death (1594) left the English Catholics without a leader, and it was in this extremity that the Spanish faction, frightened at the growing popularity of James I., made a frantic appeal to the Catholics to rally around Isabella. The English Ambassador in Paris reported to Cecil in June, 1599, that the dissensions among the exiles had increased since the publication of Persons' work, "One faction, of which Parsons is the head, depends on the Jesuits and wishes the overthrow of our present state by conquest or any other means; of the others, consisting chiefly of laymen and gentlemen, Chas. Paget is the head, and he would not consent to conquest by a foreign prince. The division began after the death of Queen of Scots, and they have tried to supplant each other, especially lately, since the Infanta's title has been set on foot, according to a book written by Parsons, under Dolman's name. The Jesuits' party take her side violently; Paget and his side oppose, so that there is extreme hatred between them. The services offered by their party is to discover Parsons' practices to Her Majesty, and the Papists of England, so as to make them disliked and distrusted." *Dom. Cal. Eliz.*, 1598–1601, no. 29.

enkindled a flame which aroused the discontented collegians, and in Douay the students loudly proclaimed themselves in favour of James I. The old grievances, real or imaginary, which had formed the students' litany of complaints, were exaggerated to the utmost; particular wrongs were aggravated by the recital of public injuries; the opposition of the Jesuits to James I. was denounced as a want of allegiance to lawful authority; the activity of the Society on the Mission in England was said to be due to a selfish desire that the Jesuits alone should bear the glory of bringing the country back to the Faith, and a demand was made on all sides for the recall of the Society from the English Mission, from the government of the English College at Rome, and from the spiritual direction of Douay. The first impulse of the Jesuit General, Aquaviva, was to yield to some of these demands, but Dr. Barret, then President of Douay, who was in Rome at the time, went to the Pope and implored him to prevent the withdrawal of the Society from the College. Letters reached Rome to the same effect from leading exiles like Stapleton, the Duchess of Feria, Sir Francis Englefield, and others, and the result was a moral victory for the Jesuits. Persons became Rector of the English College at Rome in 1598, and ten of the discontented scholars were removed from Rome to Douay to finish their studies there. At Douay itself, the Jesuit confessor was left; and in the appointment of the Archpriest, the following year, the enemies of the Society affected to see a victory over the discontented priests in England. Persons' appointment to the English College of Rome caused peace there for a time, and in this respect much credit is due to his ability and broad-mindedness in winning the confidence of the students; but the sending of the malcontents to Douay only intensified the opposition instead of calming it. In the Low Countries, things had been going from bad to worse with the exiles, and one of the principal sources of trouble was the question of the Spanish pensions. They had never been well managed, even when granted. The unbusinesslike character of so many of Philip's schemes was very manifest in the payment of the pensions. The reason they were granted was not altogether charity, as the exiles well knew, for they served as a reward to those who supported the King's policy, and as an

inducement to others to give their adherence to the cause. When Spain began to take part in the religious wars in France, the pensions practically ceased altogether. The result of this unfortunate stoppage can be better imagined than described. The nobler spirits bore their sufferings with fortitude, but in many cases the mismanagement only served to separate the factions more widely.[1] Fr. William Holt, S.J., a zealous adherent of the Spanish party, was Philip's agent at Brussels for the administration of the funds devoted to the support of the exiles. He was a man of character and talent, but the austerity of his manners and the violent political attitude he had assumed embittered many, and soon his treatment of the exiles who differed with him on the question of the Succession became the subject of angry complaint. The hostility towards one member of the Society was turned against the whole body, and petitions were made for his removal from the post. To counteract these complaints, petitions declaratory of his zeal and prudence were circulated

[1] *The Politics of the English Catholics, etc.*, by J. H. POLLEN, S.J., in the *Month*, vol. C (August, 1902), p. 181: "Their sufferings are recorded by themselves in the numerous begging letters to the Pope, the King of Spain, and other patrons, which abound in foreign archives. A description by a bitterly hostile pen will be found in *The Estate of the English Fugitives under the King of Spain*, 1595 (reprinted in *Sadler's State Papers*, vol. II, pp. 208–330, London, 1801). During James I.'s reign, the position of the exiles in the affairs of the Government grows fainter and fainter; and once the Gunpowder Plot had lost its hold on the popular mind, the exiles are seldom considered a danger to the nation. It was only when some "plot" was reported at Whitehall, or when some new book from the pen of an exile appeared to upset the smug complacency of the English Court, or when the English agents at Brussels became alarmed at hearing that "very muche moneys" were being sent from England for the exiles, that we find a momentary re-awakening of James's interest in these "ill-affected subjects" of his across the Channel. (Cf. *P.R.O.*, *Flanders Correspondence*, vol. 12 (1616–1617), Tobie Matthews to (? Turnbull), Louvain, November 12, 1616). Apart from their efforts to have the Gunpowder Plot conspirators—"lewd instruments of practices against His Majesty's State"—banished from the realm of the Archdukes (cf. *P.R.O.*, *Flanders Correspondence*, vol. 9, ff. 251–282, Edmonds to Salisbury, Brussels, April 17, June 14, August 2, 1609), it is only occasionally that we find James reproaching the King of Spain, as Elizabeth did, for the pensions paid to English noblemen in exile and for the support given to the Colleges. (*Vat. Libr.*, *Bibl. Barb.*, vol. 5242, ff. 181–2: *Relatione d'Inghilterra fatta dal Cardinale Bentivoglio a tempo della sua nunziatura appresso li Ser^mi Arciduchi Alberto et Donna Isabella, Infanta di Spagna, sua moglie, et inviata a Roma sotto li 31 de Gennaro*, 1609.) "All Englishmen in the Low Countries live hardly, and for seven months have not had a penny, so that many of them are ready to starve" (Boseley to (? Cecil), Antwerp, April 7, 1592. *Dom. Cal. Eliz.*, 1591–1594, p. 118). Cf. *Il presente stato dell' Inglesi che sono fuori della patria quest'anno* 1597 (*Vat. Libr.*, *Bibl. Vat.*, MS. Latin, vol. 6287, f. 123).

among the exiles, and one of these petitions, drawn up by Dr. Worthington in November, 1596, was signed by seven o the professors of Douay; another was signed by eighteen exiled priests and over ninety exiled laymen.[1] One of Holt's chief enemies, the leading opponent likewise of Persons and the Spanish party, was William Gifford, Dean of Lille. Gifford wielded a paramount influence in English affairs both at the time of the Holt difficulty and afterwards, when he became Archbishop of Rheims. The climax came when Morgan brought a list of thirty-six charges against Father Holt. He was acquitted in the Nuncio's Court, but this favourable decision only increased the enmity of the opponents of the Society. The English College of Douay was the centre of all these "stirs" in Flanders, and the effect upon the serious attention necessary for the study of theology and the preparation for the arduous work of the missions was a demoralizing one. The "stirs" at Wisbech and at Rome occurred at the same time as those in Flanders, and the state of the English Church at home and abroad was so disheartening that Fr. Persons drew up a memorial to the Pope in 1597, praying for the creation of an English hierarchy.[2] We are still at a loss to know the exact moment when Persons changed his mind on this subject; but he soon gave up the idea, and in 1598 obtained the nomination of an Archpriest for the Secular Clergy. Thus was born the third cause of dissension—the Archpriest controversy. Persons' scheme, as seen by his enemies, was the subjugation of all the Secular priests to the Society through a recognized head, who was to

[1] In the *Arch. Dioc. West.*, vol. XI, p. 1157, is a list containing: *The names of certain English Exiles in Flanders who refused to sign the address in favour of the English Fathers of the Society of Jesus* (1596). The anti-Jesuit movement among the exiles was more bitter in Flanders than elsewhere. Fr. Holt's harshness caused violent opposition to the leader of the Spanish party. He was attacked by Gifford, but Worthington drew up a petition in favour of the Jesuits in which he calls Persons the "Lantern of the Country." (*Dom. Cal. Eliz. Add.* (1580–1625), no. 40.) This petition is printed in full from the *Arch. Dioc. West.* (vol. V, p. 329), with the principal signatures, by DODD-TIERNEY, vol. III, pp. lxxxix–xc. Cf. also: *Testimonial in favour of Fr. Holt and the Jesuits from the English Carthusians at Mechlin*, November 19, 1596 (*Arch. Dioc. West.*, vol. V, p. 311); *Attestation in favour of Fr. Holt and the Jesuits from Margaret Clement, Prioress of the English Augustinian nuns at Louvain*, November 21, 1596 (*ibid.*, vol. V, p. 313). It appears to be addressed to Cardinal Borghese.

[2] *The Stirs of Wisbech*, by J. H. POLLEN, S.J., in the *Month*, vol. CXX (1912), pp. 33–49.

be bound by secret instructions to the Superior of the Jesuits in England in such a way that once the Queen was dead, the whole Catholic body could be swung at one touch in favour of a Catholic candidate for the Crown who would restore the Catholic religion. We know how badly Persons was deceived in this design, for the easy succession of James I. (1603) rendered all his plans futile, whilst the nomination of an Archpriest, instead of a Bishop, led to serious divisions among the Secular Clergy themselves, and widened further the breach between them and the Society of Jesus.

Long before this unsatisfying arrangement of ecclesiastical authority was an accomplished fact, the need of a Superior on the Missions had been keenly felt. The English Seminaries of Douay, Rome, Valladolid, and Seville were continuing to send out priests to England, and all were obeying different superiors. The English Jesuits had increased greatly in numbers from the day their Society assumed charge of the English College of Rome; and the College of Saint Omer (which was entirely in their hands) was beginning to show fruits in the number of young men who became members of the Society. Many joined the Society so as to escape the acephalous condition of the Secular Clergy, while many others, disheartened by the unceasing quarrels between the Jesuits and Seculars, were led to seek peace in the Benedictine Monasteries of Spain and Italy. The dispute spread more and more after the death of Allen, who alone seemed able to hold the different factions in check, and every one saw that only a recognized and properly created hierarchy would put a stop to these unhappy differences, which made it so much easier for the Government to rob the people of their faith. How far the agents of the Government were responsible for these dissensions would be difficult to say.[1] The Jesuits found themselves hated on all sides; for, as it was claimed against them, although originally introduced on the missions as the assistants of the Secular Clergy, they had become, with their compact organization, and with the advantage of a resident Superior, the most influential body in the English

[1] *Memoirs of Father Robert Persons*, no. VI. Notes concerning the English Mission, *Publ. Cath. Rec. Soc.*, vol. IV (1907), pp. 121–125.

Church.[1] They possessed more extensive Faculties than the clergy. They were attached to the principal families, and, being on the whole better educated and better trained for the work, they were consulted by leading Catholics in their difficulties, and were the agents through whom most of the funds for the Missions and for the Colleges were administered. It was only natural that the young priests who had fallen under the benevolent influence of the Fathers of the Society on the Continent should look up to the Jesuit Superior in England for guidance and support. The elder clergy, in consequence, with all their political animosity, linked with religious misunderstandings of the worst sort, felt that they were fighting for their own existence as a corporate body. The boys setting out for Douay were influenced for or against the Jesuits ; and many of the old priests, who, worn out with work, returned to their Alma Mater to die, influenced the collegians also. In face of what seemed a complete victory for their enemies, the Secular Clergy took steps to consolidate themselves. A congregation or fraternity of Secular priests was projected by Mush and Colleton, with two independent branches, with centres in Lancashire and in London, each with a resident Superior, two assistants, and a secretary, who were elected annually. At a time when England was overrun with informers and pursuivants, such a society was more ideal than practical, because it was as impossible as it was dangerous for many priests to meet together.[2]

Persons' attitude on the question of the appointment of an

[1] Gifford, at that time Dean of Lille, wrote on September 25, 1597, to the Nuncio at Brussels, that silence in the present disturbed condition of England was impossible. What the sword of the heretic could not do, the dissensions among the brethren were doing ; and it was imperative that some one having full authority from the Holy See be sent to England to make peace. A secular priest ought to be chosen either from those in England or on the Continent. Only a secular priest can bring about concord, "et aemulationem quae adversus fratres exorta est, tollat." (*Vat. Arch., Nunz. di Fiandra*, vol. II, f. 260.) The Nuncio in reporting this says that one of the chief reasons against a Jesuit Superior is that the Seculars do not wish the alms of the faithful to be at the disposition of the Society (*ibid.*, f. 258 verso) ; cf. also *Archivio Borghese III*, vol. 40, f. 121. Paget also made an accusation against the Fathers of the Society of confiscating all the money sent over from England for educational purposes for their own establishments (*Stonyhurst Archives, Anglia*, A. II, n. 46).

[2] A translation of the Rules of the Fraternity is among the *Stonyhurst Archives, Anglia*, A. II, 32 ; COLLETON, *Just Defence of the Slandered Priestes*, pp. 123–125. London, 1602 ; TAUNTON, *Jesuits*, pp. 211–216 ; DODD-TIERNEY, vol. III, p. 45, note.

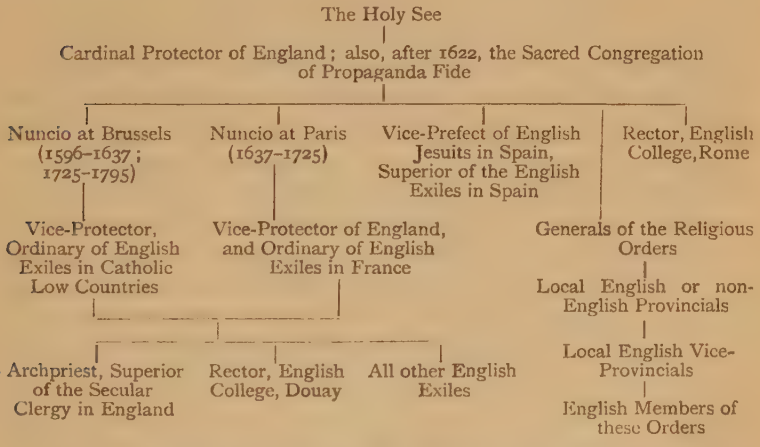
ecclesiastical Superior is difficult to understand. In 1580, as has already been said, he wrote to Agazario, then Rector of the English College, Rome, expressing the hope that a bishop would be speedily nominated. Eleven years later he even obtained a promise from the Venerable Bishop of Jaen, Don Francesco Sarmientos, of an income for two or three bishops in case the Holy See should nominate them.[1] But still nothing was done. In 1597, when the fraternity of Secular priests was begun, and when those who were likely to be placed at the head of the London and Lancashire divisions were avowed enemies of the Jesuits, the necessity seems to have struck him as most imperative, and he presented a memorial to the Pope, praying for the appointment of two Superiors with Sees *in partibus:* one, an archbishop to reside at Brussels, which was the geographical centre of the Exile; the other, a bishop to reside at large in England, with six or seven archpriests under him scattered throughout the country.[2] This was also, more or less, the scheme of Fr. Holt. It would be a very interesting fact for the history of the episcopacy in England to know why Persons suddenly veered around from this admirable scheme. His opponents say that he realized after proposing it that it would be impossible to fill up the want of "sacramental agents" without making the bishops at the same time spiritual rulers with ordinary jurisdiction.[3] The appointment of Ordinaries would interfere, it was alleged,

[1] THOS. HUNTER, S.J., *A Modest Defence of the Clergy and Religious against R.C.'s (Dodd) History of Doway. With an account of the Matters of Fact Misrepresented in the Same History*, p. 67, s. 1. 1714.

[2] "The Archbishop in Belgium was to exercise the external jurisdiction of punishment which could not be exercised in England; he was to oversee and control all informations sent to Rome; to give or withhold faculties for priests going on the Mission, so as to prevent any one from going into England without his leave; he was to keep union among the Catholics in Belgium; and was to have a similar body of assistants. According to Persons' hierarchical experiment, both bishops were to have jurisdiction over the whole of England, and were to be consecrated in secret, and the whole business got over before the Government knew anything about it, so that freedom of egress and ingress should be secured." TAUNTON, *Jesuits*, p. 211. *Vatican Library, MS. Vaticana Latin*, vol. 6227, f. 27; PERSONS, S.J., *A Briefe Apologie, or Defence of the Catholike Ecclesiastical Hierarchie*, p. 102. Saint Omer, 1601; DODD-TIERNEY, vol. III, p. cxvii.

[3] *Vat. Arch., Archivio Borghese III*, t. 124c, f. 132: *Rationes quare Catholici Anglicani subordinationem aliquam petunt inter sacerdotes anglicanae gentis tantum in Anglia quantum in Belgio degentes.* Printed in DODD-TIERNEY, vol. III, lxvii–cxix.

with the political and ecclesiastical monopoly for which he had striven ever since his flight from England in 1581. Whatever the reason was, whether to preserve the supremacy the Society had gained, or because a hierarchical organization would have made the handling of the Catholics unwieldy in the event of a Catholic succession to the throne, or simply because—as is far more probable, he was obeying the wishes of the Pope, at any rate, the idea of bishops was abandoned, and the novel, presbyterian-looking government of archpriests was approved by Rome in May, 1598. The main features of the new Constitution of the clergy[1] were the following: in April, 1596, Clement VIII. had created an autonomous nunciature for the Spanish Low Countries, with its seat at Brussels, and instead of an English archbishop residing there, with complete jurisdiction over the Catholic *diaspora* as well as over the Catholics in England, the Nuncio was granted archiepiscopal powers as Vice-Protector of the English nation. A tentative description of the subordinate authority for the English Secular Clergy might be given as follows:—


The Holy See
Cardinal Protector of England; also, after 1622, the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide
Nuncio at Brussels (1596–1637; 1725–1795)
Nuncio at Paris (1637–1725)
Vice-Prefect of English Jesuits in Spain, Superior of the English Exiles in Spain
Rector, English College, Rome
Vice-Protector, Ordinary of English Exiles in Catholic Low Countries
Vice-Protector of England, and Ordinary of English Exiles in France
Generals of the Religious Orders
Local English or non-English Provincials
Local English Vice-Provincials
English Members of these Orders
Archpriest, Superior of the Secular Clergy in England
Rector, English College, Douay
All other English Exiles

This Constitution, which may be said in a certain sense to have lasted for over eighty years, has often been criticised as cumbersome and bureaucratic; but so far as Spain and Flanders are concerned no just criticism can be made, for

[1] *The Politics of the English Catholics, etc.*, by J. H. POLLEN, S.J., in the *Month*, vol. C (1902), p. 184.

redress was in all cases immediately available. It was in England, however, that the opposition to this scheme of "presbyterian" superiority broke out, and it echoed itself in Douay, Saint Omer, the Spanish Colleges, and in Rome. Rightly or wrongly, the Holy See seemed to be convinced that, until the persecution had diminished, episcopal government was not in practice the best method of governing the English Catholics. Many documents in the Vatican Archives, especially in those little-known sources for English Church history, the Nunziatura di Fiandra [1] and the Archivio Borghese,[2] prove how seriously this matter was considered by the Papal Court, and that bishops were nominated just as soon as the state of the kingdom seemed sufficiently safe to warrant their being sent. It would form an interesting subject for speculation, however, to work out the effect on the persecuted Church if, as had been done in Ireland, bishops had always been sent. There is little doubt that a constant supply of bishops, even in the face of the danger of a more terrible persecution, would have strengthened the faith of the people in moments of crisis. The appointment of the Archpriest in the person of George Blackwell, who was to be helped in governing the Secular Clergy by twelve assistants, who were called Councillors (the Cardinal Protector nominating six, and the Archpriest six), might have settled the difficulty if the whole arrangement had been a thoroughly open one. It soon, however, became known that this arrangement contained a secret clause; this at once precipitated affairs, and the Secular Clergy complained that this peculiar scheme had been foisted on them unawares. We know now that this famous clause was never intended to place the Archpriest at the mercy of the Jesuit Superior; then, however, the result was the unfortunate Archpriest Controversy, which, though having no direct bearing on our thesis, shows how closely the College was connected with English affairs.[3] It is important

[1] CAUCHIE, *De la création d'une École belge à Rome*, p. 21, Tournai, 1896 (*Congrès Archéologique et historique de Tournai en* 1895).

[2] PASTEUR, *Inventaire du Fonds Borghese au point de vue l'histoire des Pays-Bas*, in the *BCRH*, vol. 79, pp. 1–217, Bruxelles, 1910.

[3] T. G. LAW, *Jesuits and Seculars in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, with a reprint of Bagshaw's "True Relation of the faction begun at Wisbech."* London, 1889; *ibid.*, *The Archpriest Controversy*, 2 vols. *Printed for the Camden Society.* London, 1896–1897.

to note that the coming and going of students to and from Douay made every aspect of the quarrel as well known in the College as in London. To say that the charge and countercharge between the two factions demoralized the hours of study and upset the steady progress of the Colleges in Flanders, in Spain, and at Rome, is putting it at its mildest. One good effect, however, of reorganization in the government of the English Catholics was that the paternalism of the last half-century, which had brought about a sort of stagnation was gone. The seat of administration was now changed from Rome to England, and instead of relying upon the aid of a foreign Government for the pensions by which its external authority was maintained, the Church in England became more or less self-supporting. Instead of being under the sole protection of Spain, it was now taken under the protection of France as well, and the rivalry between the two nations brought advantages to the whole Catholic party.[1] The establishment of a form of central government in England gave the impetus to the internal growth of religious zeal manifested so clearly in the rise of the English Province of the Jesuits, with its chain of Colleges and houses, the Anglo-Benedictine Congregation, the Second Franciscan Province, and the development of the numerous congregations of religious women during the next decade or two (1599–1629), when the English Catholics were to reach the zenith of their efforts in the Counter-Reformation of the Church. Discord had been sown, however, and despite this wonderful flowering of religious life, we shall see that it was still destined to bear very bitter fruit in the future. The Archpriest Controversy only ended when, after three unsuccessful attempts to satisfy the Clergy, William Bishop,[2] then a member of the House of Writers in Paris,[3] was consecrated Bishop of Chalcedon *in partibus* at Paris, June 4, 1623.

[1] *The Politics of the English Catholics, etc.*, by J. H. POLLEN, S.J., in the *Month*, vol. C (1902), p. 184.

[2] BRADY, *Episcopal Succession*, vol. III, pp. 68–73. For an example of the numerous documents on the question of the appointment of a Bishop, cf. *Vat. Arch.*, *Archivio Borghese II*, vol. 23–24, ff. 233–251: *An sint creandi episcopi in Anglia*, Nuncio to Card. Borghese, Brussels, October 6, 1612.

[3] Douay's influence in the controversies of the times was soon felt, and it was feared in Anglican ecclesiastical circles that the young English priests coming from the College would wield too powerful a sway over the nation through their doctrinal and

Such, in general outline, was the condition in the English Church at home and abroad during the first years the English collegians found themselves back in their old home at Douay. The return in 1593 was a return to poverty. Dr. Barret's reason in going back to the College at Douay, was that he would not have to pay rent as at Rheims, and he hoped that the generosity of Philip II. would respond more promptly to their needs when they were again on Spanish territory. The journey itself ate up all the slender resources of the College, and on their arrival they found the buildings of their first home in a dilapidated condition. Considerable repairs were necessary, and debts were contracted by Dr. Barret which were to militate against the peace and progress of the College under his successor, Dr. Worthington.

apologetic writings. Accordingly, in 1609, the Dean of Exeter, Matthew Sutcliffe, suggested to the King that a college of Anglican theologians should be established in England for the purpose of answering any books from Catholic writers and of expounding the reformed religion by means of catechisms and treatises. James entered warmly into this design, and gave a grant of land in Chelsea and £2000 to begin the College. The Archbishop of Canterbury gave a library of books and £100. Sutcliffe himself gave £2000, and became the first Rector. Controversial subjects were handled by twelve theologians, and historical subjects by two historiographers. The small effect this pretentious design had upon the promotion of Anglican interests soon lost the College its popularity, and it does not seem to have survived its fourth Rector (1668). Birkhead, the Archpriest at the time of its foundation (1609), saw the necessity of meeting this concerted attack on the Faith by a similar institution. Bentivoglio, then Nuncio at Brussels, also realized the importance of combating the new College, and hoped that the English College authorities at Douay would be able to set up a similar body of writers at Douay itself. Antwerp had been mentioned, he says, for the Catholic College of controversy; but it was a commercial town, not an intellectual one, he adds, the only advantage being its nearness to England and the ease with which such works could be sent across the Channel. (Cf. *Vat. Arch., Archivio Borghese I*, vol. 190, ff. 1–49; *Relatione d'Inghilterra fatta da Mgr. Bentivoglio, Archivescovo di Rhode, Nuntio della Santità di N.S. Papa Paolo IV. appresso i Serenissimi Principi l'Archiduca Alberto e Donna Isabella, Infanta di Spagna, et inviata all' Illmo. Cardinale Borghese, nipote di sua Santità, sotto li* 31 *di Gennaro*, 1609.) Thomas Sackville, one of the leaders among the exiles, promised his support. Dr. Smith, then the Clergy Agent at Rome, obtained the Pope's approbation. Some difficulty arose over the town where the House of Writers, as it was called, should be erected. The Belgian Jesuits opposed its foundation at Douay, and through Dom. Bradshaw, the Prior of the English Benedictine Monastery of the town, Caverel was asked by the English Seculars to allow the House of Writers to be begun in the Arras College in Paris. This he readily granted, and on October 26, 1611, Smith, Bishop, Champney, Ireland, and other English Seculars, began residence there. Smith was called away in 1625 to succeed Bishop, as Vicar Apostolic of England. Champney was appointed Vice-Rector of the English College of Douay in 1619. Kellison, who was also named among its founders, was never in residence at the House of Writers, and Richard Ireland died there in 1636. The House, however, produced many notable works, and later (1667) was to some extent replaced by the English Seminary of St. Gregory.

The condition of the College was such that Dr. Barret was obliged to send students to the other colleges to lighten the burden. The professors were unpaid; nothing had been received of the Spanish pension; and the Statute of 1593 (35 Eliz., c. 2) made it more difficult than ever for the Catholics in England to settle the unpaid tuition-fees of their sons. Cardinal Allen died, October 16, 1594, leaving only a legacy of debts which he begged Philip II. in Christian charity to pay. It was in this extremity that Persons persuaded Dr. Barret to send his students to the Jesuit College lectures in Douay, and so avoid the necessity of keeping a staff of professors. It was indeed the only practical thing to do at the time. The students became externs at the Jesuit College in the town, and a Jesuit confessor was placed over them.[1] We have no official records for these first five years, 1593–1598, but subsequent facts prove how fatal this arrangement was to the harmony of the College. Rome, Valladolid, Seville, Eu, and San Lúcar, were all under the direction of the Jesuits, and now also at Douay Jesuit influence became paramount. The students constantly broke out into complaints. The Secular Clergy set up an outcry in England that their last stronghold was being captured by the English members of the Society, and Barret was openly accused of wishing secretly to hand the College over to them. His last days were constantly embittered by mutiny against his rule. He died, May 20, 1599, his greatest misfortune having been his succeeding to a man of such singular merit as Cardinal Allen. "Things were not going well with the English College. Its slender resources were quite inadequate to provide for the number of students who presented themselves at its doors. It was heavily in debt, and so far from being able to discharge any of its

[1] "As for Dr. Barrett, he was in a manner unknown at Rome, nor was he endowed with a proper Genius, to understand matters of such high concern, when Men's Humours were to be compar'd and managed. But Parsons had proper talents that Way. He was subtle, powerful, indefatigable, and obliging; he left no Stone unmoved to bring the Clergy under his Girdle. The Roman College was already enslav'd, and soon after upon Dr. Barrett's Decease, Dr. Worthington, a known Creature of the Jesuits, is made President of Douay College. This Worthington entirely changeth the Oeconomy of the House, he discards all the Masters that were constantly Clergymen; he obligeth the Scholars to hear all their Lessons at the Walloon Jesuits. Nay, as if both Learning and Conscience had forsaken the Clergy all on a sudden, an English Jesuit was retain'd to hear the Scholars' Confessions." [DODD], *History of Douay College*, p. 13.

obligations, it was forced to contract new loans to meet current expenses. The food and clothing of the students were insufficient, and the pinch of poverty was felt throughout the house to the detriment of discipline and scholarship."[1] But if Dr. Barret was not a suitable successor to Allen, and if, during his administration of the College, he lost the confidence of the Secular Clergy on the Mission, the troubled reign of Dr. Worthington (1599–1613) who succeeded him and who was an avowed friend of the Society, is claimed to be the worst the College ever saw. The *Diaries* afford no complete historical account of his presidency, and though from other sources we know something about the sad story of those fourteen years, still, it must be admitted that since we do not know Barret's or Worthington's side of the case, they should not be condemned unheard. Dr. Worthington had long been charged with being a blind and unyielding partisan of the Society in the long struggle between the Seculars and Jesuits. In the exiles' dispute with Fr. Holt, S.J., he had declared himself on the side of the Society, and subsequently in a letter to Persons, January 13, 1597, he had placed himself by a vow of obedience at the disposal of the English Jesuits. No one would have blamed him for joining the Jesuits, for many Secular priests had done so while on the Mission or while in prison waiting for their martyrdom; but to have what was erroneously called a secret Jesuit at the head of the Secular College of Douay was deeply resented by the Clergy. Father Persons, to whom it is said he made the so-called vow, studiously ignored it at all times. The presence of the Jesuit confessor, however, in the house, and Worthington's ruling that thenceforth no student would be admitted as an alumnus or Pope's pensioner, without the approval of the Archpriest or the Superior of the English Jesuits, were taken by the clergy to signify that Douay was at last in the hands of their enemies. Other circumstances were not wanting to increase the irritation which this state of things had caused.[2] For

[1] BURTON, *Douay Diaries*, vol. I, p. xvi (*Publ. Cath. Rec. Soc.*, vol. 10 (1911)).

[2] The erection of the Irish Secular College at Douay in 1594 was viewed with alarm by the Government, for Douay had always been an "enemy town, and held for the Spaniard; they that are brought up there must have Spanish hearts, for they shall hear Her Majesty continually ill-spoken of and the worth of the Spaniards applauded." (Cf. *Dom. Cal. Eliz.*, 1598-1601, 135, Temple to Cecil, Brussels, December 9, 1600.)

some years, owing to all these controversies and dissensions in the ecclesiastical body, studies had suffered, and the spiritual life of the students had been neglected. The young priests, in consequence, who were sent on the Mission were far below the old standard, and scandals arose here and there in England because of their want of virtue and learning. The name and the honour of the Secular Clergy began to suffer. The Catholics, filled with a vague suspicion of danger, closed their doors against all members of the Secular Clergy with whom they were not personally acquainted. The result was that the collectors who went about the country begging alms for Douay came away empty-handed. The College was cut off from the source of its former revenues, and the donations of the Catholics were now given to the new Jesuit College of Saint Omer. It was in vain that the Archpriest remonstrated. Insufficiently prepared missionaries were sent from the College, and, as the evils continued to increase, apostasies and disorders followed, due to their lack of training; and the Secular Clergy, especially after Blackwell's mistaken policy in the Oath of Allegiance, were soon considered unworthy of the honourable days of the past. Blackwell's appointment had not settled the first of the three difficulties of the Church in England, namely, the question of ecclesiastical jurisdiction which we have described above at some length in order to show its effect on the college life at Douay, for it brought in turn the third of these dissensions, the Archpriest Controversy; meanwhile, the second main source of trouble, the question of the Succession, divided the exiles and the Colleges into various factions. The publication of Persons' *Conference about the Next Succession* was followed by another abortive attempt at invasion on the part of Philip (1597), while Albert's marriage to Isabella (1598) eliminated her as a possible heir to the English throne. The Archduchess cannot be said ever to have lent a serious ear to these proposals. The Spanish party among the exiles now put the prospective crown upon the fair head of Lady Arabella Stuart, the cousin of James I. Father Persons had speculated on the possibility of a marriage

It was reported in London that all priests ordained at Douay were sworn by a Jesuit before leaving for England to remain faithful to the Archduke and the Infanta. (Cf. *Dom. Cal. Eliz.*, 1601–1603, p. 86.)

between the Archduchess Isabella and Cardinal Farnese (who had not received sacred orders), the brother of the Duke of Parma, who was, like Isabella, a descendant of John of Gaunt. Farnese was now selected to marry the Lady Arabella. Spain could scarcely refuse its consent. France would gladly grasp at a marriage which would prevent the Scottish King from succeeding. Clement VIII. agreed to the proposal and immediately signed two Briefs, one to the English Catholic nobles, the other to the Archpriest and the clergy, exhorting them to favour a Catholic succession. These were despatched to the Nuncio at Brussels, accompanied by instructions to the effect that they were to be published the moment Elizabeth died. Elizabeth took a long while to die. Before her death the two Briefs were in Garnet's possession in London. The quiet accession of James I. (March 24, 1603) rendered them useless, and Garnet, who was then the Superior of the Jesuits in England, burnt them.[1] The Queen remained absolute mistress of her nation to the very last. She knew well that any preference among the numerous claimants to her throne might plunge the country into civil war, and she steadfastly refused to name her successor, trusting that James VI. of Scotland would take her place without any opposition. The "wisest fool in Christendom" had not been idle. His treatment of Archbishop Beaton had shown him to be at heart easy-going and tolerant. His wife, Anne, daughter of Frederick II. of Denmark, was known also to be tolerant; and from the day of their marriage (1589), his policy—the absolute mastery in Scotland and the succession to Elizabeth—had been pursued with a skill and a tenacity which are the best evidences of his grasp of the situation. The Pope and the majority of the exiles had always regarded him with

[1] It is questionable whether Clement VIII. and those who were engineering Lady Arabella's claims to the throne were in earnest or not. Their idea may have been only to frighten James into a more tolerant attitude towards the Church by the possibility of her success and the probability of his own excommunication. At any rate, attempts were made to win over his favourites to the idea of toleration, while the leading Catholics of England were considering the advisability of offering him ten or twenty thousand crowns a year as its price. (Cf. *Vatican Library, MS. Urbano*, vol. 855, ff. 527–529.) Liberty of conscience was nearer a certainty in the autumn of 1599 than ever before; at Douay, Elizabeth was reported to have said in reply to her ministers' wishes for more stringent laws against the Catholics:—"If you will have them decrease, do it by your good lives and works, for I will persecute no more than I have already." (*Dom. Cal. Eliz.*, 1601–1603, p. 86.)

distrust, though with the hope that, if dealt with generously, the great boon they desired—honourable toleration for the Catholics—might be gained. James' succession meant a change in the politico-religious views of the time. "On the Catholic side, certain mediaeval ideas, especially the inability of heretical kings to rule Catholic peoples, had passed, and never again would Catholic Spain or Italy, or English Catholic exiles dream of setting up a candidate for the English throne. The welcome, too, which Clement VIII. accorded to King James, heretic though he was, when once his succession was an accomplished fact, marks an important stage in the transformation of the lofty patriarchal ideas of Papal policy, which had been held by mediaeval Pontiffs, to the more humdrum but practical rule of adapting themselves to circumstances, which from thenceforwards was to be so characteristic of the later Popes."[1] Not only was the Spanish party at home and abroad a thing of the past, but swift retribution was to overtake the men who had engineered the opposition to the Scottish King. Father Persons, then nearly sixty years old, was advised to take a change of air, and left Rome for Naples. Clement VIII. forbade his return (1604), but in the following year, when Clement died, he was recalled and enjoyed the favour of Paul V. until 1610, the year of his death.

[1] The failure of the Armada had a chastening effect upon the more violent element among the Catholic exiles, and imperceptibly a change was becoming evident in their attitude towards Elizabeth. Force and politics now gave way wholly to mission-work and prayer; but it cannot be said that the Government felt any relief at the change. The young priests who were flocking into England, in spite of all the traps laid for them at the chief ports, in spite of spies and informers in Catholic centres, were fired by the stories of the martyrdom of those who had preceded them. The Proclamation of the Queen against the Seminary priests and Jesuits, October 18, 1591, is an evidence of this. Their courage and fearlessness in entering England was well known to the Government. (Cf. *Stonyhurst Archives, Anglia A.* VI, no. 18, p. 67.) The penal laws themselves acted like a two-edged sword on the policy of Elizabeth towards the Church. Their direct effect was the spreading the Foundation Movement on the Continent, and in consequence the little band of priests and laymen of the English Counter-Reformation grew stronger every year. Before the penal laws only one or two seminaries were supported by the English Catholics; in 1597, as Henry Tichborne, S.J., writes to Thomas Derbyshire, S.J., from Pont-à-Mousson, February 2, 1597, there were seventy scholars supported by alms at Douay; one hundred and twenty at Saint Omer; eighty at Valladolid; sixty at Seville; sixty at San Lúcar; and in the two residences at Lisbon, between forty and fifty. From the little band of one hundred priests in 1585, there were now five hundred priests in England, not counting Jesuits and the hundred other religious of different Orders. Cf. *The Accession of King James I.*, by J. H. POLLEN, S.J., in the *Month*, vol. CI (1903), pp. 572–586.

During this period of uncertainty about the succession (1597–1603), the students at Douay ranged themselves on the side of James I., as a protest against the Jesuits, whom they considered meddlers in affairs which ought to be left to the politicians. They exaggerated all their old grievances against the Society, and were among those who expressed the wish in 1597, for the exclusion of the Jesuits from the English Mission and the English educational establishments. It would be idle to give to a body of young students, numbering scarcely a hundred, any positive influence in the political events of the time, but the effect of the question of succession on their lives cannot be lightly estimated. Centre of all the intrigues of the exiles in Flanders, torn by troubles political, religious, and financial, and fallen from its old and high ideals of the past, the College of Douay seemed on the verge of ruin. Dr. Worthington was worse than feeble ; he was a weakling whose attempts to bring order out of the chaos in which the College was plunged were poor preparations for the persecution which was about to break out in England more cruelly than ever. The plots which were formed soon after the accession of James, and in which certain Catholic priests and laymen were more than spectators, not only made a weak king like James suspicious of all Catholic activity, but brought out into violent relief the apparent incompatibility of allegiance to the Holy See and to the Crown. The war just beginning between the Establishment and Puritanism which was to explode with such terrible effect in the next reign, was lost sight of now in the general attack upon the Catholic Church. The toleration the King had shown to the Church had brought many of the exiled priests back to England towards the close of Elizabeth's reign, and many Catholics who had hitherto conformed out of fear now took courage and absented themselves from the established worship. The increase of the Catholic body, together with the Queen's open preference for the Church of Rome, made the King's position all the more difficult. Goaded on by Parliament, he put forth a proclamation in February, 1604, ordering all Catholic priests to leave the kingdom before the end of March. The same Parliament passed an Act confirming all the inhuman legislation of Elizabeth against the Catholics, and rendering it in certain

respects even more severe.[1] It was quite evident to the exiles on the Continent that despite James's solemn promise of toleration no mercy would be shown them if they returned. The last hopes of forcing the King to grant toleration and freedom of worship were dissipated when the Treaty of Peace between England and the Spanish Low Countries was signed. The long, dreary tale of shattered hopes, idle projects and mutual deception, centring around the Court of St. James during the marriage negotiations between Henry, Prince of Wales, and Anne, the daughter of Philip, not only ended in failure but renewed the war between the two countries. In September, 1604, all the priests who were in prison were deported, and in February, 1605, the King declared to the Council that it was his will to put the penal laws in force with all their old vigour, short of death. The Catholics at home and abroad finally gave up all hope. Toleration was farther away than ever, and they were driven to despair. The "Gunpowder Plot" was the result of the mad conspiracy of the bolder spirits among them to answer James in the same language; and the result of this failure was to heighten the power of Parliament in its design of a rigorous persecution against them. A new law was passed ordering that all persons sent out of the realm for their education could not inherit property until they had taken the oath against the deposing power of the Pope. The direct bearing of these new laws upon the English Catholic Colleges abroad was not lost sight of by the legislators, and soon after James's accession, Douay seemed to be in a state of collapse. The Visitation of the College in 1599, had shown a very unsatisfactory state of affairs. The revenues were insufficient to support the number of students in the house; creditors were importunate; the students lacked proper food and clothing, and discipline had become sadly relaxed. The only means at hand to make the burden lighter was to lessen the number of students living

[1] "The bill exceeded in cruelty all that had hitherto been devised for the oppression of the devoted Catholics. Pursuing them from the cradle to the grave, it entered into all the walks of life, it cast its shadow on the sacred privacies of every home, and, affecting its victims in all their varied capacities of husbands, wives, parents, children, patrons, executors, guardians, and members of the learned and liberal professions, in all and each it subjected them to penalties of the most grievous and inhuman description." DODD-TIERNEY, vol. IV, p. 67, note.

on the Pontifical pension.[1] The Constitutions for the government of the College, drawn up in Rome in 1599, were ordered to be strictly enforced. Worthington's "oath" to Persons and the belief that he secretly contemplated handing the reins of government over to the Society—absurd as the idea proved to be—increased the dissatisfaction. On all sides opposition to Worthington arose. The whole controversy is barely mentioned in the *Diaries*, but we have an account of it drawn from other sources by Tierney in his unfinished edition of Dodd's *Church History of England* (vol. V, part v, add. art., ii). Worthington had appointed in 1609, two ardent supporters of the Jesuits to professorships in the College, Dr. John Knatchbull, who became Vice-Rector, and Dr. John Singleton, who became Prefect of Studies and Professor of Dogmatic Theology; in this he went deliberately against the wishes of all who were interested in the future of the College. These two disturbers of the peace proved his undoing. When Persons' influence was removed by death (1610), events occurred which entirely changed the state of affairs. The new Archpriest, George Birkhead (1608–1614), although personally a friend of Persons, was himself in favour of the restoration of the episcopacy, and supported the Appellants in their demand for a bishop. The Secular Clergy were now gaining lost ground. Though constantly baffled in their attempt to rescue the English Catholics from the ever-increasing confusion and distress in which they were involved their struggle was nearing its end.

In their incessant opposition to the Secular Clergy on this point, the Jesuits gave reason to believe that the absence of ordinary jurisdiction in England was necessary for the continuance of their influence and power. This is the most difficult of all the accusations against Father Persons to answer, and it would be hazardous to make any judgment upon his line of action in the matter of episcopal supervision in England until his life and letters are published from the Jesuit standpoint. The clearing up of this page in English Catholic Church history

[1] Besides this the College was obliged to lodge and support some forty-seven priests who were banished from English prisons in July, 1606. BURTON, *Douay Diaries*, vol. I, p. 74; CHALLONER, *Memoir of Missionary Priests*, vol. II, p. 13. Dublin, 1874.

is certainly very desirable. It is well known that eminent scholars and historians among the English Jesuits are more inclined to allow the charges against Persons to stand than to attempt an Apologia which might not modify the antagonism which still exists against him. The extent of the researches made for this present thesis at Simancas, Madrid, Seville, and Rome would not justify the proffering of a solution of the singular attitude of this most remarkable man and ecclesiastic. This only may be said, with all deference to older writers, that his many letters (a whole volume of which, for example, is in the *Archivio Borghese* at the Vatican), read by the writer in these different archives, leave a different impression on the mind of the reader from that gained by the perusal of Tierney's notes or Taunton's sketch. We must wait until those who are personally interested collect and publish the vast series of this correspondence, in order to explain Persons' motives in striving, by peace and war, for his one great ideal, the Conversion of England to the Catholic Faith. Even his worst opponents must admit that, whatever his faults of judgment or of policy, that motive dominated his whole life. Granting as incidental the enormous work of establishing the Spanish Colleges, of saving the English College of Rome from shipwreck, and of founding the first Catholic school in point of excellence in modern Europe, one cannot deny the tremendous influence for good he exercised on the Church at a time when the English Catholics were harried and persecuted beyond all patience, and when their dealings with their enemies were of such a child-like simplicity that one does not wonder that he considered the best methods those of their leading enemies, the two Cecils. But, whether we see good or evil in what his life and works accomplished in the restoration of Catholic worship in England, all must admit that his death marks a new era of peace in the history of the English Catholic exiles. When he died, a sincere sigh of relief went up from his opponents, the Secular Clergy, for few English ecclesiastics in modern times have had the same influence he possessed; and, rightly or wrongly, they felt it was used against themselves.[1]

[1] It is interesting to note that Turnbull, whose reports to Salisbury from Brussels grow frantic with pleas to stop the young men and women who were "escaping" in great numbers from England to enter the Seminaries and Convents in Belgium, and

When Persons died, Worthington began to reconsider his position. The situation was too anomalous to continue. The Archpriest,—the future Superior of the young men of Douay, and the Rector of the principal English house in Belgium, needed to work in harmony if any lasting results were to be obtained. In reality, they were at loggerheads over practically every problem of the mission-field. Negotiations proposed in October, 1609, for a reconciliation (which has just a shade of the humorous about it), were opened up, and a conference was held at Douay in May, 1612, with three representatives of each side.[1] Of this important meeting, not a word exists in the *Diary*. On behalf of the President appeared Dr. Kellison, Thomas Harley, and Henry Holland; on that of the Archpriest came Drs. Bishop, Richard Smith, and Champney. The points under discussion were: (1) the reform of the College discipline, studies, and economical status; (2) the restoration of episcopal authority. An almost perfect unanimity resulted from this historic conference. Two joint petitions were sent: one to the Cardinal Protector asking him to reform the College and to appoint Kellison and Champney Assistants to the President for this reform, and one to the Pope, asking for the appointment for a bishop for England. These requests were met with silence at Rome, and Dr. Worthington, after having made peace with the English Secular Clergy, found himself abandoned by the Protector to the bitter attacks of his two former henchmen, Knatchbull and Singleton, who forwarded to Rome a highly unfavourable report of his whole administration and of his conduct generally. This Rome heeded at once, and ordered an immediate Visitation of the College. The Secular Clergy always feared the moral effect of these Visitations at Douay. Drs. Caesar Clement and Robert Chambers, both well-known friends of the Society, were appointed Pontifical Visitors, and they arrived at the College in October, 1612. The *Diary* contains a long, lamentable account of the proceedings and findings of this board of

so fall under the hated sway of the Jesuits (*P.R.O.*, *Flanders Correspondence*, vol. 10, f. 1), records Persons' death and burial without a comment (*ibid.*, vol. 9, f. 356v,—Turnbull to Salisbury, Brussels, April 25, 1610).

[1] *Archpriest Birkhead's Instructions for a negociation with Dr. Worthington*, October, 1609, printed in DODD-TIERNEY, vol. V, p. ciii, with Worthington's answers to the same, November 9, 1609, *ibid.*, p. civ.

inquiry, and "if a tithe of the report they sent in were true, it was certainly time that some change should be made." [1]

The Visitation began October 26, 1612, with an investigation into the material state of the building and of the comforts and accommodation provided for the students. According to the Report, the economic condition was deplorable in the extreme. The Constitutions regulating the financial affairs of the College, as well as the discipline and studies, had not been enforced. The administration of the College funds was a haphazard one. The more promising students had been sent to the Colleges conducted solely by the Fathers of the Society at Rome, or in Spain, and only the less able men were left to continue at Douay itself. With regard to the Rector's personal conduct, Tierney thus summarizes the accusations against the unfortunate man: "Indulgent to the students, but imperious towards the professors, Worthington had carelessly sacrificed the discipline of the house to his love of popularity, and the affection of those who were associated with him in the government, to the empty satisfaction of ruling with absolute and undivided authority. To free himself from control, he had originally dismissed the professors; to retain the superiority, he had subsequently asserted his independence of those whom the entreaties of Persons had induced him unwillingly to admit. He had quarrelled with the Jesuits, he had inundated the mission with useless and incompetent labourers, he had avowed his determination to act without the advice, and against the opinion of his assistants; and, finally, he had not only involved the resources, and destroyed the discipline of the establishment, but had further resisted all the efforts of Norton and Singleton to redeem it; [2] had forbidden the superiors to adopt any measures, whether of precaution or correction, without his previous approbation; and had actually by his complaints of external interference in the government of the College, produced all the dissension and discontent which they now lamented in the house." [3]

[1] BURTON, *Douay Diaries*, vol. I, p. xix (*Publ. Cath. Rec. Soc.*, vol. 10 (1911)).

[2] *Vatican Archives, Archivio Borghese II*, vol. 23–24, f. 207, Knatchbull and Singleton to Nuncio at Brussels, Douay, February 15, 1610.

[3] BURTON, *Douay Diaries*, vol. I, pp. xix–xx.

Before the Report had been drawn up by the Pontifical Visitors, the students presented a memorial to them, asking that the College be freed from the spiritual rule of the Society, that a Secular priest be appointed confessor, and that more capable professors be provided for them. In the discussion this memorial aroused, it became clear that Singleton, who seems to have been the evil genius of the College at the time, had formally proposed to the President the advisability of transferring the College to the Society. Despite this evidence, the Visitors punished the students by dismissing ten of the leading memorialists. The vigorous support given by the exiles at Brussels and Douay to the students in their demands, forced the Nuncio to rescind this unjust order.[1] Allowing for bias and exaggeration, which even the partisan Tierney admits abound in this Report, the condition of the College must have been deplorable in the extreme. The net result of the Visitation was that Worthington was called to Rome to answer the charges made against his personal conduct, and, while there, the Protector decided that his resignation would benefit the College. Fortunately, as Dr. Burton says in the Introduction to the *Douay Diaries*,[2] which we have been following, the Protector appointed as the next President, not Dr. Knatchbull, who expected the post, but Dr. Matthew Kellison, a good example of the best type of the English Secular priest.[3]

[1] Letters of Bishops Smith, Champney, and Rayner, from Paris to Card. Francesco Barberini at this epoch, *Vat. Libr., Bibl. Barb.*, vol. 8623, ff. 1–9. For the correspondence of this joint commission on the scholars with the Nuncio and Rome, cf. DODD-TIERNEY, vol. V, pp. cxiii–cxlii.

[2] BURTON, *Douay Diaries*, vol. I, pp. xx–xxii (*Publ. Cath. Rec. Soc.*, vol. 10 (1911)).

[3] "Illustrissime et Reverendissime Domine,

Cum multis nominibus Illustrissimae Dominationi Vestrae plurimum nos . . . sapere agnoscamus tum illud nobis gratissimum accidit, quod admodum reverendum dominum doctorem Chellisonum ad collegium nostrum Duacenum administrandum evocaverit. Si enim Sanctissimo Domino nostro placuerit, alium in eo munere reverendo domino Worthingtono, subrogare e nostris neminem existimamus reperiri posse magis idoneum, quam praedictum dominum Chellisonum : ille enim insignem pietatem cum summa doctrina coniuncta habet ; ille etiam illud collegium in florenti aliquando statu vidit, ac postea praelectionibus theologicis complures annos illustravit ; ille denique tam miti est ingenio et ad res suaviter gerendas adeo temperato, ut omnibus charus sit : et propterea ad pacem inter nos omnes conservandam aptissimus videatur. Alumnis vero collegij tam gratus fuit eius adventus, ut carminibus eum encomiasticis laetissime exceperint et eius hortatu tam ad studia quam ad alia pietatis exercitia, libenter animos appulerint. Haec quidem ad Amplitudinem Vestram scribimus non ea solum de causa, ut Illustrissimae Dominationi Vestrae (quae huic negotio principium

Physically and mentally, he was a fine man, and his dominating personality was amply strong enough to carry through the necessary reforms, spiritual, educational, and material, which the College had long needed.[1] Knatchbull and Singleton endeavoured to hinder him, but were eventually dismissed. Attached to Kellison, as Vice-Rector, was Dr. Anthony Champney, one of the best-known among the exiled priests.

We are now at the end of the long, dreary time of disturbances which practically shattered the name and the reputation of the English College of Douay. To the onlooker this period of years (1593–1613) represents an unsuccessful, though determined, attempt on the part of the Society of Jesus to control the organization of the College and bring it into their power. In spite of Clement VIII.'s antipathy to the Society, and in spite of the attacks on the Jesuits, made by the Secular Clergy and their Agents at Rome, it looked doubtful at all times whether the College would escape the dreaded Jesuit rule.[2] It did escape, but to be harassed continually for many a long

dedit) maximas agimus gratias . . . quia compertum habemus, reverendissimum archiepiscopum Rhemens. cum alijs eiusdem civitatis primarijs viris (ubi dominus Chellisonus duodecim annos theologiam docuit et cum singulari pietatis laude vixit) modis omnibus eniti, ut eundem se revocent. Quo circa ab illustrissima Dominatione Vestra quam humillime petimus, ut pro sua summa authoritate et prudentia, ita cum domino Chellisono agat, ne ullis Rhemensium precibus aut premijs aures praebeat, sed collegio nostro duaceno se totum tradat, ubi ad patriae nostrae utilitatem uberiores possit fructus proferre. Et Deum Optimum Maximum semper orabimus ut Dominationem Vestram illustrissimam, ecclesiae suae et nobis, quam diutissime conservet incolumem.

Datae Parisijs, Julij 30, 1613,

Illustrissimae dominationis vestrae servi humillimi et obsequentissimi,

Guilelmus Bishope

Antonius Champnoeus

Guilielmus Smith

Guilielmus Raynerius." *Vat. Libr.*, *Bibl. Barb.*, vol. 8623, f. 8, Bishop, Champney, Smith, and Rayner to Barberini, Paris, July 30, 1613.

[1] In the Farnesian Archives at Naples (*fascio* 429, f. 150), there is a document corroborating the evidence the *Diary* gives of the reforms made under Kellison.

[2] DODD, *The Secret Policy of the English Jesuits*, pp. 83–93. London, 1715. Tierney wrongfully throws doubt upon the sincerity of Persons' disavowal to Archpriest Birkhead, Rome, September 16, 1609, of the intentions of the Society towards the College. Persons' words are: "I grant he (Worthington) had a certain desire to give up the government (of the College) to the Society. It was not, nor will not be, accepted. Perhaps some other religious order near him will not make so great difficulty to take it, if he offer them the same. My inclination is, that it should be maintained as it was begun, under secular priests, if any moderate men may be found that will agree with others, and with such religious as, of necessity, they must have correspondence withal, for holding up the common cause." *Op. cit.*, vol. V, p. ix.

year by its enemies. The rectorship of Matthew Kellison brought the College back to all the splendour of its earlier days under Allen. Before beginning this more attractive page in the history of Douay, we must chronicle the educational and religious work done by the Jesuits, Benedictines, and Franciscans, the English branches of which owe their beginning to the fervour of the English Counter-Reformation.

CHAPTER V.

THE ENGLISH JESUITS.

1. *The First Englishmen to join the Society*: 1540–1579.

THE most difficult problem to settle in approaching the history of the educational and religious work done by the English Jesuits in the Low Countries is to decide under what aspect their very complex activity should be studied. No one will doubt that we are face to face with one of the greatest organizations, apart from the Church itself, the world has ever seen. Few bodies of men, religious or lay, have ever given the world greater scholars; and few religious Orders, in all ecclesiastical history, have suffered so much at the hands of their enemies.[1] The Counter-Reformation becomes a living reality when the history of the Jesuits is known. The one spells the other. The sons of Saint Ignatius Loyola were the pioneers in the movement after the Council of Trent, and what was true of their zeal in other countries was truer still in England. There is no other page in the English Counter-Reformation equal in glory to that of Campion's holy warfare in the name of Christ. He died in the flower of his youth, within sight of scenes his holy Founder had witnessed half a century before.[2] But it were an easy task to depict the work of the Society for the Catholic Church in England if Campion and those who lived and worked and died as he did for the Cause were alone in question. We shall lose sight of the Cause, however, as the story proceeds; and within a few years after Campion's death we shall be plunged into that most embarrassing of all questions

[1] MACAULAY, *History of England*, vol. II, pp. 54–58. London, 1849.

[2] L. DELPLACE, S.J., *L'Angleterre et la Compagnie de Jésus avant le martyre du B. Edmond Campion* (1540–1581), p. 6. Brussels, 1890.

—the *Enterprise*—and into criticisms of, and attacks upon, Campion's famous companion in the first Jesuit Mission, Robert Persons. Love of parallel has drawn many writers[1] into contrasting these two men as types characteristic of the two points of view from which the world at large regards the Society of Jesus, namely, that of religion and that of politics; but the contrast is too superficial to be accurate. From the foundation of the Society to the present day, Robert Persons stands alone among English Jesuits—to be admired or hated, as later generations understand or misunderstand him. Those who have written about him tell us that there is no neutral position to take here; but the general one-sidedness of their writings renders it impossible, with our still somewhat limited knowledge of his motives, to form an all-round adequate judgment of an ecclesiastic who was probably one of the greatest Englishmen of his time. Campion only needs to be known to be loved; and Campion—it may be said without exaggeration—is the type of the greater number of England's sons who have entered the Society of Jesus.

Before the institution of the English Jesuit Mission, a number of Scottish and English subjects had been received into the Society.[2] During the worst period of the excesses committed by Henry VIII. against an innocent Church, two Jesuits, Fathers Brouet and Salmeron, were sent (1541) as papal envoys to Ireland. In the report[3] they made on their return, November, 1542, there is nothing which would indicate that they had influenced any young men to join the Society; but it was not long before English, Scottish, and Irish youths began to offer themselves as soldiers in the new army. From the very beginning of the Order the frequency of Jesuit vocations among English Catholics was remarkable. "During the persecution period the number of Englishmen who became Jesuits sometimes rose to nearly one-half of all those who embraced the ecclesiastical state, and they began to join from the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, even before Douay College

[1] SIMPSON, *Edmund Campion, Jesuit Protomartyr of England.* London, 1907.

[2] *The First Jesuits in Great Britain*, article by J. H. POLLEN, S.J., in the *Month*, vol. CII (1903), pp. 647–652; ID., *The First English Jesuit*, *Month*, vol. CXIV (1909), pp. 428–431.

[3] *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu*, vol. VIII, no. 116. Madrid, 1903; POLLEN, *Papal Negotiations with Mary Queen of Scots*, p. 508. London, 1902.

was founded." [1] The first of all seems to have been a certain Thomas Lith, who was received at Rome, by St. Ignatius himself, in June, 1555.[2] Two other Englishmen, already priests—Thomas King,[3] who entered at Rome in 1561, and Roger Bolbet,[4] at Louvain, about the same time—are said to have returned to England after their profession, and to have laboured there. From this time onwards to the date of the Jesuit Mission (1580) vocations increased abundantly. The formation (1558) of the Province of Lower Germany, which covered the Low Countries, brought the Society into contact with the first English exiles—with Allen, Stapleton, and Campion in particular—and from the foundation of Douay (1568) to the erection of its own religious establishments, the Society drew a goodly number of novices from the English Colleges in Spain, Rome, and Douay. These entered the local Jesuit Colleges or novitiates at Louvain, Douay, Rome, Saint Omer, Antwerp, Liége, Bruges, Tournay, Ypres, Ghent, Courtrai, Eu, and Valenciennes. Lists exist, incomplete for the most part, which give us a fair idea of the number who entered the Society, and who laboured in England during these early years.[5]

[1] FOLEY, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, vol. VII, part II, *Collectanea*, p. 1440. London, 1883. An Analytical Catalogue of the Province from 1621–1695, will be found in Foley, *op. cit.*, vol. VII, part I, p. clxviij. In 1621, the number of Jesuits in the Province was 211 ; of these 106 were in England. In 1636, the Province numbered 374, of whom 183 were in England.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 1438 ; KNOX, *Allen*, p. 33, "One of which order (Jesuits) being somewhat young but otherwise exceedingly exercised, was many daes some years past in England, where he did reconcile many and did much good ; and yet because he was yonge et quia mollibus vestiebatur to cover his order, myselfe hard yll spoken of him in England ; as now ours be." ALLEN to Chauncy, Prior of English Carthusians, Cambrai, Aug. 10, 1577.

[3] FOLEY, *Records, S.J.*, vol. VII, part II, p. 1420.

[4] *Litterae Annuae*, 1587, p. 337.

[5] *Stonyhurst Archives*, M.S. : *Catalogus Primorum Patrum et Fratrum Societatis Jesu ex Anglia, collectus ex variis libris et Catalogis MS. in Archivo Romano, praesertim vero ex libro Procuratoris Domus Professae ab Anno Domini* 1556, *et simili Procuratoris Domus probationis sancti Andreae inchoatis*. Compiled by F. NATHANIEL BACON *alias* SOUTHWELL. Cf. FOLEY, *Records, S.J.*, vol. VII, part II, pp. 1416–1465 ; DELPLACE, *op. cit.*, p. 77 (*Liste des sujets Anglais, irlandais et écossais admis dans la province de Germanie inférieure* (1560–1600), compiled from FOLEY, and from a manuscript catalogue of the XVIIth century, entitled *Admissi in Societatem Jesu Belgicam* 1542–1612) ; FOLEY, *Records, S.J.*, vol. VII, part I, p. lxvi (*List of English Members of the Society in* 1593) ; *ibid.*, p. lxvii (*List of Members in the English Mission in* 1598) ; *ibid.*, pp. 1–636 (*An alphabetical Catalogue of Names, with short biographical and genealogical notices of the Members of the English Mission,*

2. *The English Jesuit Mission*: 1579–1581.

The Society of Jesus first came into close relation with the English Counter Reformation at the time of the rebellion of the students at the English College in Rome against the Rector, Dr. Maurice Clenock, who had been appointed President of the College at its foundation in 1578. Clenock was removed as a result of this disturbance; and an Italian Jesuit, Father Alphonso Agazario, who henceforth took a leading part in the English Foundation Movement, was appointed in his stead. The Jesuits continued to hold the rectorship of the College until 1773. Taunton sees, quite gratuitously, the hand of Persons in this change. "What was Persons doing all this time? Little or nothing is known; but it is not too much to suppose that as far as his position allowed, he would be actively on the side of those who were favouring the malcontents."[1] It is easily admissible that a young man who had been one of the distinguished scholars of his time at Oxford, and who had been expelled from the University because of his Catholic tendencies, would not be lost sight of by English Catholics after his ordination in 1578; but there is no proof of his having fostered the mutiny at the English College this same year. His own active part in the conversion of England began with the formation of the Jesuit Mission by Gregory XIII., in 1580. The little band which set out from Rome consisted of Campion and Persons; a Jesuit lay-brother, Emerson; two secular priests, Sherwin and Kirby, both of whom suffered death in 1581–2; and Edward Rishton, who later edited Dr. Sander's book: "The Rise of the Anglican Schism." To these may be added two others, not yet priests, Thomas Brisco and John Paschal; and four other priests who had held the post of chaplains in the old

Vice-Province and Province of the Society of Jesus, carried down from the earliest date to its suppression in 1773, *and continued from* 1803 (*the period of its restoration*) *to the year* 1882. *The whole compiled from the original Register of the Society in the Archivicum, Rome*). DODD (*Church History*, vol. II, p. 403) gives a list of 69 British subjects who became Jesuits between 1556–1580. Cf. also, JOHN GEE, *The Foot out of the Snare*, London, 1624, printed in FOLEY, vol. I, pp. 671–683; OLIVER, *Collections towards illustrating the Biography of the Scotch, English, and Irish Members of the Society of Jesus*, 2nd edition. London, 1845.

[1] TAUNTON, *The History of the Jesuits in England*, p. 37. London, 1901.

English Hospital: Giblet, Crane, Kempe, and Bromborough.[1] Among others who joined the missionaries were Lawrence Vaux, then a Canon Regular of St. Augustine at St. Martin's Louvain, of which he was sub-Prior, and several young priests from Rheims. Bishop Goldwell and Dr. Morton had preceded them, but the whole Mission, its object, its members and its itinerary, had become so well known to Elizabeth's Government, that it was thought best for Bishop Goldwell and Dr. Morton, both of whom were enfeebled with age, not to venture across the channel.[2] Another reason why it was thought better that these two ecclesiastics should return to Rome was, that if they succeeded in reaching a place of safety in England, their former position in the English Church might produce the impression on the mind of the Government that much more was meant by their presence in that country than appeared on the surface. Dr. Sander's unfortunate part in the Irish insurrection of 1579–1580 rendered the Jesuit Mission all the more odious to the English Government, who looked upon it as a sequel to the same movement.[3] Persons himself foresaw that the mission of Dr. Sander had compromised the Jesuit Mission, but matters could not now be remedied and they decided to continue. A further disappointment to Persons, as the Superior of his two fellow-Jesuits, Campion and Emerson, was Goldwell's illness and subsequent withdrawal from the work. The presence of a bishop in England had been a condition of the Jesuits' taking up the burden of converting the lapsed Catholics; and, despite all the rebuffs the demand for a hierarchy met with at Rome, the Jesuits themselves continually renewed it.

Father Persons landed at Dover, June 12, 1580, and Father Campion, June 25, in the same year. Each was met on his arrival by George Gilbert, the founder and leading spirit of a band of young men, who devoted themselves to the work of

[1] *The Journey of Blessed Edmund Campion from Rome to England. March–June*, 1580, article by J. H. POLLEN, S.J., in the *Month*, vol. XV (1897), pp. 243–264.

[2] "The names of all such English scholars as be in the English Seminary at Rome, being the Pope's scholars there; of the doctors at Rome; of the Gentlemen at Rome, Rheims, Paris, and Douay; and of those who departed from Rome on April 18, 1579, in company with Edmond Campion and John Parsons Jesuits." *Dom. Cal. Eliz.*, 1581–1590, p. 289, no. 59.

[3] *Father Persons' Memoirs*, iii, *The Entrance of the Jesuits into England*, *Publ. Cath. Rec. Soc.*, vol. II, p. 199. London, 1906.

preparing Protestants for conversion and of securing the harbouring and safe conduct of priests. "The penal laws were already very severe, and held out strong inducements to the laity to betray the missionaries. Prudence, therefore, forbade them to compromise themselves or the persons whom they visited, before they knew that their visits would be safe for themselves or agreeable to their hosts. For this reason the Fathers were directed to be very careful as to the persons with whom they conversed; on no account to have personal dealings with any Protestant, until his Catholic friends had sounded his disposition, secured his impartiality, and felt sure that the priests might speak with him without fear of being betrayed. All which required an extensive organization among the Catholic gentry."[1] The "gigantic machinery of the spy-system" which they had seen at its dastardly work among the exiles on the Continent, was now put into motion to capture the three Jesuits and the chief Catholics interested in the Mission. Their safety required that they should be guarded at every turn by those whom they could trust. They needed even to be presented in person to the leading Catholics, for it was dangerous to carry with them the certificates of their priesthood. Although the "Sodality" seems to be a fiction started by the fluent pen of Simpson, there was no doubt some sort of organized effort, and in this naturally the younger men would take the lead. Among those mentioned in this respect are George Gilbert, the Vaux, Throgmortons, Tichbournes, Abingtons, Fitzherberts, and Stonors. Another name which stands out conspicuously in the help given Persons and Campion is that of Thomas Pounde of Belmont.

The story of Campion's mission, his capture at Lyford, and his trial and death (December 1, 1581), with Persons' subsequent flight to the Continent, have already been told at sufficient length by Taunton and Simpson. "The success of the mission of Blessed Edmund Campion is one of the standing wonders of English religious history. . . . He stayed the full tide of victorious Protestantism. He saved the beaten, shattered fragments of the ancient past, and animated them with invincible courage, and his work endured

[1] FOLEY, *Records S.J.*, vol. VII, part I, p. 627.

in spite of endless violence through centuries of persecution."[1] With Campion's death and Persons' flight, the Jesuit Mission was carried on by Fathers Heywood and Holt. Later, Father Weston joined them. Persons alone of the little band which reached England after setting out so valiantly two years before from Rome, escaped to the Continent. Thither we must follow him; for the remainder of his life was spent in the chief capitals of Continental Europe, promoting by educational and political means, the Cause for which his brother Jesuit had so nobly laid down his life.

3. *Father Robert Persons and the Colleges in Spain and Portugal*: 1581–1610.

Persons' flight "has often been brought up against him as a shameful desertion of what he considered the cause of God. Had he gone willingly or by the advice of friends, it might have been so. But it was not a willing flight. He was driven out. Cowardice was no part of his character. For a whole year he had been living with his life in his hands. Of animal courage he had far more than the gentle, lovable Campion, whose natural shrinking from his fate was only sustained by religious motives. But to this one, the obedient Jesuit, the halo of martyrdom was granted; while to Persons was reserved the less glorious rôle of a political intriguer. That Persons felt deeply the insinuation on his flight is clear from the heaps of excuses he piled up, all of which, it may be remarked, are to his credit. But the real one is always left out. Persons felt it bitterly."[2] That reason as Taunton sees it,—with his usual linking of praise with blame, was that the original fears of the Marian priests had not proved groundless. The Jesuit Mission had been a success, but it brought persecution in its wake. In consequence of its success the Government showed every intention of following up its policy of ruthlessly stamping out Catholicism. The excommunication of Elizabeth had been answered by the penal legislation of 1571, and by the long list of martyrdoms which began in

[1] *The Jesuit Mission to England: or, the coming of Blessed Edmund Campion*, article by J. H. POLLEN, S.J., in the *Re-Union Magazine*, June, 1910, p. 1.

[2] TAUNTON, *op. cit.*, pp. 84-85; *Father Persons' Memoirs*, i, *Autobiography*, *Publ. Cath. Rec. Soc.*, vol. II, p. 30.

1577, with the death of Blessed Cuthbert Mayne, the protomartyr of Douay. The Jesuit invasion was replied to by the Act of 23 Elizabeth by which it was made high treason to withdraw any of the Queen's subjects from the religion established by her authority within her dominions. The saying or singing of Mass was punished by a fine of 200 marks and imprisonment for twelve months or until the fine was paid. To hear Mass was punished by a fine of 100 marks and imprisonment for twelve months. To keep a tutor or schoolmaster who did not attend the Established Church cost the family a fine of £10 a month, while the schoolmaster was to be imprisoned for a year without bail. "It was easier to enact such laws than to enforce them generally in a country where Catholics were so numerous as in England,"[1] for the penal laws were always a clumsy weapon in the hands of the Government. One thing was evident to Persons, who had seen this law in vigour from January to December 1581; and this was that while Douay, Rheims, and Rome would supply an abundant number of workers for the Mission, there would be no possible hope of entering the mission-field, unless the rising generation of Catholic boys and girls was carefully provided for by schools and colleges on the Continent.

After leaving England at the end of 1581, Persons went to Rouen.[2] The rigour of the persecution; the helplessness and the small number of the Marian Clergy; the quasi-acephalous condition of the young seminary priests in England; the lessening of faith on all sides; the want of the sacrament of Confirmation; the havoc wrought by the spies, apostates and informers; and the disturbed condition of the Church in England, were only a few of the *punti della Missione d'Inghilterra* seen by the keen eye of one who at that time was the English Catholic feared most by the Government. Beneath these defects lay an underlying fact which no man, whether politician or ecclesiastic, could have ignored at

[1] KNOX, *Douay Diaries*, p. lxviii.

[2] Persons' real cause for leaving England was to consult with Allen, and he hoped to be back at once. But when he had been condemned to death by name, the question was altered. He remained two years in the neighbourhood of Rouen hoping for the possibility of returning to England. Allen was opposed to his going back, and it was through Allen's influence that he remained to devote himself to educational work among the exiles.

the time. This fact was that nothing, not even the small measures of tolerance given in France to the Huguenots or by the Protestants of Germany to the Catholics, could be expected from Elizabeth in favour of the Catholics of her realm unless extorted by fear. Elizabeth had shown her scorn of the excommunication of the Holy See, as she had scorned the power of Spain by her flagrant intermeddling in the Netherlands. Religion could not change that without the aid of political means. Scotland was the weak point in the Government's armour, and it was through Scotland and its Queen, Mary Stuart, that the political power of the Church was brought to bear on the authorities in London. "Now Scotland is our chief hope; for there depends not only the conversion of England; but also that of all the northern parts of [Europe]; for the right of the English throne belongs (when she who now reigns is extinguished) to the Queen of Scotland and her son, of whose conversion we have now great hope; and it is important the chance should not be neglected."[1] It was at this time that Persons came into contact with the Duke of Guise, one of the leaders of the Catholic League, and through Guise and Mendoza, (the Spanish ambassador in London), with Philip II. From that time until his banishment from Rome in 1604, Persons' interest in the cause of Catholic education and Catholic advance in England goes hand-in-hand with a political activity seldom wielded by any one ecclesiastic in English history.

The Duke of Guise possessed by right of his wife, the Countess of Cleves, the town of Eu, near Rouen, and had his residence there. Persons obtained from him leave to establish a school at Eu for English boys, chiefly on account of its being near the port of Dieppe, from whence in a few hours one could cross to England. The Duke had already built a new College there for the French Jesuits, and the old house of the Fathers remained empty. The French Provincial, Claude Matthieu, lent this house to Persons for his English College. In April, 1582, Guise settled £100 a year on the new College.[2] Persons put it in charge of a Father Sabine Chambers (*alias*

[1] TAUNTON, *op. cit.*, p. 88 (Persons to Aquaviva, Rouen, September 26, 1582).

[2] *Publ. Cath. Rec. Soc.*, vol. II, p. 36. There was a delay however in the foundation of the house, for Allen writes to Agazario, Rheims, December 30, 1582, that the

Mann), then a secular Priest, but who later joined the Society in Paris, in 1587.[1] This College lasted until the assassination of the Duke of Guise, December 28, 1588, when, on account of the civil wars, all hope of continuing it was given up.[2] How many students the College of Eu furnished to the Seminary at Rheims is not known. There are many entries in the *Diary* chronicling the coming and going of students between Eu, Douay, and Rheims.[3] The College at Eu was abandoned probably in the autumn of 1592, for in October of that year, Dr. Barret began sending the boys, who had returned from Eu, to the Jesuit College at Douay for the completion of their Humanities. No register of the students at Eu appears to have been published. The College at Saint Omer, founded in 1592, is a continuation of this smaller college in Normandy.

Meanwhile Persons was not idle. Nothing was ever begun by this remarkable man, with his wonderful powers of organization, without his bringing it as near to success as possible. When we look back to the time that elapsed

affair had been postponed: "Expectamus, ingentem studiosorum turbam hoc vere. Multi enim se parant, ut audimus, et oneramur multis pueris ex expectatione seminarii Augiensis quod futurum putabatur, sed adhuc nihil fit per illustrissimum Ducem, nec quando sit futurum scimus." (KNOX, *Allen*, p. 172). The foundation had already been signalled to Walsingham by the English Ambassador, Cobham, who writes May 14, 1582: "I am told the Duke of Guise has promised to build a College of Jesuits beside his Seigniory of Eu in Normandy, by the seaside, and the Duke of Maine has undertaken to do this much at Maine." (*For. Cal. Eliz.*, May-December, 1582, p. 33; *ibid.*, p. 150, July 12, 1582, same to same). Elizabeth lost no time in protesting to the King of France against the presence of the exiles on French territory, and Cobham relates that he placed the complaint before His Majesty at Fontainebleau, when it was promised that the matter would be given due consideration (*ibid.*, letter of May 14, p. 37). The erection of English Colleges and Seminaries in or near French territory was looked upon as a bold move of the Pope and of Philip that they might be "at nigher hand" to spread their "seditious practices. On July 16, Cobham writes to Walsingham that the Jesuits are nestled on the shores next to England, being hived there with hope to swarm over into England upon every bad occasion, if God and zealous policy do not prevent their designs (*ibid.*, p. 162, July 16, 1582). This cannot mean that the College had already been founded at Eu, for in September, Stokes reports to Walsingham that the King of France had forbidden all fugitives to live anywhere else in France except at Paris, Orleans, and Rouen (*ibid.*, p. 349, September 23, 1582). Cf. *Father Persons' Memoirs*, vi, *Punti per la Missione d'Inghilterra*, *Publ. Cath. Rec. Soc.*, vol. IV, p. 35. London, 1907.

[1] FOLEY, *Records S.J.*, vol. VII, part I, p. 127; GILLOW, *Dict. Eng. Cath. Biog.*, vol. I, p. 460.

[2] KNOX, *Douay Diaries*, pp. 223–225. Two boys were sent to Eu from Douay on March 19, 1589, and four more in July, 1589.

[3] KNOX, *Douay Diaries*, pp. 201–251.

between 1588 and 1592, during which period he founded English Colleges and Seminaries in the principal centres of Spain, Portugal, and the Netherlands, it must be admitted that Persons was carrying out the mature judgment he made on English affairs, namely, that the only hope of regaining England to the true Faith, was through the Catholic education of the youth of both sexes coupled with the armed intervention of a Catholic power. Spain was the only Catholic power at that time capable of invading England, and his motive in founding English colleges in Spain and Flanders was not, it is claimed, unmixed with the desire of influencing the young men who would study in those places with Spanish ideas and ideals. Any one who has studied in his youth in a foreign college knows well the influence it has in shaping all future modes of thought. "The zealous young men, therefore, who offered themselves as soldiers of Christ to the Seminaries about to be established in Spain, found that they were also required to be soldiers of Philip. The policy of thus bringing up young men in Spain itself, where they would have the glories of that great country before their eyes, and would live in an atmosphere thoroughly Spanish, and be accustomed to live on Spanish generosity, would in itself tend to habituate them to the idea of Spanish dependence. Nor, did Persons intend to influence only these young men. His plan was that students from other Colleges should also spend some time in Spain before they went back to England, so that they too might be *hispaniolated*. When an idea once got hold of his mind, he bent his energies to carry it out in all its details. His work in Spain will always be a lasting monument of his untiring energy, and at the same time of his misdirected zeal."[1] Let us understand Father Robert Persons. His aim, and his whole aim, was the Conversion of England. Nothing short of the return of the entire nation to the Catholic Faith would satisfy the desire of his apostolic heart. For sixteen years after Elizabeth's accession to the throne (1558–1574), the brunt of the battle against the intolerance of the anti-Catholic English Government had been borne by the Marian priests. From 1574 onwards the young priests from Douay carried on the work; but it was not enough to keep pouring

[1] TAUNTON, *op. cit.*, pp. 133-134.

into the country year after year, at a terrible cost, young, ardent spirits from Douay and Rheims and Rome. Over one hundred had left the quiet halls of the English College at Rheims in the certain knowledge that rack and gibbet and executioner's knife awaited them in case of capture. Brilliant souls like Campion had gone and had held the world spell-bound by the audacity of their apostolate, but all this was not enough. Something more than the beautiful optimism of Allen was needed. The day had not passed when exiled Catholics ceased to believe that their brothers at home would rise in a body at the approach of an invading force. All that the Colleges and the Seminary priests could do was frustrated by a queen and a Government who were prosecuting a policy which Catholics believed to be detrimental to the welfare of their country, as well as of their Faith. Elizabeth was the capital enemy of the Catholic Church. To many she was but an usurper and the illegitimate daughter of a union which all noble-minded Englishmen could only look upon with disgust. She was an outlaw of Holy Church, and Persons realized better than Allen that what religious effort had not been able to accomplish, force would. The usurper, the tyrant, the seducer of the people of England was to be driven out by him who had been the lawful king of that realm for four short years, and England was to be conquered at the point of the sword, the Queen deposed, the Faith re-established; and then, perhaps, Douay and Rheims, and Rome, and the Seminaries he was about to found in Spain, would find permanent homes in the land that all the exiles loved next to their Faith. Philip's generosity to the scattered exiles, his endowment of Douay, his staunch allegiance to the Holy See, and his sterling Catholicity made him not only the champion of Christendom but the liege-lord of the exiles. In the eyes of the Church, English Catholics were without a sovereign. Philip should be their King, as he had been in the days of Mary Tudor. Meanwhile, spiritual weapons should not be neglected. The work of conversion, the education of missionaries, the religious training of boys and young men should go on as usual. But for this more and more labourers were needed. Rheims and Rome could not furnish enough priests for a whole nation. The Marian Clergy had almost

disappeared; and, until the religious Orders, which in Allen's design ought now to throw their energies into the work of the English Mission, had compact organizations of their own, there would be no one to depend upon in the growth of the educational system except the Jesuits. It was not like asking strangers to do the work. Allen had seen many of his best subjects leave Douay and Rheims to become members of this new Society which was dealing death-blows to Protestantism, and moreover the Jesuits were now entrusted with the government of the English College at Rome. We must accept this situation as it was in reality if we are to be fair to Persons. It is useless to say that he endeavoured to subjugate the future clergy of England by *hispaniolizing* them. It is not a criticism against Father Persons and the other leaders of the Spanish party among the exiles to say that they were all under the spell of Spain. Spain was then at its highest apogee, intellectually and spiritually, as well as from the imperial point of view. But they never desired to see Philip King of England, nor to see England under the domination of Spain; nor did Philip himself wish either of these points, for he well understood that both were impracticable. What Persons did want, and what he described in his *Memorial on the Conversion of England*, was to see England a kingdom, independent in every way, but living under its ancient laws. Even the project of the Infanta's succession was a very different affair from conquest by force. No one can venture to praise all that he did under the circumstances. It was his readiness on all occasions, as has been said in another chapter, to take the lead, to advise every one, to inform those who in some cases wished to ignore the real state of affairs, which gave offence; and when one takes into consideration the spirit of the Englishman of that age, all his zeal looked like bold and uncalled-for interference and an unwarranted excess of his rights as an individual. But through and beyond all that he did or attempted to do was the voice of obedience; for, in every aspect of his political activity, it was the Holy See which made use of him as an instrument for good. We need an exhaustive and unbiassed study of Father Persons. Although the world at large may already have come to its own conclusion as to the merits and the demerits of this great man,

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it would be both unscientific and unjust to pass a final judgment on him, until his correspondence has been fully brought to light and weighed in the impartial balance of historic criticism. It must never be forgotten, in judging the morality of the efforts made by Persons and the exiles, that the policy of using force was a universal one up to that time. All the Popes of the period, and practically all the other leaders among the exiles,—Allen, Sander, Stapleton, Englefield and others, had advocated it. If Persons continued, for a short time after their deaths, to carry on the principles he had learnt from them, he was undoubtedly pursuing an inherited, existing policy, not initiating a new one.

The Seminaries in Spain were of little or no profit to the Society, nor (in comparison with Douay and Rome) to the English Mission. They served to a certain extent as the nursery of the rising Anglo-Benedictine Congregation. In an exhaustive study of the religious activity of the exiles, with no geographical limits such as the present volume has, the history of the Spanish houses, still somewhat vague and unsatisfactory, ought to be given in full. Here we can only regard them in their direct bearing on the houses in Belgium, or in their relation to the new Congregations then taking shape. Persons was Rector of the English College at Rome when he set out for Spain (1588) to negotiate with the King in a difficulty raised by some Spanish members of the Society. Having completed this affair, Persons went to Valladolid, where the King then was, and obtained his consent to start an English Seminary in that town. The College was opened about Michaelmas, 1589, thirteen students having been sent from Rheims in May, to begin the new foundation. Among them was John Blackfan, whose *Annals* of the College have been recently found.[1] The College was well endowed by the King and by Spanish nobles and ecclesiastics, as well as by the leading English exiles in Spain, the Duchess of Feria, and Sir Francis Englefield. Students from Rheims and from England began to flock to this new centre of English Catholic activity. Twenty students came from Rheims in 1590. In 1592 there were fifty-six scholars in the College, and soon

[1] *Annales Collegii S. Albani in Oppido Valesoleti, auctore Patre Joannes Blackfan*, ex typis, Manresana, 1899.

young priests began to go out from its halls, as they had done already for thirty years from Douay and Rheims, for the perilous work of the Mission. In 1592, Pope Clement VIII. confirmed the new College, and the numbers increased so quickly that Persons opened a similar establishment at Seville the same year. Among the students sent there to begin the foundation were George Chamberlain, afterwards Bishop of Ypres, and John Worthington, nephew of Dr. Thomas Worthington, Rector of the English College at Douay, one of the four Worthington boys who were seized on their departure from England and who showed such wonderful constancy as to excite the rage of their persecutors. Others were soon sent, and the College was confirmed, with ample privileges by Clement VIII. on May 15, 1594. In 1593, some thirty students had assembled, and by 1597, the number had increased to seventy. The Colleges of Valladolid and Seville were meant for higher studies in philosophy and theology for the students of Rheims, Douay, and Saint Omer. Some time after the foundation of the Colleges of Valladolid and Seville, the English Brotherhood of St. George decided to turn their residence at San Lúcar de Barrameda into a hospice for the benefit of refugee English Priests and laymen who might come there. To provide for the supply of English chaplains for the Church and Hospice of St. George, the Brotherhood invested Cardinal Allen with discretionary powers in the nomination of the Head Chaplain or President. After Allen's death, this power was to be vested in the English Catholic bishops and it is now exercised by the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster.[1] The Rector of the English College of Valladolid is usually *ipso facto* President of this old time English foundation. The Reverend Father Kelly, of the English College of Valladolid,

[1] In a petition sent to the Pope in 1754 by the English Catholics of San Lúcar de Barrameda, we learn that Allen appointed Persons Visitor of the Residence. After Persons' death (1610) the Jesuit Provincial was Visitor up to 1666, when Cardinal Howard appointed a Dominican to the post. This change was confirmed by a Bull of Innocent XII., dated December 23, 1691. In 1754, the English scholars and laymen became alarmed at the report that the Spanish Jesuits were trying to get control of the Church and College of St. George, and they sent a petition to the Pope against the alleged intrigue. The copy of this petition is in the *English College Archives, Scritture* XLIV, and *Chronologia Monumentorum*, p. 197. Persons' plan, it seems, was to make the Chaplaincy a means of training the newly ordained priests of Seville and Valladolid for the English Missions (*Hatfield Calendar*, IV, 69).

makes no mention of Father Persons in his article on San Lúcar de Barrameda, though Foley seems to intimate that the College there was the work of the English Jesuit.[1] There is no mention of Persons' part in this work in Blackfan's *Annals*. According to Foley, Persons made a journey to Lisbon and purchased a house there in which to found a college for English students, over which he placed Henry Floyd, as Rector. No reference has been found outside of Foley for Persons' activity in the erection of these two establishments. If these houses were separate establishments from the Brotherhood House of St. George at San Lúcar de Barrameda, or from the English Residency at Lisbon, which was held at that time by Father Nicholas Ashton, a former student of Valladolid and Seville, they were probably given up at a very early date. The so-called English College of St. George, at Madrid, seems to have been at first little more than a residence founded by Persons for a procurator and a few companions who managed the Spanish pensions and other endowments bestowed on the English College in Spain. Its history is still somewhat obscure.[2] The Abbé Mann relates that the colleges in Madrid and Seville "being small and their revenues very precarious, they never made any considerable appearance, and at last fell to nothing."[3] Blackfan's *Annals* only go to the year 1616, when he was appointed Rector of the College at Valladolid; but, apart from this

[1] In 1875 Cardinal Vaughan, then Bishop of Salford, visited the English Colleges on the Continent and embodied his observations in a *Report on the Condition of the English Colleges in Italy, Spain, and Portugal. Printed by order of their Lordships the Bishops (of England) in Low Week*, 1876. Salford, 1876. This exceedingly well-written report, containing a history of all the English Colleges, their work for the missions in the days before Emancipation, and their financial status, may be taken to be the official history of the Spanish Colleges. Father Kelly kindly permitted me to use this Report for the present work, and it is from its pages that most of the facts about the Colleges have been taken. An equally valuable *Relacion*, or Annals of the English College at Seville, with an account of four other foundations from 1589–1595, an unfinished memoir written by Father Persons before his death, will shortly be published by the *Catholic Record Society*.

[2] The College at Madrid was vigorously opposed by the English Ambassador, who feared its influence on the Spanish Court, and for some time the English students were obliged to retire from the city and go to Alcala near by. Here the climate was so unfavourable to the students that Creswell, who was then Rector of the College at Madrid, obtained the King's consent for their return, in spite of the energetic opposition made by Digby, the English Ambassador (1611–1614). Cf. BELLESHEIM, *Allen*, p. 249 (citing *Vat. Arch., Nunz. di Spagna*, vol. 19, f. 311).

[3] *Trans. of the Society of Antiqu.*, vol. XIII, p. 251.

College and that of Lisbon, both of which still continue to do good work in supplying the English dioceses with priests, the others soon fell into decay. The Colleges at Seville and Madrid were incorporated into that of Valladolid in 1768. Our attention therefore need only be directed to the College of St. Alban at Valladolid, which became the centre of a bitter feeling towards the English Jesuits, namely, the dispute which arose there over the vocation of some of the students to the Benedictine Order. We possess two accounts of this famous quarrel, one by Father John Pollen, S.J., the other by Dom. Bede Camm, O.S.B. It is probably one of the most interesting pages in the history of the Foundation Movement. "It was manifestly against all discipline, and very injurious to the Seminary of Valladolid, to permit young men (some of whom were possibly moved by a mere passing attraction, or by dissatisfaction with their surroundings or superiors) to run away without leave, on however good a pretext. The Jesuits were truly devoted to the cause of the English Mission, and they saw their good work threatened with ruin, and though it is no doubt true that Father Creswell (then the Vice-Prefect of the English Jesuit Mission) was not always discreet or conciliatory, yet it does not appear that the Benedictine authorities acted with that suavity and discretion which might have been expected."[1] This dispute which began in 1599, ceased with the appointment of an English Rector at Valladolid in the person of Weston, in 1614. None of the Spanish colleges can be said to have been in a flourishing condition. Dependent on the Spanish pensions, which were always in a fluctuating element, they scarcely succeeded in ridding themselves of their original debts.[2]

[1] Dom Bede Camm, O.S.B., *A Benedictine Martyr in England, being the Life and Times of the Venerable John Roberts, O.S.B.*, p. 136. London, 1897. Cf. also, *Jesuits and Benedictines at Valladolid*, 1599–1604, article by Dom. B. Camm, O.S.B., in the *Month*, vol. xcii. (1898), pp. 364-378; *St. Alban's Seminary*, Valladolid, 1602–1608, article by J. H. Pollen, S.J., in the *Month*, vol. xciv (1899), pp. 348–366; *The Rise of the Anglo-Benedictine Congregation*, article by J. H. Pollen, S. J., in the *Month*, vol. xc (1897), pp. 581–600.

[2] *Vatican Archives*, *Archivio Borghese III*, 43ab f. 275. Creswell writes to Cardinal Borghese, Madrid, January 29, 1608, that the Seminaries of Valladolid and Seville had existed so far by royal alms and by the alms of Spanish Catholics; but that they were both heavily in debt at the time. The best remedy would be for the Cardinal to use his influence through the Nuncio at Madrid to encourage the Spanish Court to augment the pensions.

During the first ninety years of the College at Valladolid, (1589–1679) about six hundred students entered St. Alban's to prepare for the priesthood. Some of these did not persevere; many joined the Society of Jesus, and others became Benedictines and Dominicans. In 1679 the English Secular Clergy began to complain because so few students finished their studies at St. Alban's. Causes in themselves quite natural which militated against the College were ascribed to its Spanish management. It was the country and the nation which were in a declining state at the time; the Colleges suffered along with them, and as they had Spanish Jesuits for Rectors, it could not be hoped that they would be uninfluenced by the economic conditions of the time. In 1746–1749 the College was rebuilt, but the depressed financial state of Spain acted like a damper on the English Colleges, for out of the three, Seville and Lisbon had, by 1760, practically ceased to send out any priests at all, while at Valladolid in 1767, only two students were in the house. This same year the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain brought matters to a climax, and the Royal Fiscal authorities took possession of the three colleges. Bishop Challoner intervened through the Spanish Ambassador at London to save them, and Don Carlos III. took them under his protection, uniting the College of Seville and the revenues of the house in Madrid to St. Albans. An English Rector, Dr. Parry, was nominated. Students were sent from Douay to begin studies there. From 1819–1839 the number of students at Valladolid varied from six to eighteen. In 1839–1842, and again in 1845–1848, the College was closed. In 1876, there were twenty-two students. At present the College is in a flourishing condition; and it is to be hoped that its valuable Archives may soon be catalogued and published.[1]

4. *The Foundation of Saint Omer.*

From the time of the death of Campion to the end of her reign, Elizabeth's Parliament added a new method to its

[1] Cf. *Report of* 1876; Dr. Kelly, of St. Alban's, has already begun the publication of documents of a general interest in the *Albanian*, which is published at Valladolid twice a year. Cf. *The Albanian Magazine*, vol. I, *St. Alban's in the time of the Jesuits.*

legislation against the increase of the Catholics in the realm. This was the number of Acts directed against the English Catholic Foundation Movement, which was then gaining strength and vigour. Persons' foundation at Eu was a reply of no mean value to the Act of 1581 (23 Eliz. c. 6). The succeeding Acts of 1585 (27 Eliz. c. i. and ii.), whereby all the Jesuits, Seminary priests, and "such-like disobedient persons" were to quit the realm within forty days under penalty of high treason, and by which all students in the Colleges and Seminaries abroad were ordered to return within six months, or else be regarded as traitors, were to a great extent directed against the educational establishments across the Channel. A few grammar-schools had been started in England from 1559–1583, and Parliament had already discussed the advisability of taking Catholic children of ten and upwards away from their parents, and forcing them to attend these schools.[1] It was essential, therefore, that every opportunity should be given to the persecuted Catholics to have their children educated in their own Faith. By the same Act of 1585, any parent sending a son across to the Continent to a Catholic school forfeited £100 for every offence, and incurred the penalty of praemunire. If any money was sent to a son in one of the Catholic Colleges he thereby forfeited his right of inheritance. Consequently, when the little College at Eu was obliged to seek a refuge elsewhere after the assassination of its protector in 1588, Persons at once set about finding a suitable situation. In 1592, Dr. Barret, who knew better than others the necessity for such a College, made application to the Magistrates of Saint Omer for the removal of the College from Eu. His petition was granted, and Persons obtained for the new foundation a monthly support of 20 crowns from Phillip II. Delays occurred, however, and Persons found few to encourage him in the beginning. The locality was not considered a healthy one; but Saint Omer had a reputation which excelled its climate—that of never having violated its Faith and religion, as so many towns in Flanders had done during the religious wars. Moreover, those who opposed the new foundation thought that its nearness to the English College at Douay would precipitate another quarrel between the English

[1] *Vatican Archives, Archivio Borghese II*, vol. 448ab, fol. 226.

Seculars and Jesuits. Cardinal Allen was also reported to be unfavourable to the new establishment. The Act of 35 Eliz. (1593), by which Catholics were not to depart beyond a five-mile limit from their ordinary dwelling-place practically robbed the Catholic parents of all rights in the education of their children.[1] It was too late to turn back now, and Persons saw the necessity of a College where the boys of Catholic parents could be received immediately.[2] A small house was at once taken in Saint Omer (1592), and with an increased yearly pension from the Spanish King, it was not long before the College was in a condition to receive students. Saint Omer became and remained the leading English Catholic preparatory school on the Continent.[3] From 1592 until 1594, the period of transition from Eu, the scholars at Saint Omer attended classes in the Jesuit Walloon College of the latter town. The magistrates of Saint Omer were not at all willing that the establishment should be founded there, and only gave their permission on condition that the scholars should not number more than ten, and that the Rector should never be an Englishman.

The only means for the boys to reach Saint Omer was for them to escape secretly from England. With their families impoverished by the penal laws, and with spies at every port, this was not an easy thing to accomplish. The Spanish Government helped to pay the passage of many of these boys, but help from that uncertain quarter could not always be depended upon.[4] Some escaped through Scotland;[5] others came by way of the Irish ports, whither they went on the plea of

[1] MEYER, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

[2] Persons to Pope Clement VIII., Seville, April 16, 1593, "et il 3° in Saint 'Omer di Fiandra, chè la M^ta di questo buon Re ha ordinato chè si faccia adesso per ricevere immediatamente li figliuoli più piccoli delli cattolici Inglesi." KNOX, *Allen*, p. 453.

[3] The Jesuit plan was to prepare boys from ten to fifteen years of age for the Seminaries at Douay, Rome, and Spain. (Cf. *Vatican Archives, Archivio Borghese III*, vol. 124g2, f. 52. Creswell to the Pope, Seville, April 19, 1597.) Later when vocations to the Society grew more numerous, Saint Omer took its share in instructing them.

[4] *Archives Simancas, E* 259 (605) *Flandes*, f. 91: Estevan de Ibarra to the King, Amberes, June 29, 1593. He has received the order for the payment of 700 crowns to be given yearly to boys fleeing from England to Saint Omer. It will be very difficult to do so, he says, in the present state of the Government's finances, and he fears His Majesty will be obliged to give up the payment entirely.

[5] *Dom. Cal. Eliz.*, 1587–1590, p. 295. "Scotland is the common passage for English caterpillars into foreign parts."

hawking;[1] others, again, disguised themselves as mariners to cross the Channel.[2] Many other methods were used, but all soon became known to the Government, through the confessions extorted from imprisoned priests and laymen.

In the *Extracts for Saint Omer*, taken from the *Annual Letters* (1593–1701), and published by Foley, in the *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*,[3] we learn that in 1594–5 the community at Saint Omer consisted of seven English Jesuits, two scholastics, and one temporal coadjutor. The scholars numbered thirty-eight, but were soon increased to fifty. They were for the most part youths of good family, whose parents were either in prison or exiles for the Catholic Faith. There is no mention as to when the magistrates lifted the ban from the new College regarding numbers, but doubtless the "English guinea," spoke convincingly to them. The thrifty Flemish burghers could never resist the presence of the English, for a College or Convent meant a constant stream of visitors to the town, and the upkeep of the English meant good trade for many. There are records in the case of some of the foundations which show how well charged the English were for everything. In 1598, the College numbered one hundred and six; in 1602, the number was one hundred and twenty, and it kept on increasing, although scholars were continually being sent on to Valladolid, Seville, and Rome. The Jesuit community of the College grew also, numbering eleven in 1604. This same year, the College was visited by the Earl of Hertford, who had come as the ambassador of James I. to conclude peace between the two countries. He dined in the refectory with the students, and left highly gratified with the patriotic ardour he witnessed there, and declared that he would describe all he had seen to the King on his return. The Gunpowder Plot had a bad effect for a while on the fortunes of the College, but scholars soon began to come again in such numbers that all could not be comfortably housed, and it was decided to separate the novices from the College. Accordingly, Bishop Blaise, whose

[1] *Dom. Cal. Eliz.*, 1591–1594, p. 64. This was a ruse adopted by many of the young men of Oxford and Cambridge.

[2] *Dom. Cal. Eliz.*, 1598–1601, p. 68.

[3] *Op. cit.*, vol. VII, part II, pp. 1547–74.

interest in the English exiles rivals that of Pope Gregory XIII., gave them an old Monastery and church at Watten for this novitiate. A Report by Bentivoglio on the condition of the College, dated Saint Omer, October 16, 1609, and addressed to Cardinal Borghese, gives us many interesting details : there was a procession in the morning, after he had said Mass for them, in which he carried a small statue of Our Lady of Montague, cut out of the tree at Sichem, where the apparition occurred. Various disputations in Latin and Greek were given "with so much ease and freedom on both sides that I was truly astonished. . . . These youths may be said to be the flower of the English Catholics ; many are noble, and some are sons of heretics, or at least of such as through worldly policy only, exteriorly follow the times. Among the rest, I saw a youth, son of the King's private secretary. . . . The city shows itself very favourable to the College. However, some difficulties . . . I have been able to remove, and all hindrance to the work has ceased. . . . During the whole of my visit I truly seemed to be in Paradise and among angels. I was greatly edified, and moved even to sorrow, at seeing for the first and perhaps the last time so many choice plants in the Catholic Church destined to persecution, afflictions, and martyrdom, as now I beheld springing up and growing before me."[1] The reputation of Saint Omer College spread quickly, and, in 1616, a Royal Edict, in which it was specially named was issued by James I., ordering the immediate return of all English children abroad, under penalty of the confiscation of their parents' property. Many of the students were of rich families and heirs to estates, and this proclamation caused great consternation. Some were obliged, in fact, to return home in order to protect their parents. The studies were beyond doubt higher at Saint Omer than in many other English Colleges at the time. This in itself proved a strong attraction.[2]

[1] FOLEY, *Records S.J.*, vol. VII, part II, pp. 1152–1155.

[2] There is a copy of the Rules and Regulations of Saint Omer in the Library of the University of Louvain ; a transcript exists in the *Stonyhurst Archives*, *Anglia A II*, f. 67, and is described in the *Stonyhurst Magazine*, vol. IX, p. 302 ss, by Fr. Herbert Lucas, S.J. About this time the College expanded its curriculum to include classes of philosophy and theology for the scholars. Kellison seems to consider this a detriment to Douay. (Cf. *Vatican Archives*, *Archivio Borghese III*, vol. 126a, f. 167, Kellison to Borghese, Douay, October 9, 1619).

The increased severity of the persecution after Charles I.'s accession to the throne caused the number of students to fall off somewhat, though they numbered never less than one hundred and forty. In 1635 the number was two hundred, but the calamities of the Thirty Years' War, which was then at its height had a dire effect on the College. Students were timorous about coming across to Belgium, where the dangers were just as great as in England, and at one period, during the years 1635–1649, the troubles of the time had reduced the number of scholars to twenty-four. After the Treaty of Westphalia, the numbers again increased. In 1650–1654, there were one hundred and ten. In 1670, there were one hundred and fifty. In 1684, the College was burnt down, leaving the hundred and eighty scholars in a sad plight.[1] Between 1685 and 1690 a larger College was erected, though its completion was long delayed, owing to the reduced circumstances of the leading Catholic families in England after the Oates Plot and the Orange Revolution. In 1683, the Rector, Father Edward Petre, found things in such a deplorable condition that the downfall of the College seemed inevitable. Students had been admitted whose families could neither pay the pension of the boys nor keep them in clothes, and the condition of English Catholics in general was so bad, that even the wealthier ones found it hard to pay the moderate sum the College asked.[2]

[1] The Rector appealed to the Holy Father through the Nuncio at Brussels, who reports that they could not begin to build at once owing to the fact that the recent persecution had stopped all donations (cf. *Vatican Archives, Nunz. di Fiandra*, vol. 75, January 5, 1685, March 2, 1688). The law forbidding any parent to send his child to the College still remained in force. Cf. FOLEY, *Records S.J.*, vol. V, p. 701, where a bill of high treason was brought against six recusants for having sent their sons abroad for education at Saint Omer and elsewhere.

[2] *Propaganda Archives, Visite e Collegi*, t. 36 (1697–8), f. 735 (*Stato del Seminario Inglese di St. Omer*). The major part of the students paid about 66 Roman crowns a year; others paid 80; others were received free, and others had raised debts which their parents had still to pay. Those for example who joined the Society between 1690 and 1694, left debts to the amount of 3000 crowns to be paid for by the Society. The Seminary was ready to collapse under its heavy debts in 1697–8, "et è stato in questi ultimi mesi in grandissimo pericolo di rovina totale." This was greatly deplored at this time, for "il Seminario di St. Omer essendo il piú numeroso et quasi la fonte delli altri puo giustamente chiamarsi il seminario di quasi tutte le famiglie cattoliche d'Inghilterra et della maggior parte del Clero et delli Religiosi tanto benemeriti della Santa Sede." In the College at Saint Omer, not being a pontifical College, the students were not obliged to take the oath of stability in the English Secular Mission, as at Douay, Rome, and Valladolid. The numbers in consequence grew constantly, whereas the student oath brought so many obligations in its train that the pontifical Colleges

For three years no subsidy had been received from the King of France, and the constant stream of guests, Protestant and Catholic, who visited the College, and who had to be entertained, was an added expense. During the night of October 4, 1725, another fire broke out, and burnt down nearly the whole College. The accident could not have happened at a worse time. "We had not above £180 in the house," the Rector writes; "all our winter clothing for Fathers and scholars was ready-made, and all lost; all the scholars' bedding, with most of the community's, was burnt; all their gowns, books, musical instruments, all lost. . . . We begin the foundation of the new schools to-morrow, and if God sends money I hope they may be finished by the end of next May." [1]

can never be said to have flourished as well as Saint Omer. Instead of pontifical Visitations *en règle*, as at Douay, the Nuncios at Brussels and Paris visited the College and reported directly to the Holy See. The Protector, Cardinal Barberini, in a letter to the Bishop of Saint Omer (cf. *Vatican Library*, *Biblioteca Barberini*, vol. 1937, f. 15, Rome, August 9, 1635) recommends that every care be taken to assist the College: "Quare cum Anglorum qui in Seminario Audomarensi non minus pietate quam doctrina instituuntur, commodis et rationibus consultum esse plurimum cupiam enixe a Te peto, ut quoties dabitur occasio nihil a Te desiderari permittas quod illis usui atque adjuncto esse possit." The Nuncios' Reports are very instructive and contain glowing commendations of the Jesuit scheme of education at Saint Omer (cf. *Vatican Archives*, *Nunz. di Fiandra*, vol. 21A, f. 145, November 12, 1625; *ibid.*, vol. 44, July 31, 1660). The student life at Saint Omer's is well described in Father Gerard's *History of Stonyhurst College*, p. 23; the spiritual life of the students, which is practically the same as that of the students at Stonyhurst to-day, is seen to good advantage in the *Memoir of Edmund Mathew*, alias *Poins at Saint Omer's College*, 1667, edited by the Rev. J. H. POLLEN, S.J., in the *Cath. Rec. Soc.*, vol. III, pp. 59–82. London, 1906. The English branch of the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin Mary, which was begun at the English College, Rome, in 1581 (cf. MEYER, *op. cit.*, p. 449), and which soon spread to all the Colleges governed by the English Jesuits, was established in 1606 at Saint Omer. The original rules (in English), for Saint Omer, written probably by Father Henry More, the historian, are in the *Constitutiones Collegii Anglorum Audomari*, pp. 213–293, a copy of which is among the manuscripts of the University Library of Louvain. Cf. FOLEY, *Records S.J.*, vol. VII, part II, p. 1150. When a complete history of the College is written, it will be interesting to know what part Saint Omer played in the education of American boys before the foundation of Colleges in the United States; for "the name of the College was potent across the Atlantic, not only to attract students, but to excite the fear of the enemies of the Church." A petition to William III. from the authorities of Virginia represented the dangers to religion which were caused by the Catholicity of Maryland, "a colony overrun with Jesuits and Secular priests, for which there is a supply provided by sending over Popish youth to be educated at Saint Omer's." It may be mentioned that Maryland was originally in great measure a Saint Omer's mission, and that the first two Archbishops who ruled the See of Baltimore, John Carroll and Leonard Neale, were alumni of the College. Cf. GERARD, *History of Stonyhurst College*, ff. 34–35.

[1] Fr. Richard Hyde, the Rector, to Father Elbeson, Saint Omer, November 11, 1725. When Artois was ceded to France in 1659, there was a special stipulation in

The new buildings were soon erected, the number of scholars increased, and studies were resumed with all the old zeal which had made the College famous. In 1746, a preparatory school for Saint Omer's College was begun at Boulogne-sur-mer, but it was removed to Saint Omer itself in 1753, and in the following year to the novitiate at Watten.[1]

5. *The Fall of the Houses and the Return to England.*

When the suppression of the Society of Jesus was decreed by the Parliament of Paris in 1762, "the old and renowned College of St. Omer, after an existence of one hundred and seventy years, was forcibly seized and the community expelled."[2] The collegians, led by the Fathers, left Saint Omer secretly, in small parties, and went to Bruges.[3] The little

the cession regarding the College of Saint Omer, and the King of France gave the English Jesuits an annual sum of 2000 crowns for the support of the College; but, though Louis XIV. figures among the Founders of Saint Omer (cf. *English College Archives, Index alphabeticus*, vol. II, 486), the royal pension does not seem to have been paid with much regularity. Propaganda helped generously in the erection of the new College. Cf. *Propaganda Archives, Atti*, 1725, p. 562 (*Notizia dell'incendio del Collegio Inglese di St. Omer in Fiandra*).

[1] FOLEY, *Records S.J.*, vol. VII, part I, pp. cxxvi–cxxviii.

[2] FOLEY, *Records S.J.*, vol. VII, part I, p. xl. The College of Saint Omer itself was given over to the charge of the President of the English College of Douay. It was lost in the general exodus of 1793–1795. The old quarrel between Saint Omer and Douay, which had been intensified during the first half of the eighteenth century owing to the charge of Jansenistic teaching brought against Douay, broke out again after the suppression in 1762, and caused a renewal of the "everlasting jars" between the two factions, when the commissioners decided to entrust the College of Saint Omer to the English Secular Clergy. Dr. Burton has dealt with the matter at length in his careful, lucid way in the *Life and Times of Dr. Challoner*, vol. II, pp. 39–78 (*The St. Omer Difficulty*). The English Seculars were obliged to take the College in order to save it from being lost completely to the English Missions. When the boys were called upon to decide in favour of their old and new masters, they chose the former, and migrated with them to Bruges. The president of Douay was obliged to accede to the wishes of the Paris Government for the sake of his own College, which was on French territory. It was a painful business, and particularly unpleasant to all concerned (cf. *Propaganda Archives, Miscellanee dei Collegi*, t. I, ff. 512–646, for the correspondence between the Vicar Apostolic, Douay, Paris, and the authorities at Rome). It served to show how wide the breach was still between the Seculars and Regulars, and was one of the gravest trials Bishop Challoner was called on to face during his episcopate. (For a list of the pamphlets and rejoinders written during the controversy, as well as for the Roman Agency papers covering the period, cf. BURTON, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 40.) The College served to house the boys from the small English preparatory school of Esquerchin, just beyond Douay, until it was lost in the general crash of 1793–5. Cf. *Gentleman's Magazine*, May, 1776.

[3] Two accounts of the migration from Saint Omer to Bruges, written by Father Joseph Reeve and by Father Hoskins, are among the *Stonyhurst Archives*; the first of these is printed in FOLEY, *Records S.J.*, vol. V, pp. 168–173. The triple migration

preparatory school was also removed there from Watten. They numbered about one hundred and forty students in all at the time. They were received with great kindness by the magistrates of the city, and were given exceptional privileges. Within a few years a large piece of ground was purchased, and the College was erected. The school was also begun, and in a short time the students were as much at home in the beautiful Flemish city as they had been at Saint Omer. Every assurance had been given the English Jesuits that they should be protected as foreigners to whom all rights of hospitality were due. When the news reached Bruges, therefore, that the fatal Brief of Suppression of the whole Society had been signed and published at Rome, August 16, 1773, the Rectors of the two English Jesuit Colleges of Bruges appealed to the President of the Privy Council at Brussels, begging him to use his influence to save the houses; but it was all in vain, for on September 20, 1773, they were seized in the name of the Austrian Government. The English Dominicans of Bornhem, assisted by the Jesuit lay-brothers, attempted to keep the two Colleges open at the command of the State authorities of Brussels. The attempt was worse than useless.[1] The parents of many of the students took their sons home to England, while others were sent to the "Academy" of Liége. The colleges were finally closed, and later sold by the authorities.

6. *The Organization of the English Jesuit Province.*

Meanwhile the organization of the English Jesuit Mission had prospered beyond the highest hopes of its founders. In 1598, it consisted of eighteen priests on the Mission in England, and many others who were in charge of the Colleges in Spain and Portugal, of Saint Omer, and of the English College, Rome, besides numerous chaplaincies. In 1607, the number

from Saint Omer, then to Liége, and then back to England to Stonyhurst, their present home, without breaking up classes or losing more than a few days of school during each migration, is one of the most remarkable facts in the annals of school history.

[1] FOLEY, *Records S.J.*, vol. V, p. 173 ss; cf. MS.: *Account of the Destruction of the English Colleges at Bruges*, 1773, by Father CHARLES PLOWDEN, *Stonyhurst Archives*, printed in FOLEY, *Records S.J.*, vol. V, pp. 173–183; cf. W. ROBINSON and BARON VAN CALOEN, *Notice sur les Collèges des Pères Jésuites Anglais à Bruges*, in the *Annales de la Société d'Emulation pour l'étude de l'histoire et des antiquités de la Flandre à Bruges*, t. XXXIV, 1884.

of Jesuits in England was forty-three; in 1610, fifty-three; in 1615, sixty-nine; and in 1619 almost one hundred missioners were at work in England. The English Jesuit Mission was governed in the beginning by Prefects. The first of these was Father Persons (1580–1610); Father Thomas Owen, who succeeded him in the rectorship of the English College, Rome, was the second (1610–1618). During these thirty-eight years Vice-Prefects lived in England, acting under the orders of the Prefect; but, in 1619, the number of English Jesuits at home and abroad merited a more compact organization. This same year the Mission was raised to the dignity of a Vice-Province, with Father Blount as Vice-Provincial. In 1620 the Vice-Province became a regular Province of the Order, and Father Blount, the first Provincial, modelled it as closely as the peculiar conditions in England would permit on the plan of the Institute of the Society. The whole of England was divided into twelve districts, and these again into a certain number of Residences or quasi-*colleges*. The revenues were allotted in proportion to the position and superiority of the *colleges*, and to each *college* or residence a certain number of teachers was allotted, over whom a superior or Rector was placed.[1] This arrangement lasted till 1773, and was retained after the Restoration of the Society in England with but few changes. It is not surprising that, with such a splendid system of controlling the work done in England, the Society should be so rich in vocations. These *colleges*, in startling contra-distinction to the quasi-acephalous condition of the Secular Clergy, "present to us compact bodies of Catholic clergymen, men of the highest standard of education, the majority of them Professed Fathers, ranking in the Church as Doctors of Divinity, and all of them subjected to a long spiritual training, acting in unison under local Superiors with one general head, dispersed in every county of England and Wales. It is an equal mystery attributable to the divine protection alone, with the concurrence of the greatest prudence and zeal on the part of the missionaries themselves, how so many of them escaped the Government pursuivants maintained ever on their track, and stimulated to the utmost activity by the enormous pecuniary rewards

[1] *Stonyhurst Archives, Anglia A.*, vol. IV, nos. 5, 6, 7, 17, 20, 22, 23, 29.

offered by the Government."[1] It is refreshing to meet this regularly organized body in a country where the Secular Clergy were scattered like a flock without a shepherd, the victims of a Government who found them easy to persecute, and the inheritors of a "presbyterian" form of hierarchical jurisdiction which hindered and prevented them from working with the elasticity of purpose which a regular ecclesiastical organization affords. The priests of the Society in England were divided into three classes: (1) those who led an entirely private life, living in the families of nobles and of the rich; these were usually the older priests, or those incapacitated for more active work in the Mission; (2) those who were strong and healthy, who travelled about in the open, either on foot or on horseback, ministering to the Catholics and reconciling the fallen. "The chief part of the missionary harvest naturally fell to the active class, which was exposed to special danger."[2] (3) Those who were free by their circumstances to receive people at their homes or to visit others out-of-doors, either because the locality was Catholic, or because the family with whom they lived enjoyed some greater exception from the penal laws. The direct effect of this network of missionary activity brought them into contact with many of the highest rank, and it is admirable to observe how vocations to the Society spread among the old English Catholic families. The Petres, for example, gave eleven sons to the Society; the Plowdens, nine; the Poles, ten; the Poultons, sixteen; the Bedingfields, the Stourtons, the Keynes, the Tichbournes, the Mostyns, the Cliffords and the Talbots, the Gerards and the Walpoles, the Irelands and the Welds, gave numerous vocations; and many other families, too numerous to mention, had representatives among the English Jesuits. No aspect of the supply of the Clergy during these two centuries and a half of exile is more fascinating than the methods used by the English Province to keep pace with the wonderful results of its work, and to maintain the number of workers demanded by the necessities of its Missions.[3]

[1] FOLEY, *Records S.J.*, vol. VII, part I, pp. xv–xvi.

[2] FOLEY, *Records S.J.*, vol. VII, part I, p. xvii.

[3] *Vatican Archives, Archivio Borghese I*, vol. 913, f. 700: *Relazione d'Inghilterra*: "Il maggior frutto nasce senz'alcun dubbio dall'opera dei Padri Jesuiti e degli alunn dei Seminarii governati da loro, che passano in Inghilterra."

Watten has been mentioned as the gift of Bishop Blaise in 1603 for the establishment of a novitiate for the Province.[1] But delays were interminable in the settlement of this grant. It had been approved by the King of Spain in 1604, and by Paul V. in 1607. Aquaviva had ratified the gift in September, 1612, and this was confirmed by Vitelleschi on October 22, 1616; but the jealousy of the Archduke Albert towards the English Jesuits delayed the establishment of a novitiate there till after his death, which occurred in 1622. Watten became the regular novitiate for the Province in 1625,

[1] Edmondes, the English Agent at Brussels, protested very strongly to the Archduke against the foundation being made at Watten (*P.R.O.*, *Flanders Correspondence*, vol. IX, p. 11, Edmondes to Salisbury, Brussels, January 24, 1608), and in this he was joined by the magistrates of Saint Omer, who found that it was too near the coast for their own safety. In May following Edmondes again writes to Salisbury (*ibid.*, p. 680, Brussels, May 4, 1608): "That companie doth prepare to remove their college this summer from Louvagne to a fayre and pleasant Abbie seated between St. Omers and Graveling, called Watten, there to be with the more commodotie for sending to and from England. . . . It is not unlikelie that their plantacion there might as yett be stayed, if His Ma^tie would effectually showe his mislike against it to the Archduke. I have already opened unto him the inconveniences thereof; but I have received no other than a sylent answeare." Acting under orders from Salisbury, Edmondes intrigued continually against the new foundation (*ibid.*, pp. 80–82, Edmondes to Salisbury, Brussels, June 1, 1608; p. 95; same to same, July 13, 1608; p. 112, same to same, August 10, 1608), and finally to make peace, the Archduke forbade the Jesuits to begin a College there (*ibid.*, p. 115, August 22, 1608). This explains the alleged "jealousy" of the Archduke against the English exiles; we know that in the long struggle between the Archdukes and England for a Treaty of Peace, the situation was unequal. England had the upper hand, and the Low Countries had to give way (1604) to obtain the treaty which meant so much to them commercially (WILLAERT, *op. cit.*, p. 532). The English Government was opposed to the foundation of a house so near the coast, and the Agents who succeeded Edmondes at Brussels kept the authorities at London informed of the Watten purchase. (*P.R.O.*, *Flanders Corres.*, vol. x, f. 95, Turnbull to Salisbury, Brussels, July 11–21, 1611.) The original deed for this munificent gift from the Franciscan Bishop will be found in the *Vatican Archives*, *Archivio Borghese I*, vol. 512, f. 57. Cf. *ibid.*, *Lettere dei Vescovi*, vol. 2, fol. 338, Bishop Blaise to the Holy Father, Saint Omer, October 15, 1609, wherein he states that its nearness to England is the reason for the gift. Cf. *Vat. Arch.*, *Arch. Borghese II*, vol. 409, f. 6, Paul V. to Bishop Blaise, Rome, February 16, 1607. Paul V. intervened through the Nuncio at Brussels with the Archduke in favour of the Jesuits at Watten: "Mandavimus venerabili fratri Archiepiscopo Damasceno nuncio nostri apostolico in Belgium ut cum dilecto filio nobili viri Alberto Archiduci, diligentur agat de prepositura Watiensi sacerdotibus societatis Jesu tradenda, quemadmodum ad nos scripsisti detque operam, omni studio atque diligentia, ut res ad exitum perducatur. Itque poterit paternitas tua Nuncio nostro subjicere quae pro faciliori transactione ejusmodi negotia magis opportuna tibi esse videntur." *Propaganda Archives*, *Visite e Collegi*, t. 36, 1697–8, ff. 711–717 (*Relazione dello stato del Collegio di Watten*, 1695). Bishop Blaise furnished a great many of the priests from Saint Omer and Douay with Holy Oils during his Episcopacy. (*Litterae Annuae*, 1603, p. 588).

in which year there were twenty-two scholastics. It continued to be the novitiate down to 1768, when it was removed to Ghent. The cause of the removal seems to have been the fear of seizure by the Parliament of Paris, Watten being at the time on French territory. It then became a house for invalid Fathers.[1] During the delay caused by the Archduke, the novitiate was begun at Louvain, through the generosity of the celebrated Spanish lady, Doña Luisa de Carvajal, who left in her will, dated Valladolid, December 22, 1604, 12,000 ducats for the establishment of an English novitiate.[2] The foundation was left in the hands of Father Persons, who immediately carried out her wishes. In 1606, he obtained

[1] Among the Rectors of Watten was the Rev. Sir John Warner, Bart., whose conversion with that of Lady Warner in 1664 caused such a stir in Protestant circles. After their conversion they mutually agreed to separate in order to consecrate themselves in the religious life. Sir John entered the Society of Jesus at Watten under the name of Father Clare, and was ordained priest in 1671. In 1685, he became Rector of Watten, and in 1689, Provincial of the English Province. Lady Warner and her two daughters became nuns. He took a prominent part in the unsuccessful attempt James II. made to convert England (*Somers Tracts* (Ed. Scott) vol. IX, p. 76–78), and died in 1705. Cf. FRANCES JACKSON. *From Hearth to Cloister in the Reign of Charles II. Being a narrative of Sir John and Lady Warner's so-much-wondered-at resolutions to leave the Anglican Church and to enter the Religious Life.* London, 1895.

[2] This remarkable woman, whose courage stands out prominently among the touching and tragic events of the persecution in England, where she spent nine years in works of mercy towards those imprisoned for the faith in London, was born at Jaraizejo in 1568. Early in life on reading the account of Campion's martyrdom, she felt herself called to martyrdom. In 1604, she decided upon "la jornada a Inglaterra," and before setting out for London made her will bequeathing twenty thousand ducats to the English Jesuits for the foundation of the novitiate. The importance of this gift is shown by the fact that, although in 1598, there were but sixteen English Jesuit Fathers in the Missions, in 1620, fourteen years after the novitiate was begun, there were one hundred and nine Jesuits in the English Province. On arriving in London in 1605, she gathered a little band of co-workers about her and they visited those imprisoned for the faith, converted many others, and had the happiness of assisting Father John Roberts, O.S.B., shortly before his martyrdom. Her activity attracted the attention of the authorities, who claimed she was more dangerous to Protestantism than twenty priests. On two occasions she was put in prison (cf. *Vatican Library, Biblioteca Barberini*, vol. 5880, f. 395; vol. 5885, f. 395, Bentivoglio to Card. Borghese, Brussels, July 5 and July 19, 1608, who relates her imprisonment and subsequent release through the efforts of the Spanish Ambassador). She died in London in 1614, at the age of forty-six. Her life has been printed in the *Quarterly Series*: LADY GEORGIANA FULLERTON, *The Life of Luisa de Carvajal.* London, 1873. This biography is based on a Spanish one which had a great vogue at the time when a process for her canonization was set on foot at Rome: LUIS MUNOZ, *Vida y Virtudas de la venerable Virgen Donna Luisa de Carvajal de Mendoça, su jornada a Inglaterra, y sucessos en aquel reyno.* Madrid, 1632. A copy of the will is printed in MORE, *op. cit.*, lib. VII, c. III, p. 291; an English translation will be found in Fr. MORRIS' *Condition of Catholics under James I.*, p. cxciv. London, 1871.

possession of a house at Louvain called St. John's, which had been inhabited by the Knights of Malta; and in February, 1607, the novitiate commenced there with eleven novices, six priests, two scholastics and five lay-novices, under Father Thomas Talbot as Novice-Master.[1] In 1614, the work at Louvain was augmented by schools of philosophy and theology, but the arrangement did not last long, for by the end of the year the novitiate was transferred to Liége. The College at Louvain was given up also at this time.

Father John Gerard, of Gunpowder fame, bought the house at Liége and ten acres of land out of funds furnished by his English Catholic friends. From its commencement Liége was the house of higher studies in philosophy and theology for the English Province, and it so remained until the Suppression in 1773. One of the reasons for this change from Louvain to Liége was the constant attacks made on the existence of the novitiate at Louvain by the English ambassador at Brussels.[2] The University town was overrun with spies, for

[1] The new foundation did not escape the attention of James's Agent, the turbulent Edmondes, who writes to Salisbury from Brussels, September 10, 1606, that they "had lately obteyned permission to plante a novishipp onely of Englishe Jesuittes at Louvain" (*P.R.O. Flanders Corres.*, vol. 9, f. 161). Later, Turnbull reports that the new establishment had been given by "the spanishe woman living in London," £3000 which she had collected among her acquaintances for the advancement of this work (*ibid.*, vol. 10, ff. 112-113, Turnbull to Salisbury, Brussels, September 11, 1611), and he begs the Government of London to put a stop to these alms on the part of the "bewitched Catholics" (*ibid.*, vol. 10, f. 234, Turnbull to Sir Thomas Overbury, Brussels, October 8, 1612). The number of novices increased very quickly, between 1607 and 1609, twenty-one candidates were received (*Stonyhurst Archives, Anglia A.* iii. f. 188); cf. HUGHES, *Text*, I, pp. 160-161. FOLEY, *Records S.J.*, vol. VII, part II, p. 999-1002 (*History of the English College S.J., Louvain*), explains the opposition of the Archbishop of Canterbury to the new foundation.

[2] There were two sources of opposition to the foundation at Liége: that of the English authorities at London and Brussels, and that of the surrounding Universities —Louvain, Cologne, and Douay. The English Agent Turnbull reports to Overbury, Brussels, September 23, 1617, s.v., that the "Jesuits are now in travell with a designe to erect a new community for the teaching of their Pharisayical Doctrines at Liége, and that despite the protests of the Universities of Louvain, Cologne, and Douay, the generation of vipers is likely to succeed" (*P.R.O. Flanders Correspondence*, vol. 10, f. 334). Later, on November 25, 1613, s.v. (*ibid.*, vol. 10, p. 359), he writes to the King that the foundation was being opposed by the three surrounding Universities, who feared that the Jesuits were beginning a new University at Liége which might outrival them. "This innovation of that ambitious horde hath so nettled and rouzed the schollers and burghers of Louvayne, as they have implored the ayde of the States of Brabant, and being backed by their authority, have given very bitter informations against the said Jesuits to the Archduke." He realized, however, that the English Jesuits would succeed in the affair, for he writes to the Secretary of State, Sir Ralph

the Gunpowder Plot was still fresh in people's minds and no one was more heartily hated by the Government than Gerard himself. He tells us that so closely were his movements watched that he could not even visit the English Convent of St. Monica's in the city. There was a considerable number of English Catholic families at Louvain,—exiles on account of the persecution which followed the Plot; and in 1614, they were startled by a summons to appear in England under pain of losing their possessions. James I. tried in vain to have them expelled.[1] It was evident that the peace and quiet so necessary for the novitiate could not be guaranteed in the city, and Gerard found himself taking the same road the exiles had taken in 1575, when they were expelled through the weakness of Requesens. The English ambassador knew of Gerard's innocence in the dastardly business of 1605, but the English Jesuit was not left in peace, for James never ceased to complain of his presence in the Archduke's dominions. The consequence was that the novitiate was transferred to Liége in September, 1614.[2] Prince Maximilian's brother gave 5000

Winwood, October 28, 1614, s.v. (*ibid.*, vol. 11, p. 167), that the English Fathers are resolved to go to Liége. They gave as causes of the new "plantation" that the house they now enjoy, St. John's, was only lent to them by the Archduke; that the University of Louvain was so jealous of its privileges that it would not permit them to give public lectures in philosophy; and that the nearness of Liége to Spa, a centre for the English at the time, would increase the importance of the College. In December the change was accomplished (same to same, Brussels, December 8–18, 1614, *ibid.*, vol. 11, f. 401). "Our Englishe Jesuites have planted a new Collony of 16 of their young woolfs at Liege" (*ibid.*, vol. 11, f. 401). "A house has been begun with a collection made in England amounting to £3500" (*ibid.*, vol. 11, ff. 188–199). The Archduke favoured them in this design (*Vatican Archives, Lettere dei Principi*, vol. 57, fol. 56), though the Nuncio at Brussels wrote to Borghese (*Vatican Archives, Archivio Borghese II.*, vol. 136, fol. 53, March 22, 1614), that the University of Louvain was highly displeased with the permission given the English Jesuits to start a school of philosophy and theology so near to them (cf. DODD-TIERNEY, vol. IV, pp. ccxxxiv–ccxlv, for correspondence anent the foundation).

[1] *Vatican Archives, Archivio Borghese III*, vol. 448ab *Jesuitica*, f. 40: Copy of letter from Talbot, Rector of the Jesuit College, Louvain, to Owen, Rector of the English College, Rome, Louvain, June 6, 1615.

[2] The disturbances caused by the English Agents, who feared this constant increase of the Society, had no doubt an effect on the change to Liége. *P.R.O., Flanders Correspondence*, vol. 12, Turnbull to Winwood, Brussels, March 21–31, 1615–1616: "It is a lamentable case to see what nombers of poore foules those mountebankes the Jesuitts doe continually infatuate and enchante with the artifices and dreggs of superstition, and it is a thing worthie of observation to consider the infinite wealth which they continually draine out of His Majesty's dominions." He has been told by a credible witness that "there are in the Englishe Jesuitts Colledges at St. Omers, Doway, Leege and Louven about 300 persons, and that communibus annis they drawe

florins in 1618 for the new foundation, and later, in 1620, an additional gift of 1300 florins. It was then decided to separate the novitiate from the College of higher studies, and accordingly, in 1625, Father Silisdon (Bedingfield) removed the former to Watten.[1] Not long afterwards the Duke of Bavaria settled a permanent endowment on the College of Liége. In the Annual Letters for Liége we learn that the number in the College grew from fifty-four in 1626 to eighty in 1685, which remained more or less the number in the house until the Suppression in 1773. After the Suppression the numbers increased considerably. In 1776, the "Academy" had one hundred and fifty students alone, not counting the community of Jesuit Fathers, scholastics and lay-brothers. It soon became one of the richest of the English Colleges. We have the usual run of College life, varied by the sicknesses of the boys, the crowds of English exiles in the city who flocked to the church to hear the sermons, the numbers of English apostates reconciled and of converts received into the Church, the civil disturbances at Liége in 1635–1637, and the attack on the College during the tumult at the assassination of the Burgomaster, de la Ruelle, by the Count de Warfuse, the scarcity of food, the classical plays given in the College, the visits of distinguished laymen and ecclesiastics, the deaths of Superiors and Fathers and lay-brothers, the accounts of those who were suffering on the Missions in England and those who had died for the Faith, and the admission of externs to the College lectures in 1672.[2]

out of the realms of Englande above twenty thousand pounds sterling per annum." The private accounts published by Foley give the lie to this exaggeration. Probably one of the chief reasons for their disturbed condition at Louvain was the conflict between the University and the Society of Jesus during the years 1613–1614, over the question of inaugurating separate schools of philosophy and theology for their own scholastics. This privilege which the Society only gained after a long struggle was considered a violation of the rights of the University, and explains in a certain sense much of the antipathy between the two schools in Jansenistic days. (Cf. *Vatican Archives, Archivio Borghese III*, vol. 85b, f. 70, the Rector of the University to Clement VIII., January 13, 1596.)

[1] MORE, *op. cit.*, p. 424, says that in 1617 there were 45 in the community at Liége, of whom 30 were novices.

[2] Cf. FOLEY, *Records S.J.*, vol. V, p. 199–204. A brief narrative of what was done at the College of Liége in 1696. Cf. *Stonyhurst Archives MS. : A Collection of Notes, Memoirs, and Documents, respecting the re-establishment of the English Province*, by Rev. THOMAS GLOVER, S.J.

It is an edifying and instructive history, and can be found in full in Father John Gerard's *Memorials of Stonyhurst* or in Foley's *Records*, where the biographies of the different Rectors and Professors of the College are given in detail. One of the most important pages of this history is the part Liége played in the interim between the Suppression of the Society and its Restoration in 1814. When the Suppression took place, the Prince Bishop of Liége, who was sincerely attached to the English Jesuits, was obliged, though unwilling, to obey the decree from Rome; but availing himself of the right he had as owner of the College, he restored it to the English ex-Jesuits, who converted it into a Seminary for English Catholic youths under the title of the "Academy." The list of the community in 1773, printed by Foley, numbers forty-six in all. Hither came the students of the two suppressed Colleges of Bruges, and recruits came from England and from the United States. In 1778 the Prince Bishop obtained from Pope Pius VI. a Brief erecting the "Academy" into a Pontifical Seminary.[1] It was abandoned in 1794, in consequence of the French Revolution, and the scholars migrated to Stonyhurst, near Blackburn in Lancashire.[2]

The spiritual organization of the Society of Jesus would be incomplete without a House of the Third Probation. As is well known, the minimum length of time given to the training of a subject for the Order embraces the two years' novitiate, three years of philosophy, five years of teaching in one or the other of the Colleges of the Society, and four years of theology. At the end of this training period, one year is given to what is called the Third Probation or Noviceship, which must be spent in a regular House of the Third

[1] Cf. *English College Archives, Scritture diverse*, vol. 44, *Memorie del Collegio o Casa di Studi che la Compagnia di Gesu per Giovanni suoi individui tenea in Liegi.*

[2] Father J. H. Pollen, S.J., regrets "that we have not a special study of the three migrations, first from St. Omer to Bruges, then on to Liége, then to Stonyhurst. Taken together these journeys form a unique page in the annals of school history, honourable in the highest possible degree both to staff and scholars." (*Month*, May, 1910). A list of American boys educated at Liége is one of the desiderata for early American Church history. Cf. *Publ. Cath. Rec. Soc.*, vol. 13, pp. 202-214 (*Boys at Liége Academy*, 1773-1791: *Their Parents, guardians, etc. Contributed by* R. TRAPPES-LOMAX). London, 1913. The Library of the University of Liége possesses some fifty MSS. which belonged to the English Jesuit College. They are mostly treatises of theology, physics and logic. Cf. *Supplément au Catalogue des manuscripts de la Bibliothèque de l'Université de Liége*, by GRANDJEAN, p. 59.

Probation, where the spirit of the novitiate is renewed and the young priest strengthens his life of piety and learns how to use to the best of his ability all the learning and experience he has acquired.[1] The House for the English Province was opened at Ghent in August, 1621. It was founded through the munificence of the Countess of Arundel, one of the chief Catholic exiles of the time.[2] It served also as a place of residence for priests who were disabled through age or infirmity, or unfit for the Mission. Much service was rendered by these Fathers to the English, Irish, and Scotch soldiers who were engaged in the wars, or lay wounded in the hospitals of Ghent.[3] In 1638, the novitiate at Watten took refuge at Ghent for a short time owing to the severity of the war in the south of Flanders, for Belgium was the battle-field of the world in this period of the Thirty Years' War. A number of conversions were made by the Tertian Fathers among the English Protestant soldiery. The Fathers had also the direction of the English Benedictine nuns of the city; and at all times the distressed and afflicted townspeople found such a ready response at the College that it became known as "the refuge of the miserable." In 1768 the novitiate was removed permanently to Ghent, which then became the House of the First and Third Probation. At the Suppression in 1773, it shared the fate of the other Jesuit Colleges.

In addition to a vast number of interesting particulars respecting the missionary activity of the Society of Jesus in England and in the English foundations, most of which have a more appropriate place in the history of the Jesuits in England itself and hardly come within the scope of the present thesis, Brother Foley has already published several accounts of the temporal condition of the various Colleges and residences in the Low Countries.[4] These original documents, he says, are more authentic and trustworthy since they were not written

[1] Article *Society of Jesus*, in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. XII, p. 80 (J. H. POLLEN, S.J.). Cf. also HUGHES, *op. cit.*, *Text*, I, p. 165 ss.

[2] SANDERUS, *Flandria Illustrata*, vol. I, p. 131; MORE, *op. cit.*, p. 188; DODD, *op. cit.*, vol II, p. 342; *Life of Anne, Countess of Arundel*, p. 232.

[3] *Extracts from Ghent* (1624–1711), from the *Annual Letters*, FOLEY, *Records S.J.*, vol. VII, part II, pp. 1195–1219. Cf. *Propaganda Archives*, *Visite e Collegi*, t. 26, f. 737, (*Stato del Collegio Inglese di Gante*, 1694).

[4] FOLEY, *Records S.J.*, vol. VII, part I, pp. cxxxix–clxviii.

for the public eye, but solely for the inspection and information of the General of the Society and the local Provincials. They are of great value for the economic study of the foundations, especially because the English Jesuits were constantly accused either of diverting the funds given them for the Colleges in general to their own uses, or of monopolizing the charity of wealthy English Catholics. Since these accounts exhibit "with all candour the entire temporalia of the English Province of the Society of Jesus, the ridiculous traditional ideas or old wives' tales regarding its fabulous wealth, may suffer a considerable change."[1] They cover the period 1625–1743. The clear available income of the entire English Province in 1645, including all the means of the Society in the Colleges, residences, Seminaries and schools under their charge, as well as the fourteen centres in England and Wales, is recorded at something like £3915. This sum maintained three hundred and thirty-five persons, which at the present rate of money would be at £34 10*s.* a year per head.[2] The revenue was raised partly by legacies, rents and the incomes of the Fathers, partly by precarious alms. A strict spirit of economy prevailed, and at no time do we find the Colleges or residences labouring under debts, as did the College of Douay and many of the English Convents. The disturbances of 1679 which caused a stoppage of the alms, and the evil times subsequent to the Orange Rebellion, reduced the pecuniary state of the Province considerably, but it soon

[1] FOLEY, *Records S.J.*, vol. VII, part I, p. xviii.

[2] *List of Benefactions to Colleges of Douay, Seville, Liége, Louvain, San Lúcar, Madrid, Bruges, Rheims, Watten, Lisbon, and Rome* in *Archives* of the *English College* Rome, *Index Archivii Collegii Anglorum Urbis*, vol. I, under "*Census.*" (Taken from the 37 vols. of the *Conti e obblighi*). Cf. *Dom. Cal. James I.*, 1611–1618, p. 45, July 20, 1611, Robert Bury to Salisbury; cf. also, *Biblioteca Vittorio Emmanuele* (Rome), *Fondo Giesuitico*, MS. 3601–1472, no. I, *Collegios della Compa con seos fundatores e fundacões* (*saec xvi–xviii*); *ibid.*, MS. 2419, p. 43a, "*Memoria con un compendio cronologico di tutti le fondazioni e dotazioni de' Seminari e de' Collegi de' PP. Giesuiti fatta dalla S. mane di Gregorio XIII. non solo in Germania e nei Svizeri ma ancora in Roma e in altre Provincie e Regni.*" In the pontifical subsidy of 1680–1682, which was evoked by the terrible suffering of the English establishments, after the Titus Oates Plot, the English Jesuits also figured. In the Catalogue made in preparation for the grant (*Vatican Archives, Nunziatura di Fiandra*, vol. 66, 1676–1682), we learn that Ghent had eight or nine Fathers in residence; Liége, sixty Jesuits; Watten, thirty-five; Saint Omer, thirty Jesuits and one hundred and twenty scholars. They received (*ibid.*, vol. 72, April 23, 1682) help as follows: Ghent, 144 florins; Liége, 1260 florins; Saint Omer, 3000 florins; Watten, 720 florins.

recovered. This is a remarkable record among the exiled establishments, all the more so because in many of the residences or *colleges* in England itself, schools were secretly kept going in which the Fathers taught free the children of poor Catholics.

When the plot of the infamous Titus Oates was discovered in 1678, the frenzy of the English nation against Catholics and against the Jesuits in particular, knew no bounds. "The author of the popish plot, Titus Oates, is doomed to an immortality of infamy." [1] He was repulsive both in character and in appearance, but he was endowed with considerable acuteness, with unfailing readiness of apprehension, and with brazen effrontery. At first an English clergyman, he had been converted or had feigned conversion to the Catholic faith in 1677, and within the next fifteen months he had spent some time in Jesuit Seminaries, first at Valladolid and later at Saint Omer. There he become familiar with the hopes of the Catholics when the Duke of York should succeed to the throne, and in conjunction with Dr. Israel Tonge, "a clerical busybody, who had the Jesuits on the brain," he hatched the plot which was supposed to have for its object the assassination of Charles II. and the massacre of all Protestants. The Plot was thoroughly investigated by the House of Lords; new and severe laws were passed against the Catholics; and the *colleges* and residences of the Jesuits in England were never free from pursuivants. The Jesuits had been banished by the Royal Proclamation of 1666, and though the effect of this banishment was inappreciable, the conversion of James, Duke of York, at Ghent, by the English Jesuit Provincial, Fr. Joseph Simeon (*vere* Emmanuel Lobb), aroused the hatred of the Puritan and anti-Catholic factions. The marriage of James to the Princess Maria d'Este, sister to the reigning Duke of Modena, in 1674, caused a new Protestant panic, and again in 1675, a decree of banishment was issued against all priests and Jesuits. It was in the midst of all this anti-Catholic clamour, that Titus Oates made his appearance. The part played by the English Jesuits in the attack on Douay for alleged Jansenistic teaching had not helped to make peace between them and the Secular Clergy.

[1] HUNT-POOLE, *Political History of England*, vol. VIII, p. 151. London, 1910.

It is not surprising therefore to read in the Annual Letters of 1679 that the prominence given to the College of Saint Omer, in the investigation of the Plot, frightened many Catholics, and the number of students fell off considerably. The old penal statute forbidding any parent, under pain of confiscation of all his property, to send his son to the Continent for education, was renewed; and on this account as well as from the outcry raised against the Jesuits by the perjuries of Oates, the general opinion was that the College would never survive such a blackened reputation, and that it ought to be closed. The century of activity which followed this gloomy outlook of 1679 is a brilliant one in the history of English Catholic education.

It would seem but just to finish this short, imperfect sketch of the educational activity of the English Jesuit exiles with some account of what might be called, by a stretch of name, their politico-religious activity. The necessity of this would appear to spring from the fact that in the chapter on Douay, and in that on the Anglo-Benedictine Congregation, mention has been made of what the opponents of the Society claim to be its unlawful encroachments upon their domain. To leave the question of the conflict between Seculars and Regulars as it stands in these other chapters, and not to give the other side of the case would be, as has been frankly pointed out to the writer, the worst kind of unscientific history. Scientific history is that which is based upon first-hand evidence; and the impartial historian would be he who indicates the documents for both sides and allows the principal actors to speak for themselves. The dilemma which presented itself at the outset, was a twofold one: first, since the research work in Spain, Rome, and elsewhere, was solely for the purpose of studying the origin and growth of the Foundation Movement, should all mention of conflicts be avoided entirely? And secondly, if these conflicts were entered into, difficult as the attempt would be to give an impartial delineation of the parties at variance, to what extent would it be necessary to explain them? The impulse was to avoid them entirely, and that for two reasons. First, because the documents at our disposal for the part the Society of Jesus played in the drama at Valladolid, at Douay, at Rome, on the Missions, and in

Flanders, are small in number compared to the materials which are at hand for the same story from the standpoint of the Seculars and the English Benedictines. Moreover the literature on the subject is so impregnated with bitterness against the Society, that it would be impossible not to be influenced, unconsciously at least, by its acid. In the second place, it seemed the valour of rashness to attempt a solution of difficulties which are still unsolved by English historical writers, and which neither the years nor the experience nor the study, which have gone into the making of this work, would postulate or justify. As the work proceeded, however, it became evident that the Foundation Movement would appear inert and listless unless all the underlying impulses which caused its growth, were given at least in outline. Among these impulses, certainly the rivalry between the different corporate elements of the English Counter-Reformation is not the least. That this rivalry ceased to be rivalry in the friendly sense, and that in some cases it caused painful quarrels and controversies, seemed no reason why it should not be mentioned. Nevertheless, we are conscious, in reviewing what has already been written in these other chapters, of the one-sided impression they may perhaps give to the reader who comes fresh to the subject. And yet to do more would require a complete history of the English Jesuits, based upon documents which we have not had the opportunity of studying. But one fact should be evident to every one. The opponents of the Society base their attitude upon two points: the first of these is that the English Jesuits of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were a disloyal body of men, in constant rebellion against the English crown; that force was the chief weapon they tried to use to restore the Church to its place of honour in the nation; and that the Secular priests and Benedictines were opposed to the Society, because of the presence of this loyalty in their own circles. That charge has been made frequently, and the leaders of the English Jesuit exiles have been handed down to posterity as plotters and traitors who were thoroughly imbued with Spanish ideas and desirous of the predominance of Spain over their own country. That charge has never been proven. Biographers, such as Simpson, who created much of the scenery for this fictitious stage; and

writers, such as Taunton, who recognized, himself, his own innate prejudices against the Society, and whose name has been used in such an unfair manner by the editors of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* to prove this charge against the Jesuits —are men like these to have the last word? The second charge is similar to the first, but it is one that centres around the fascinating personality of Father Robert Persons. It is too well known to need repetition, but sufficient has already been written in these pages to show the value of the historical evidence in the documents quoted against him. Unless Persons be judged, not as a solitary dominating personality, high above his fellows, and unique because of his attitude on the question of force, but solely as one among so many others who advocated political means for the conversion of England, his real historical character will never be justly given. The question of the politico-religious activity of the English members of the Society of Jesus is still an unsettled one; but there is one factor which never seems to be taken into account by the opponents of this great Jesuit. Every one must regret that he and other leading Jesuits, especially Father Creswell, entered into affairs which harmonized but faintly with their religious vocation. "At the same time we can also see that many valid excuses can be made in diminution of their responsibility. Where the Pope approved and co-operated, as also Catholic powers like Spain, so jealous about religious decorum, we cannot say that the breach of etiquette was very serious, and the blame of having acted contrary to the decree of the Sixth Congregation of the Order must not be urged too far. The truth is that the period was one of change. People saw that Religious, and especially Jesuits, should keep clear of politics, as ordinarily understood. But it was not yet clear that there should be no exceptions, especially when the Pope was concerned, and, in the case of Spain, the King Catholic. The King of Spain seemed to be in one sense even more Catholic than the Pope, so great was his aloofness from all that was unorthodox, so obviously religious in all enterprises and ambitions. If he approved the conduct of Creswell, every one about him would do the same. In the case of the Pope, however, the experience of these years had an appreciable effect in hastening the change from medieval to modern

notions on this matter. When Clement began to see that Father Persons had been wrong in his forecasts, he and his Curia turned upon him in a way which was not altogether generous, seeing that papal approbation at an earlier period had been the chief reason which induced Persons to attend to these matters. But on the whole, the change, though painful for Father Persons, was altogether for the good of the Order. It powerfully promoted the idea that Jesuits must keep clear of politics of all sorts. Moreover, it showed papal independence. One of the most subtle arguments brought against a man like Father Persons is that he ruled every one. This change of favour shows that the Pope was his own master, changing his advisers as soon as ever they ceased to satisfy him." [1]

The whole question may safely be left to the historians of the Society to settle. Many aspects of these different conflicts, into the explanation of which we have found it somewhat necessary to enter, and which may seem to the reader irreconcilable, will one day be reconciled by historical science, and the English Province of the Society of Jesus will come into possession of the heritage, glorious in so many appreciable ways, which their martyrs and doctors, their missionaries and teachers have created and perpetuated. The work done by the English Jesuits for the preservation of the Faith in England is unique. It stands apart with its own characteristics, distinct from all the other factors in the educational field at that time. If any aspect of the English Foundation Movement deserves a special word of praise, it is certainly the part the Society took, all unselfishly, in the English Counter-Reformation, in the Foundation Movement itself, and in the renaissance of the Church in England after the return of the exiles in 1795. There are questions still unsolved in the long and admirable history of the English Jesuit Province; there are certain phases of policy which seem to later generations mistaken ones; there are apparent currents of opposition in the restoration of the English hierarchy, in the foundation of the Anglo-Benedictine Congregation, and in the spread of the Seminaries; but a final judgment cannot be passed, more

[1] *Research at Simancas*, article by J. H. POLLEN, S.J., in the *Month*, vol. CXXI (1913), pp. 158–159.

especially by those who are reaping to-day the rewards of the splendid chain of Colleges and schools the Jesuits founded and supported in days of persecution and bloodshed, until the Society gives us that story from its own standpoint and with its own official seal. The Jesuits have been attacked and vilified by Catholic and Protestant alike, and when such attacks can only mean detriment and hindrance to the honour of the Church itself, their enemies should be answered; and the English Catholic world looks with great anticipation for the volumes which are to take their place in the general collection beside those of Fathers Duhr, Kroess, Fouqueray, Astrain, Tacchi-Venturi and Thomas Hughes.

CHAPTER VI

THE INSTITUTE OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY

1. *Mary Ward and the English Counter-Reformation*

No account of the English Counter-Reformation would be complete without the story of Mary Ward's Institute of the Blessed Virgin. It is, at the same time, the saddest and the most interesting episode in the Foundation Movement of which we are treating. Mary Ward's own life is intimately bound up with the Institute until her death (1645); and from her death until her rehabilitation by Pope Pius X. as Foundress of the Institute as it exists to-day, the memory of the gallant struggle she made against intrigue and calumny for the honour and preservation of her work has been a most potent force in the growth and development of her Order. No Englishwoman of the first half of the seventeenth century had a more varied life. From the standpoint of time and place, the Institute covers a short period, as far as the present thesis is concerned—namely, from its foundation in 1609 to its suppression in 1631. But the events crowded into that score of years are many and varied, and pregnant with explanations and sidelights in the great quarrel of Seculars and Regulars. The history of the Institute follows logically that of the Jesuits, not alone because her followers were falsely called "Jesuitesses" (a name that still survives quite erroneously in many dictionaries and encyclopædias), but also because the Constitution of the Institute follows to a certain degree the Constitution of the Society of Jesus. There was never, however, any official link between the two.

On April 20, 1909, by a special decree of the Congregation of Religious, Pius X. permitted the members of the Institute

to call Mary Ward their only and legitimate Foundress. During the one hundred and sixty years which had elapsed since the publication of the Bull of Benedict XIV., *Quamvis justo*, on April 30, 1749, this privilege was formally denied them by the Church. A religious institute without a Foundress, approved by legitimate ecclesiastical authority, and dispersed into all parts of the Catholic world, with two hundred houses and nearly six thousand sisters, teaching seventy thousand girls in its schools, was, indeed, a unique spectacle in the Church. This anomaly ceased with the approbation of Pius X., who brought to an end an historical injustice of nearly two centuries.

The Institute of Mary, as it is generally called, was founded at Saint Omer, in 1609. Its Foundress, Mary Ward, was the daughter of an English family well known in the northern counties for its unswerving loyalty to the Church during all the persecutions in England. She was related to many of the other great Catholic families—the Vavasours, Constables, and Gascoignes—all famous for their strict Catholic principles.[1] At the age of eighteen she decided to become a religious. At that time this meant exile—and probably exile for life. No convents existed in England in 1605; and the very few members of the old communities who remained were either scattered or surrounded by too many dangers to accept young novices. During Elizabeth's reign many Catholics had found great fault with those who influenced young women who sought the quiet of the religious life, to exile themselves abroad;[2] but after the foundation of the Benedictine monastery in Brussels (1598) by Lady Mary Percy, the emigration of young Catholic women to the Continent began in earnest, despite the perils that accompanied such a voyage in those days. Mary Ward may have thought of going to the Brussels convent, for the Percys were friends of the Wards, but at that time the nuns there were not living in harmony. Apart from the fact that the number of novices at Brussels was constantly on the increase (so much so that the nuns were inconveniently

[1] *The Life of Mary Ward* (1585–1645), by Mary Catherine Elizabeth CHAMBERS of the Institute of the Blessed Virgin. Edited by HENRY JAMES COLERIDGE, of the Society of Jesus, vol. I, p. 66, 2 vols. London, 1882. (Quoted in notes as CHAMBERS.)

[2] KNOX, *Douay Diaries*, p. 149.

crowded in their convent), the unfortunate dissensions which then existed in England between the Seculars and the Regulars had found an echo in their Convent, and resulted in the schism which will be explained in the next chapter.[1] Her friends gave her letters to the English Jesuits at Saint Omer, and on her arrival there, they found a place for her in the noviciate of the Walloon Convent of Poor Clares in that city. The following year (1607), owing to a number of grave reasons, she left them for the purpose of founding a separate Convent for English Poor Clares. The English Jesuit College had been begun in Saint Omer in 1592, and it became very soon the Mecca not only for the boys who were neither old enough nor instructed sufficiently to enter Douay or Rome, but also for their exiled parents, and for many others who sought the English Jesuits as confessors and directors. So many young English ladies of high birth, remarkable alike for personal and mental gifts, had also come to Saint Omer in the preceding year (1606), with the idea of entering religion, that the English Jesuits began the project of erecting a separate house for them. "There was in the city a certain English virgin (who was the first to start the idea) furnished with excellent gifts both of piety, talent, and courage of heart, and entirely under the direction of ours. Grieved that nothing was done, she declared herself sent by God as an instrument to begin and carry out the work to completion. . . ."[2] Her experience in the French Convent at Saint Omer had taught her not only the trials of a temporal nature, but also those of the spiritual life to which her countrywomen were liable to be exposed in entering the religious state abroad. "Among these, the want of a confessor and spiritual director of their own nation, who could speak their own language and understand and feel with their difficulties, especially at a time of great national distress, may perhaps not be reckoned among the least."[3]

At this time, the English Franciscans had no house of their own, the Anglo-Benedictine Congregation had not been formed, and the only practical way to settle the difficulty was

[1] *Brussels Chronicle*, pp. 67–71.
[2] *Litterae Annuae, S.J.*, 1608, quoted in CHAMBERS, vol. I, p. 153.
[3] CHAMBERS, vol. I, p. 159.

to place the new Convent under the English Jesuits. At once opposition arose on the part of the Belgian Provincial of the Franciscans, since all Poor Clares were under his jurisdiction, as well as on the part of the local Superior of the Society of Jesus, which was forbidden expressly by its Rule to have charge of religious communities of women.[1] The site chosen by Mary Ward for the new Convent was at Ecchelstbeker, a village outside Gravelines in the diocese of Ypres, where she bought a house out of her dowry for 10,000 florins. Bishop Blaise of Saint Omer (1606–1618), himself a Franciscan, intervened personally with the Bishop of Ypres, who promised the new undertaking his personal aid.[2] To obtain the consent of the civil authorities Mary Ward went to Brussels to lay her petition before the Archdukes. Margaret of Austria, the sister of Albert, was a Poor Clare at Madrid, and the Archduke was disposed to be friendly towards the Order. Pressure had been brought to bear upon him to prevent the erection of the new Convent which would not be subject to Franciscan superiors, but the opposition was not successful, for Mary Ward soon won his entire approbation. She lived with the English nuns at Brussels for six months, during which time the negociations were carried on, and here Fr. William Baldwin, Vice-Prefect of the English Jesuit Mission, who was confessor to the Benedictine nuns, made her acquaintance and gave her the necessary permission to have the English Jesuits of Saint Omer as spiritual directors of her Convent. The Rector of the English College of Saint Omer, Rev. Giles Schondonck, S.J., now felt free to interest himself in the new foundation. Mary herself wanted to begin in Saint Omer, but the town had already a great number of religious houses, and it was decided to settle elsewhere. The nuns were delayed, however, and obliged to remain a while in Saint Omer, because the grant to found the new Convent at Gravelines was given on condition that the house should be inside the town walls, that they should not go out begging, and that they be subject to the Ordinary. An exchange was made with the property already bought at Ecchelstbeker for land in the town of Gravelines, and the building of the new Convent was begun with the

[1] Cf. HEIMBUCHER, *op. cit.*, vol. III, pp. 364-368.
[2] CHAMBERS, vol. I, p. 154.

money left from Mary's dowry and with a large gift from Edward Gage, the father of one of Mary's companions. The interest shown by the English exiles in the new foundation aroused the suspicions of the English Agent at Brussels, Thomas Edmondes, who writes, after lamenting the "new plantation of another body of Jesuits at Louvain and Watten,"[1] that the Jesuits had also influenced Mary Ward in founding the new Convent of Poor Clares at Gravelines. While the house was being built at Gravelines, they started community life at Saint Omer (1607) under the direction of some English and French Poor Clares from the French convent in the city. Father Roger Lee, S.J., of the English Jesuit College of Saint Omer, was appointed spiritual director and confessor to the new community. The Rule used was the original one of St. Clare drawn up by St. Francis, and at that time the severest in the Church. The copy they possessed was sent to Mary Ward by the Duchess of Feria, then living in exile at Louvain. The former Novice-Mistress of the Walloon Monastery, an Englishwoman, was elected first Abbess of the community.

Five months later, Mary Ward parted from this community of her own foundation, as the result of one of those incidents in the spiritual life which are common in the biographies of the saints. A revelation came to her in prayer that "that state of life was not that by which she was to honour God, but that He had chosen her for another, very much to His honour, greatly for His glory and for the utility of her neighbour and the good of others, particularly England."[2] Were it not that we are speaking of a woman who was pre-eminently practical in all things and whose later life as the religious pioneer of the active Orders of women in the Church demonstrates beyond doubt her sterling honesty of character and her solid piety, this episode in her life would have to be judged differently. But knowing her as we do, it must be weighed carefully and delicately in an endeavour to obtain a clear view of this parting of the ways by which the Church was to gain enormously in modern times from one woman's initiative and courage. We know very little of this period

[1] *P.R.O., Flanders Correspondence*, vol. IX, 1608–1610, pp. 604–605.
[2] CHAMBERS, vol. I, p. 181.

except from what she has written, and the human element is so designedly absent in her letters and in her autobiography that it is difficult to find other reasons besides the spiritual one just mentioned. Two facts, however, aid us. One was the severity and the lack of sympathy shown her by the Abbess, and the other, as we find in a letter[1] of Bishop Blaise, was the question of jurisdiction, the rock upon which several of the English communities were almost shipwrecked during the Exile. Before the little community departed from Saint Omer for its new Convent at Gravelines (about Easter, 1607), Mary had left the Convent and had gone to live with some friends in the city. Many hopes had been placed in her by her friends, and now many turned against her, while the children were taught to cry after her in the streets: *runaway nun*, *visionary*, and *false prophetess*. All this will prove an important factor in the opposition made against her Institute in later years. The Jesuits tried to persuade her to join the English Benedictine nuns of Brussels or the Carmelites at Mons, where there were English nuns, or even to go to St. Ursula's at Louvain, where a good part of the Convent was English; but these were not her ideal—a work lay beyond the reach of the cloister, which needed to be undertaken at once, if the Church was to be promoted in England. She saw then the necessity of a union of work and prayer in the religious life if the sacrifice was to have any permanent effect in the one desire that burned in every English Catholic exile's heart—the conversion of England. And the work that seemed nearest at hand and best adapted to a union with the contemplative life was the education of young girls. During the next two years which she spent in England, this idea took form and shape, and there is no doubt that she spoke of it often, for the five young Englishwomen who left England with her in 1609, to return to Saint Omer to begin the Institute under her direction, were friends of her girlhood and connected with her by ties of blood and marriage. The Italian Life written by herself which we are following, ends with her stay in London. For original sources for the rest of her history we must trust to her letters and other writings to guide us. A principal source is her letter to the Nuncio at

[1] Quoted in CHAMBERS, vol. I, pp. 186-187.

Cologne, Albergati (c. 1621).[1] In this she tells him that at this time (1609), she could not say what particular aspect the work she wanted to do would assume.[2]

Without waiting for her ideal to take definite shape, she left England in 1609, with five young women and their companions,—for each of the six was accompanied by an attendant of humbler degree sent by their parents to assist them in their needs. These companions remained with them in the religious life, and when the community of "English Ladies" took up its residence in Saint Omer, they formed already a considerable household. During two years, 1609–1611, this little community in the Grosse Rue at Saint Omer lived under Mary Ward's direction, leading a strictly religious life and teaching young children. They had a boarding school for those sent from a distance and a free day-school for the young girls of the town. Many English children were in the town, and in a short time the community was engaged in active educational work not unlike that of the convents of the present day. How favourably their labours were regarded by Bishop Blaise and by the people of the town is evident from his own letters and from the contemporary account in Jean Hendrick's *Récueil Historique*.[3] During these two years the community was augmented by many young ladies of good birth and position who came out from England to join them. This was the first free school for English Catholic girls, governed by women living in community; and we may well imagine what an interesting sight it was in those days to see the English Ladies leading their children every morning to the nearest church to hear Mass and back again to begin lessons for the day. There was at this time also in the city a branch of another congregation, the Daughters of St. Agnes, a local community having houses at Douay, Mons, Valenciennes, Brussels and Saint Omer, which seems to have been doing similar work for French and Flemish children.

[1] *Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland*, IV. Abteil. I, pp. 76–78, 104, 116, 148–150, 164–165, 207, 227, 243, 254, 292–295, 308–317; II, 320–345, 370, 382. H. Kiewning, Berlin, 1905.

[2] TOBIAS LOHNER, S.J. *Gottseliges Leben und fürtreffliche Tugenden Donna Maria Ward*, pp. 54–60. Written at Munich, 1689. (MS. *Nymphenburg Archives.*)

[3] *Récueil Historique de Saint Omer*, by JEAN HENDRICKS. (MS. in 3 vols. folio, at the Public Library, Saint Omer), vol. II, p. 350.

We shall meet them again in the days of the suppression of the "Jesuitesses," in which they will have an unconscious share. According to Hendricks, the English Ladies now numbered about forty and lived a life of great austerity and mortification. The development of the work is evident also from Mary Ward's correspondence at this time with the Archduchess Isabella. Towards the end of the year 1612, we can recognize her ideal more clearly. "Seeing the necessities of the Catholics in England, and the difficulty they lie under of bringing up their children in the Catholic Faith, which cannot be done in that kingdom without great risk to the children and parents, and desiring to offer themselves to the service of God, for the education and instruction of such children as Catholics may wish to send to live in these States, they [the English Ladies] have settled themselves with other young English ladies in the town of St. Omer . . . and they understand that many Catholic nobles intend to send their daughters to the said town to be brought up as Catholics under the care of the said Ladies, in the Faith and in good manners, in order that they may either be religious in these parts, or returning to marry in England, may there maintain what here they have received." [1]

Her ideal, therefore, was to make the School of Saint Omer serve the same purpose for young girls as the English College in the town for boys—to prepare them for the religious life or to send them back to England well-equipped for the defence of the Faith. The English Jesuits and the friends of the Institute, particularly Bishop Blaise, saw splendid possibilities in the community, but from the outset they insisted upon its taking some Rule already approved by the Church. Various rules were considered; but Mary Ward decided finally to form a new Rule based on the Constitutions of the Society of Jesus. Apart from the spiritual experiences she describes in her letter to Albergati, other influences are to be recognized in this choice of a Rule.

To understand Mary Ward's ideal is to understand the whole effort the persecuted English Catholics were making to strike out into new paths and new methods for the salvation

[1] *Papiers d'Etat et de l'Audience, liasse* 466. Royal Archives, Brussels. Quoted in full, CHAMBERS, vol. I, pp. 273-274.

of the Church in their country. We have seen that her first idea in going abroad in 1605 was the same as that of many other young English women who had left home to join the English Benedictine Sisters at Brussels, or the Austin Canonesses of St. Ursula's, Louvain—namely, to find a place where they would be free to serve God in the religious state. The strange element in the multiplicity of these vocations to the cloister is the short-sightedness of some of their spiritual directors in the choice of a religious order. The matter-of-fact abruptness with which Mary Ward was sent to the French Colletines at Saint Omer, is a sign of the lack of organization in this regard. This off-hand disposal of a matter so delicate as a religious vocation, of which there are many examples, especially in the early years of the Foundation Movement, must have caused a great deal of subsequent unhappiness; for more than one disturbance in the Convents of Flemish sisters where these young women were sent, as well as in the Convents of strictly English foundation, can be traced to the haphazard way in which they were treated by their directors, who seem to have known little more about convent life than these young women themselves.

The questions of national character, customs, language and aspirations were certainly a disturbing element in the peace of the Convents. In the latter half of the sixteenth century, the problem of nation and nation stood out more saliently than to-day; and foremost among the nations pitted against each other religiously, politically and commercially, were Spain and England. The efforts that were made, the means that were used and the success obtained by Elizabeth (1558–1603) in the titanic struggle against Philip II., reacted nowhere more strongly than in the Catholic Low Countries. It was hard sometimes for the Belgians to overlook the fact, even in the quiet of college or cloister, that these refugees whom they were harbouring for Christ's sake, were children of their worst enemy, and even religious charity could not emancipate the minds of these Flemish and French nuns from national prejudices against the country of the Englishwomen whom they were taking into the bosom of their religious family. It was impossible to forget that they were the daughters of the country which had poured money and soldiers into their own

land in order to rob them of their peace, their independence, and their Faith. Another element not to be neglected was the social difference which existed during the first fifty years of the Foundation Movement between the nuns of the Belgian cloisters and these women of noble and wealthy Catholic families of England. Only those of the better class, particularly of the Catholic nobility, could afford to make the perilous journey across to Belgium at that time, and even such apparently trivial matters as dress, food, and house accommodation, must have grated on their sensibilities. The result of these difficulties was an inevitable one—the foundation of separate houses for the English nuns, with English priests as spiritual directors.

When Mary Ward was living with the English Ladies at Saint Omer, the opportunities and the varieties of the religious life were more circumscribed than at present. In general, there were four classes of nuns, living respectively under the Rules of St. Augustine, St. Benedict, St. Francis of Assisi, and St. Teresa. For individual perfection, for spiritual happiness and communion with God in the religious life, every one of these Rules offered the best possible advantages ; but there was an element in these religious bodies which did not harmonize with the ideal Mary Ward had for her work—the rigid organization of ordinary jurisdiction and the severity of pontifical enclosure. That ideal was twofold: the individual perfection of the sisters, and the salvation of souls outside the cloister.[1] Coming from the best Catholic families in the land,

[1] The Canon Law on the question of enclosure was very strict. Boniface VIII. (1294–1303) made enclosure an inviolable rule for religious communities of women by his Constitution *Pericoloso* (cf. XXV. : *De statu Regularium*, III, 16), which was confirmed by the Council of Trent. Hence, it became impossible for nuns to undertake works of Charity which necessitated non-enclosure. Even the teaching of young girls, which was permitted, was subject to inconvenient conditions which rendered it impracticable. Moreover, it was impossible for orders of women to organize on the lines of the friars, *i.e.* to have a superior-general over several houses or provinces. These difficulties were somewhat obviated by the lay-sisters who were bound only by single vows, and, therefore, dispensed from enclosure. The Bull of St. Pius V., *Circa Pastoralis*, dated May 25, 1536, not only reaffirmed these regulations, but insisted on the lay-sisters taking solemn vows so as to bind them to papal enclosure. An exception to this rigorous measure was to be found in certain diocesan communities of women, which were tolerated by the Holy See, though never approved, in the canonical sense of the word, because approval entailed enclosure. The Bull *Quamvis justo* of Benedict XIV. was the prelude to the legislation of Pope Leo XIII., who separated all religious communities of women by his Bull, *Conditae*, December 8, 1900, into two

from homes where the hand of the persecutor had snatched a father, a mother, a sister or a brother, these young exiles knew better, perhaps, than the Superiors of these Orders in the Low Countries what was needed for England's conversion. They had seen many Catholics yield and fall in the critical time of persecution, and they had witnessed Catholics of power and position go over to the enemy. They had seen homes divided into factions, and young Catholic women of position in danger of marriage alliances which would cost them their Faith. They had seen children bereft of parents with no chance for a Catholic education; and all this must have led the more courageous spirits among them to seek some way of combining the contemplative and the active life, which would enable them to do something, however small, to stem the tide of defection at home, to save the hundreds of little children whose Faith was in danger, and to preserve them from the snares from which there seemed to be no escape. "In a state of society like that produced in England by the apostasy of the crown and court, and the violent measures by which the change of religion was forced on an unwilling people, it was inevitable that the work of preserving what remained and of reclaiming to the Faith those who had yielded through weakness rather than from error, should have to be carried on in secrecy and at the cost of much danger. It was no time for open preaching. Communities could not be formed in England with any chance of safety. Most of the ordinary machinery of the Church in times of peace was out of gear, or at least, was inadequate for the needs of souls. Society was in a condition which forced Catholics back upon the methods used in the earliest ages of persecution. The Faith must be maintained by personal intercourse and influence, by private conversations, by conferences in which the two parties hardly knew one another, by missioners disguised as laymen, by ladies devoted to God, who appeared

classes: those under ordinary jurisdiction, and those under pontifical authority. These again he divided into strictly enclosed, enclosed but active, and active orders. (Cf. VERMEERSCH, S.J., *De Religiosis Institutis et Personis*, vol. II, pp. 192–201. Louvain, 1907–1910; ECKENSTEIN, *Women under Monasticism*, p. 19. London, 1896; VON SCHULTE, *Die neueren Katholischen Orden und Congregationen, besonders in Deutschland*, p. 32. Berlin, 1872; SCHELS, *Die neueren religiösen Frauen-Genossenschaften nach ihren rechtlichen Verhältnissen*, p. 79. Schaffhausen, 1857).

in the world in which they moved as children of its own. . . . This work must be an active and aggressive work, and it is quite in harmony with the vigour and manly energy, for which the English character was never more conspicuous than in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, that women as well as men should be eager, and feel themselves inspired with zeal, to undertake it."[1]

The problem as it presented itself to the English Catholics of Elizabeth's reign is the same as that which would occur to any student of the history of the period. Upon the education of the children of both sexes depended the future of the Church in England. The Society of Jesus represented the new idea of the times. "It was new for religious men to have no distinctive habit, not to be bound to cloister, to be exempted from the rule of choir, to have no regular public austerities and to be governed by a Superior elected for life."[2] No such innovation could have occurred contemporaneously with the renaissance of clerical discipline after the Council of Trent without causing opposition, and the enmity the Society of Jesus engendered from the beginning from both within and without the Church, spread over every aspect of its organization; so that, when Mary Ward finally adopted the Constitutions of the Society as her model, her whole work came at once under suspicion and mistrust. The English Jesuits from Father Persons' first foundation at Eu in 1582, had perfected a splendid system of education for English Catholic boys, and at the head of their numerous institutions that of Saint Omer soon stood out among the Catholic colleges of the Continent as inferior to none in learning and in piety. Mary Ward saw in this system a method of saving English Catholic girls. To parallel the work done by the Jesuits was certainly a praiseworthy object, but "it would have been almost a miracle, if the proposal to introduce at that time a congregation of women actively labouring for the cause of the Faith and of education, after the exact pattern of the Society of Jesus, had not been received with strong hostility on the part of a large number of good men, and with much suspicion and hesitation on the part of the Holy See itself."[3]

[1] CHAMBERS, vol. I, p. xvi. [2] CHAMBERS, vol. I, p. xxii.
[3] CHAMBERS, vol. I, p. xxvii.

The new regulations of the Council of Trent with regard to religious bodies of women were being rigorously enforced in the Church, and these had been necessitated by disorders which had arisen from the slackness of discipline in the enclosure itself. Others beside Mary Ward had seen the necessity of more elasticity for modern times in the Rule of religious women. The Ursulines, founded by St. Angela Merici (1535), and the Visitation nuns, founded by St. Francis de Sales and St. Jane Francis de Chantal (1610), represented in their foundation the breaking away from the old order of things, but they, too, were soon obliged by ecclesiastical pressure to bind themselves to enclosure and to the three solemn vows, for the idea of the non-enclosure of nuns was as yet too advanced for the mind of seventeenth-century Europe.

The second object in Mary Ward's ideal, that of one religious Superior over all the houses, who would be subject directly to the Pope and independent of local ordinary authority, naturally met with opposition from episcopal quarters. But other elements also, apart from these two fundamental ones, were to be prominent in the struggle for the existence of her Institute between 1627 and 1631. Amongst these was the "strong repugnance," as Father Coleridge calls it, "on the part of the Society to engage its members in the government and guidance of religious women at all."[1] Above all must this fact be borne in mind when we come to consider the later development of the opposition to her Institute. From St. Ignatius' time down to our own day, the Society, as a corporate body, has always been against accepting the spiritual direction of religious women.[2] The regulations on this point are too clear to be misunderstood.[3] Individual Fathers, such as Father Roger Lee and Father John Gerard, encouraged and aided Mary Ward all they could,

[1] CHAMBERS, vol. I, p. xxxi.

[2] In 1545 Isabelle Rozel, a Spanish lady from Barcelona, founded at Rome the congregation of the "Daughters of the Society of Jesus," which, with the permission of Paul III., was put under the direction of St. Ignatius. In 1547, however, the Saint begged to be released from this burden, for burden it proved to be; and ever after he objected to the Society having any care of religious congregations of women. The whole spirit of the Society of Jesus is opposed to such work. Cf. *Vat. Arch., Nunz. di Fiandra*, vol. 20, Brussels, May 3, 1631, Nuncio to Ingoli.

[3] Cf. *Institutum Societatis Jesu*, vol. I, pp. 17, 357, 575, 636; vol. II, pp. 100, 291–313, 346, 471–2, 510; vol. III, p. 102. Florence, 1892.

but this does not alter the fact that the Society was opposed unconditionally to any acceptance of her Institute as a female branch of the Jesuits. Father Gerard's high position as the Rector of Liége, the centre of all English Jesuit training and culture, was the price he paid in the end for his encouragement. It mattered little that Mary Ward's idea was not to found a female branch of the Jesuits, though living in conformity to the Rule of St. Ignatius. On the surface it appeared so, and the enemies of the Society of Jesus, who were very active at that time in English Catholic circles, would naturally look upon the new Institute as an instrument of the Society, and so would regard it as an attempt on the Fathers' part to widen their influence, already great, in the English Church. Among Englishmen at home and abroad, much resentment was felt at the rapid development of the English Jesuit educational system for boys, and there is no doubt that the legislation obtained from Rome by the English Secular Clergy against the entrance of students from Douay and Rome and the Spanish Colleges into the religious life was directed chiefly against the Jesuits. Mary Ward's attempt to duplicate this educational system for girls was considered the secret work of the Fathers, and from the beginning the epithet "Jesuitesses" was flung at her nuns as a reproach. Certainly in the sequel this objection was not unfounded, for the burden of governing a number of convents of religious women in different parts of Europe proved an insurmountable obstacle even to Mary Ward's fine courage. The difficulties and dissensions which grew out of the Houses in Flanders were made the occasion of the suppression of the Institute. The fact of the Congregation being subject to one Superior-General gave a dangerous elasticity to the work, namely, the quick multiplication of houses without considering the formation of subjects to be sent out to them, or the lack of means to continue the work once begun.

Her Institute was sacrificed; her good name was lost; her reputation was blackened; she herself was gaoled by the Inquisition as a heretic, schismatic, and rebel to the Holy Church; her houses in Belgium, Germany, and Italy were suppressed; her property was confiscated; and her sisters were cast into the streets of Liége penniless, and all this by way of token

of the animosity the English Secular Clergy had for the Society of Jesus.

It is a far cry from the days when the Archpriest William Harrison penned his diatribe against Mary Ward, but historical justice has been done at last to her memory, and her history, since the decree of Pius X., must be re-written from an entirely different standpoint. No history in use among students to-day contains the whole truth about her Institute.[1] Encyclopædias vie with each other in repeating the old fables which condemned her. Even Hergenröther, whose opportunities of knowing the real truth were unlimited at his time, repeats the erroneous account other Church histories contain of this Englishwoman's brave attempt to cope with problems that the Church authorities have since recognized, and whose plans for the same the Church has since used.[2] The basis of the history of the Institute as we have it in most authors is the Bull *Quamvis justo*. Those who have written the story of the Institute during late years have hesitated to give it to us in all its fairness, because of the fear of raking up old scandals, and of showing to a modern generation the depth of depravity to which Catholic laymen and Catholic priests descended to ruin, apparently for ever, the work of the foremost English Catholic woman of the Exile. It must be admitted also that the great deterrent to a fuller explanation was the Bull itself. A false historical interpretation of the pontifical decree had grown up which confirmed all that had been said against Mary Ward and the Institute; and despite its evident one-sidedness, the decision of Benedict XIV. remained the greatest obstacle to the full appreciation of the Institute down to our own day. When the difficulties of 1747 arose between the Superiors of the Institute and the Bishop of Augsburg, the reigning pontiff, Benedict XIV., was confronted by a serious difficulty in deciding the matter at issue, and the Bull *Quamvis justo* of April 30, 1749, which records his judgment, is of the highest importance and manifests his prudence and clear-sightedness. It was to save the Institute

[1] *Realencyklopädie*, vol. VIII, p. 784 ss; HELYOT, vol. VI, p. 398 ss; HERDER'S *Kirchenlexikon*, t. IV, pp. 573–579 (*Englische Fräulein*, BRÜCK).

[2] HERGENRÖTHER, *Handbuch der allgemeinen Kirchengeschichte*, 4th edition, by Dr. J. P. KIRSCH, vol. III, p. 521. Freiburg in B., 1909.

as it then existed that the Pope declared it was not the same as that which had been suppressed by Pope Urban VIII. This is historically correct in the veriest sense, since Mary Ward, submitting at once to the condemnation, reconstructed her shattered work on an approved basis. His decision that Mary Ward was not to be entitled Foundress, was not the settlement of a historical question, but, as the Pope then saw it, the safest way to settle the dispute, and he did so from motives of prudence and utility. The necessity for this caution has long ceased to exist, and hence the present Holy Father thought fit to remove this prohibition, and allow the religious of the Institute to call Mary Ward their Foundress.[1]

2. *Mary Ward and the First Institute* (1611–1631).

In 1611, the Institute was practically organized on the lines of the Society of Jesus. Its numbers rapidly increased, for there is no doubt that this mode of religious life was more attractive to many Englishwomen of the seventeenth century than the existing contemplative Orders. Their work, moreover, was of such a nature that the report of it easily spread not only in Belgium, but to England as well. Saint Omer, then, was the mother-house of the new Institute. Her best friends, Bishop Blaise and Father Roger Lee, opposed her plan from the start. For four years every effort was made to make her adopt the Rule of any one of the four other congregations begun for the education of young girls—the Ursulines, the Daughters of Our Lady, the Order of Notre Dame, or that of the Oblates of the Torre di Specchi in Rome; but she steadfastly refused to do so. How prudently we know from the fact that the Ursulines accepted the Rule of papal enclosure in 1612; the Daughters of Our Lady were obliged by Paul V. to accept the Rule of St. Benedict; the Notre Dame Sisters were given canonical enclosure in 1615, while the non-enclosure of the Oblates of Torre di Specchi was too limited for the scope of Mary Ward's work. Besides this, the foreign

[1] *Life of Mary Ward, Foundress of the Institute of the B.V.M. Compiled from various sources, with an Introduction by the Right Rev. Abbot Gasquet, O.S.B.*, pp. xx–xxiv. London, 1909; *Mémoire sur les Giesuitesse, Vat. Libr., MS. Latin, Vaticana* 6922.

character of these congregations rendered them unsuitable for the work to be done in England, while the papal enclosure they had accepted made it difficult to carry on a school for young girls with any degree of facility, because the children in that case would be bound to enclosure like the nuns. Public day-schools, as Mary Ward wanted them, taught by nuns, would thus be impossible.

Notwithstanding a letter of approval and encouragement from the Archduke, dated May 2, 1613, promising Mary Ward assistance at all times, the opposition against the Institute grew to such an extent that, in 1614, Bishop Blaise published a pastoral letter which vindicated its good name and so forms a valuable source for the history of the First Institute during these first six years of its existence. Meanwhile, Mary Ward had gone to London, where it seems she had on a previous journey established a community in 1613. She returned to Saint Omer in September, 1615, to take up the difficult task of preparing for the Holy See a Memorial of the Institute.[1] This she sent to Rome in January, 1616, through Thomas Sackville. The main points of this Memorial are the following: the present state of England is the cause of the foundation of the new Institute, which has for its main purpose to enable women to aid, as far as is possible, in the conversion of England. To enable them to pursue this end, two means are to be used: (*a*) their own perfection in the religious life, and (*b*) the education of young girls. The chief obstacles to the approval of the Institute are: (1) non-enclosure; (2) the subordination of the whole Institute to a chief superior subject to the Holy Father himself, and freedom from the jurisdiction of the Ordinary. The Institute of Mary thus closely paralleled the Company of Jesus. The governing body consisted of a Chief Superioress, who had as immediate subjects the Superioresses of the Branch Houses. The novitiate was of two years' duration. There were Temporal Lay-assistants and Professed Mothers, and the whole work was to be divided into Provinces, with Provincial Superioresses. The pontifical approbation to this design was given on April 10, 1616, and at once the House in Saint Omer began to attract novices. It soon became necessary to found another House, in order to

[1] *Biblioteca Casanatense* (Rome), X, iii, 14, 15 (2425–26).

accommodate the growing community, and this same year a branch school was opened at Liége, after much ineffectual opposition on the part of the English Jesuits there. Trouble had broken out at Saint Omer in her absence, for it would seem that the Institute was studiously ignored by the English Jesuit Fathers, and discouragement nearly brought the house to a standstill. Mary's return, in 1617, from England, where she went to reorganize the House of the Institute, brought about peace. A novitiate was now opened at Liége on the Pierreuse (a house afterwards occupied by the English Sepulchrines). The next year (1618) she went back to England, where she lived with her community in London, and we shall find her dressing in fashionable attire to escape the notice of the pursuivants; and this, together with her wonderful activity there in aiding the Jesuits in the work of conversion, will be brought against her ten years later as signs of the uncanonical basis of her Institute. Very little is known of her stay in London, except a visit to Wisbech Castle, to see the priests imprisoned there, and her arrest and condemnation to death, and her subsequent release upon a large payment of money.

Meanwhile at Liége the opposition to the Institute had assumed a threatening attitude.[1] From the beginning we find the English Jesuits opposed to the new congregation, and the climax was reached through a young Belgian lay-sister of the Institute, whose attack upon Mary Ward's religious spirit divided the Houses of Liége and Saint Omer into two factions, the one ranging itself against the Constitution which she had given them, demanding that the Rule of St. Ignatius should be given up, and the Rule of one of the other Orders substituted; and the other holding out for the continuance of the Institute in its original form. Through the defection of the Mother-Minister of the Liége novitiate, the opposition grew stronger, but on Mary Ward's arrival equally effective measures were taken to eliminate the troublesome ones by the expulsion of the Mother-Minister and the disaffected members. This caused peace within the Institute, but it spread the

[1] ALEXANDRE, *Mémoirs pour servir a l'histoire monastique du pays de Liége, par le Père Stephani, publié par M. le docteur* ALEXANDRE, vol. I, p. 241. Liége, 1876; *Jésuitesses et Marie Ward*, in the *Bulletin de l'Institut Archéologique Liégeois*, t. XXVII (1898), pp. 1–17.

discontent against her wider still; for in 1623 we find the ex-Mother-Minister, Mary Alcock, furnishing material to the author of *Godfather's Information* against Mary Ward. This same year (1620), however, a school was opened at Cologne, and another, in 1621, at Trier.

Among the Archives at Nymphenburg, which is to-day the central House of the Institute, there is the Memorial drawn up about 1621 by Mary Ward herself for the Apostolic Nuncio, Albergati. Her purpose in this, as she explained, was to enable him to apply to the Holy See for a confirmation of the Rule. Now that Bishop Blaise was dead (1618), she had no one to turn to for advice. Such a confirmation, she considered, would be the best remedy against those who opposed the Institute. Mary now decided (probably on the advice of Fr. Domenico di Gesù, the celebrated Carmelite, whom she met at Trier in 1621) to go to Rome, to plead her cause in person. Before setting out she visited the Archduchess Isabella at Brussels, and obtained from her letters of recommendation to Gregory XV.[1] The Archduchess procured similar letters for her from Philip IV., and from the Emperor Ferdinand II. The journey occupied a little over two months, and she arrived at Rome on Christmas Eve. She was received at once by Gregory XV., and if human means might be judged of very great account in the negotiations which she instituted, everything seemed to be in her favour. Pope Gregory had already the prospect of the Congregation of Propaganda under consideration, as well as the restoration of the hierarchy in England; and at this juncture Mary Ward came to him, to submit a work strongly recommended by the three leading Catholic sovereigns of the day, as well as by Fr. Domenico di Gesù, than whom no one had more influence at that time in the erection of Propaganda. But from the day of that visit a

[1] These letters, together with the Memorial which she presented to Gregory XV., will be found in *Vat. Libr., MS. Capponiani*, vol. XLVII, f. 1 (*Le Gentildonne Inglese alla Santità di N.S.*, August 19, 1622) f. 2 (*Memoriale al Cardinale Bandino*); f. 11 (Archduchess to the Holy Father, January 11, 1622); ff. 15–20 ("Maria della Guardia" to Bandino, February 10, May 18, July 9, August 18, 1622); ff. 23–78 (Letters and Documents for years 1622–1624). Cf. also, *Vat. Arch., Archivio Borghese III*, t. 88 ef, f. 23, Isabella to Card. Borghese, September 13, 1621. Cf. *Historia Vitae Rerumq, gestarum Illustmae Virginis Mariae Ward, e varias monumentis MSS. eruta, opere ac studio R.S. Dominici Biselii, Ordinis S. Augustini in Ecclesia S. Crucis Augustae Vindelicorum Professi*, Augsburg, 1674, MS., *Arch. Dioc. West.* (Pamphlets, 58.)

clear-sighted observer could have seen that her work was doomed. "One of the very first pioneers, by God's Providence, of the most remarkable change that had yet taken place in the system of conventual life for women, she had now entered a country, perhaps, of all others the most uncongenial to such an attempt."[1] Her very presence in the streets, in the semi-religious habit she wore, caused surprise and distrust. With a simplicity, however, that brooked no turning backwards, and with the courage of a lioness, she went ahead with her plan; "but she might, perhaps, have lost nothing and gained a great deal by a little less of that truly Saxon bluntness which she now seems to have displayed."[2] Her petition was an explicit one: she asked that in her Institute the Rule and Constitutions of St. Ignatius, the manner of life and approved practice of the Jesuits (altogether independent, however, of the Fathers of the said Society), be approved and confirmed in so far as God had not prohibited by diversity of sex. This petition was followed by another: that of immediate jurisdiction under the Holy See.

Besides gaining the good will of the Holy Father, it was necessary, despite her desire to be independent of the Society, to secure the consent of the General of the Jesuits, Vitelleschi. Vitelleschi had already, it seems, through correspondence with Father Blount, the English Jesuit Vice-Provincial, ordered his subjects to take a decided stand against the new Institute. In 1620, he wrote to Blount praising his diligence in ascertaining the state of the Institute in England and Belgium, and promised to warn the Pope if the "English Ladies" should in any way go beyond the mere permission to exist given them by Paul V. He asked Blount carefully to enquire if any Fathers of the Society were directing them, or had more to do with them than was usually done for ordinary women penitents in the Jesuit Churches. He ordered him to forbid any one of his subjects, who might have been so engaged, to continue the same; and it was in consequence of this order that Father Gerard, the Rector of Liége, who had aided Mary Ward in establishing the schools at Cologne and Trier, was later removed from his Rectorship (1623).

Mary Ward was aware of the Jesuit General's hostility.

[1] CHAMBERS, vol. II, p. 6. [2] CHAMBERS, vol. II, p. 9.

She knew also that the mere fact of following the Ignatian Rule would have brought her into the quarrel then at its bitterest stage between the Jesuits and Seculars in England. From England came the first sign of that opposition which was to last ten years and finally ruin her Institute. As has been already stated, the work had spread from London to the principal Catholic centres of England, particularly to the houses of the Catholic nobility, where no doubt the Catholic children of the neighbourhood were gathered together to be instructed. Besides teaching the children, these women not only instructed the ignorant, but also persuaded Catholics to stay away from Protestant churches, and went about taking care of the sick, and preparing the dying for the last Sacraments.

That the opposition in England was about to begin against her is evident from a memorial drawn up by the Archpriest Harrison,[1] and sent, signed by Colleton, the Dean of the Chapter, and his assistants, after Harrison's death in 1621, to the Rev. John Bennett, the Agent of the English Secular Clergy in Rome. Bennett's purpose in Rome was to promote the negotiations for the appointment of a bishop. It was well known that the Jesuit Fathers, and with them a large number of the laity, among whom were many of Mary Ward's friends, were, rightly or wrongly, opposed to the immediate reintroduction of the Episcopate in England. We have seen that Mary's work and interests in reality stood upon a footing of their own, and were not bound up with those of the Society of Jesus. But to the onlooker, it seemed all of a piece with the constant growth of Jesuit influence. Thus every item of the false reports supplied by Alcock and the rebellious nuns of Liége, together with all the charges made by the English clergy of London and the surrounding countries, finds a place in this memorial. A mass of lies and of truths twisted into calumnies from beginning to end, it is one of the saddest proofs that have come down to us of that unhappy enmity existing at the time in English clerical circles against the Society of Jesus. The success of the Institute in drawing many

[1] *Arch. Dioc. West.*, vol. XVI (1617–1622), f. 201 (*Copia Informationis de Jesuitissis ad Apostolicam Sedem factae per Rev. D. Gul. Harrisonum, Archipresbyterum Angliae nuper defunctum et ab Assistentibus post ejus mortem subscriptae*), CHAMBERS, vol. II, p. 183 (English translation). Cf. *Prop. Arch., Scritture Antiche*, vol. 205 (*Jesuitissae ad* 1648 *inclusive*), f. 304 ss.

novices to it seems also to have caused heart-burnings in the English convents of Antwerp, Brussels, Louvain, and Gravelines.

In 1622, Dr. Kellison wrote, by order of the Papal Nuncio at Brussels, an account of all the English religious communities in the Low Countries. This report reiterates the aspersions made against the Institute,[1] and it soon became evident to the officials at Rome that Mary Ward's petition, in the eyes of her enemies, amounted to the foundation of a new Society of Jesus for women with a woman for General Superior, subject directly to papal authority.

Gregory XV. answered the letters sent by Isabella and

[1] BURTON, *Douay Diaries*, vol. I, p. 397 (*Publ. Cath. Rec. Society*, vol. 10). "The fourth community is one of ladies at St. Omer, who profess to follow the rule of the Fathers of the Society in all things as far as women can. They began a year after the foundation at Gravelines with the authority of a Father of the Society, named Roger Lee, a man of moderate learning, but clever at gathering all things into the Society under the name of piety. He, with a lady of striking talent and eloquence, who was afterwards appointed general of the congregation, and now labours for it at Rome, managed that she, then ready for profession in the Convent at Gravelines, should be associated with him in sketching out a new institute, at the invitation of the Society. This she has done with such success that she has started many communities in the diocese of Cologne, not only of English ladies but of those of that country. Their first idea was to educate young ladies in all piety, so that they might afterwards either be religious or else exemplary models in secular life. In the course of time, either accidentally or intentionally, they began to send into England some of their mothers (for so they call those who practise their life), first on the pretext of business or receiving revenue, later to make access easier to noble ladies, and to instruct them, or even their husbands, in the catechism, and finally to bring them to acts of contrition, meditation, and other spiritual exercises. The Fathers of the Society, whom they greatly praised while despising all others, favoured them and tried to introduce them into noblemen's houses. Thus it happened that the said Fathers, in the course of their favour, brought noblemen's daughters to the congregation, and either themselves or by proxy managed all the nuns' business in England, until protest was made by the clergy and religious, and by many of the Catholic laity. These were scandalized by such boldness in women, and I may add, by their life, which was none too religious, but exactly like that of lay people, except for certain prayers, which they used to boast were said privately by them, and sometimes also by faults in conduct, which were sufficiently unworthy even of lay people. Then the Fathers began to withdraw, and, as if they were divided, some began to protect, others to accuse the ladies. Soon all began publicly to desert them; in reality, however, they never gave up the care of them, but as though things were done in turns, they publicly praised them again. Hence it happened, so we think, that she, fearing for her congregation, went to Rome to strengthen the institute by the authority of the Holy See. Whether the community is rich or not I cannot say. About a year ago a creditor appeared and sold by auction all their movable property, but it is said that the Bishop of St. Omer made good the loss. The number there is not great, being about fourteen or sixteen, most of whom are moving to Liége. They have no endowment, for although other religious are able to live on the dowry paid according to rule each year into their common fund, these cannot do so, for they have no permanence, but are able suddenly to leave the religious life. Hence it happens that noble ladies, having spent their dowries, are again thrown on to the care of their parents."

Philip IV. on behalf of the Institute with all courtesy, and laid the affair before the congregation of Bishops and Regulars. Many meetings of the Congregation were held, and meanwhile, as his correspondence with Dr. Bishop, afterwards Bishop of Chalcedon, shows, Bennett, the English Clergy Agent, left no stone unturned to abolish the "Jesuitesses." An effort was made to have her accept the name of Oblates, with a Rule similar to that of the Torre di Specchi in Rome, but Mary Ward wanted her Rule and that only. With a view to conciliating the opinion of the Congregation, she asked and obtained permission to open a House in Rome, where the plan of the Institute, as followed in the Houses in Flanders, could be judged properly. This was granted, and it succeeded so well that a House was opened also at Naples (1623), where free schools for the poorer classes were begun. The Institute was carefully studied by the Cardinal Vicar of Rome, Mellino, but there was nothing with which fault could be found. Members were taken from the Houses of Liége and Saint Omer to organize these two schools, for a steady stream of vocations had kept flowing into the Houses in Belgium. This same year (1623), *Godfather's Information* appeared and was circulated in England, and in the Houses in Flanders and at Rome, where it caused at once a renewal of the opposition to the Institute. At Liége and Saint Omer, the Houses were again split into factions, and in March, 1624, Ferdinand, the Prince-Bishop of Liége, in order to save from wreck the schools which had been begun, took the "English Ladies" under his protection, declaring them to be religious in the full sense of the word, praising them and encouraging them to go on with the work of teaching the English children of the town. The Papal Nuncio of Liége also wrote, June 28, 1624, a letter in praise of the Institute. In England, however, Father Blount, the Provincial of the English Jesuit Mission, whose jurisdiction embraced all the Jesuits in England, and in the English Jesuit colleges, wrote to all his subjects forbidding them "to meddle with anything belonging to the temporal of Mrs. Mary Ward or any of her company."[1] Despite the growing opposition in Rome, another House and school was opened at Perugia in 1624.

[1] CHAMBERS, vol. II, p. 112.

The only compromise she seems to have made is her petition in 1625 to Urban VIII., where she confines her application for confirmation to England, Flanders, and Germany alone, and this only for a certain number of English Ladies—at least a hundred. She hoped in this way to overcome the difficulty of non-enclosure. But this scheme was violently opposed by Rant, Bennett's successor, who "made himself hoarse with speaking against the English gentlewomen and their Institute," and who sent memorials to the Cardinals of the Congregations of Bishops and Regulars "full of horrible lies."

Rant's orders from England were to annihilate the Institute, and from then on till 1631, when the Institute was suppressed, no voice seems to have been raised in its favour. One exception, however, is the Defence of the Institute,[1] drawn up in 1622 by Father Burton, who bases his conclusions on two opinions solicited from Suarez and Lessius in 1615, by Bishop Blaise. Suarez, writing from Coimbra, held that the Institute was a new religious order, and therefore could not exist as a diocesan congregation without the approval of the Holy See.[2] Lessius held that the power to confirm such Institutes in the Church had always been possessed by the bishops. Bishop Blaise had adopted Lessius' view, as had also the Prince-Bishop of Liége, in pronouncing the members of the Institute to be religious with all the privileges as such: but both these bishops did so conditionally on the prospect of a full confirmation of the Institute by the Holy See. Father Burton's Defence was read by Lessius, who gave the *Imprimatur* to it.

This Defence Mary Ward had in her possession at the time, and used it in a Memorial presented to Cardinal Borghese in 1625. But one can well see the extent to which the opposition had gone in a note written, probably by Benesra, who was later the Secretary of the Pontifical

[1] *Arch. Dioc. West.*, vol. XVI (1617–1622), f. 327; *Stonyhurst Archives, Anglia* VII, 66 (*Defensio virginum Anglarum*, 5 pp.).

[2] Printed in *Suaresii opuscula sex inedita*, by MALOU. Brussels, 1859. Cf. MOTHER M. SALOME, *Mary Ward, a Foundress of the Seventeenth Century*, pp. xi–xii. London, 1901. Cf. *Prop. Arch., Scritt. Antiche*, vol. 72, f. 197 (*Responsio P. Suares ad questionem de piis congregationibus virginum Anglarum*).

Embassy at the Congress of Munster (1648).[1] The source of this note is undoubtedly *Godfather's Information*. Rant succeeded at last. The schools in Rome were ordered to be closed (1625), and Rant left Rome in September of that year, to be succeeded by the Rev. Thomas Blacklow, the Agent for Bishop Smith. In the Instructions left by Rant is a word to the effect that only the complete suppression of the Institute can blot out the evil it is doing. At Naples the school still flourished ; and, realizing that having succeeded in Rome her opponents would next proceed to stifle the work in Flanders and in England, Mary Ward set out for England in 1626, with letters of recommendation to the Court at Munich from Vitelleschi and from others who had, strange to say, given her no help in saving the Institute. At Munich, she was presented to the Elector Maximilian I., the brother of the Prince-Bishop of Liége, and that same year, at his desire, a House was founded in the residence of Christopher Paradeiser, in Munich. The Paradeiser Haus, as it is subsequently called in the history of the "English Ladies," became in 1705 the mother-house of the Second Institute begun by Mary Ward at Rome in 1631, after the suppression of the original Institute, and remained so till 1808, when all the religious houses were secularized by the Elector Maximilian Joseph. It is now the head-quarters of the Police Department of Munich.

Germany and Austria were now in the full swing of the Counter-Reformation, and the leaders in the Church saw the prime necessity of educating the little ones systematically in their religion under Catholic auspices, if the Faith were to make any progress against Protestantism. During 1627 and 1628, the *Englische Fräulein*, as they were called, received many invitations to start schools in Austria and Hungary, but the opposition in England had scattered the workers there and had deprived them of all financial resources, besides keeping many young women from joining them. The Emperor, Ferdinand II., interested himself in the Institute, and in 1627–1628 foundations were made at Vienna (where the school soon numbered five hundred day-pupils), at Presburg, and at Prague.

[1] *Vat. Libr., Latin MS. Vaticana*, t. 6922, f. 91. Cf. *Analecta Juris Pontificii*, vol. 14, pp. 899–900.

At Prague, the Cardinal Archbishop Harrach was unwilling to receive them into the diocese unless they placed themselves formally under his jurisdiction as Ordinary, and he maintained this attitude in spite of the express command of the Emperor. The Papal Nuncio seconded him in this respect, and Cardinal Klessel, Archbishop of Vienna (1602–1631), joined in the movement against the Institute. Klessel knew the esteem in which Mary Ward was held by the Emperor; but, before taking any action, he prudently wrote to Rome for Instructions (1628). These were unnecessary, since the suppression had already been decided upon in April of that year in a Particular Congregation held before Urban VIII., when orders were sent to the Nuncios of Brussels, Cologne and Vienna to close the Institute in their nunciatures effectually but quietly, so as to avoid the necessity of a Papal Bull of Suppression. Difficulties had also arisen at this time between the "English Ladies" and the Bishop of Basel, who quite unreasonably tried to amalgamate some three hundred Ursulines in his diocese with the Institute on condition that they be received as professed sisters. To this demand Mary Ward gave a firm refusal, and so the opposition to her work spread farther than ever.

Seeing that no hope was at hand, she decided, in 1629, to return to Rome to plead her cause in person before the Cardinals. All her attention seems now to have been centred on consolidating the work in Germany and Flanders. She now drew up a complete Memorial of her Institute, relating its history from 1609 till 1629, and explaining its aims and methods of education, its Rule and Constitutions. This she presented to Urban VIII. and to the Cardinals of the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars. The good impression caused by this memorial and the evident wish on the part of the Congregation to examine the affair again in all fairness to the Foundress must have been instrumental in holding back the Nuncios in Flanders and Liége from proceeding with the work of suppression. Means of satisfying the Holy See were suggested, but as they meant the practical nullification of her work, Mary Ward persisted in her original plan of non-enclosure and of a General Superior. Anxious about the result of this inquiry, she now set out for Munich, and on arriving there, she was informed of the precarious state of

things in the Houses in Flanders. It was necessary to proceed at once to Liége but just as necessary for her to stay near Rome to wait for the decision of the Congregation. She sent to Liége in her stead Winifred Wigmore,[1] one of her first companions, in order to quiet the disturbance there, and then went on to Vienna herself to be near the Nuncio, Cardinal Pallotta, through whom the decision would come. The decree of the Congregation was an adverse one, and the Nuncios were given explicit instructions to proceed at once with the suppression of the Houses. In August, 1629, Cardinal Buoncompagno, Archbishop of Naples, was obliged against his will to shut up the schools and Houses in his diocese, and the community there was dissolved, the nuns and novices being sent back to their families.

The rest of the story is a short one, as we have it in works that have already been published. Had it not been for the influence brought to bear on the nuns in the House at Liége by Father Gerard, S.J., they would have abandoned the Institute altogether and would have accepted another Rule already approved by the Church. In fact, from now until the actual suppression we hear very little of the Flanders Houses, and the archives of the community give little more than the story of their closing. Some left the Institute of Liége at the same time, but what became of them is difficult to say. Cardinal Klessel at this time changed his attitude, and asked that the Institute be received into the Church as a religious body, acknowledging that he had been mistaken in his opposition. But it was too late to stop the work of suppression. Father Domenico di Gesù, the great Carmelite and Mary's best friend, was sent as Papal Legate to Vienna in November, 1629, and might have done something to stay the work of destruction, but he died in February of the next year.

Meanwhile Winifred Wigmore was endeavouring to patch up the difficulty at Liége, but all to no purpose, for the Decree of Suppression published by Ferdinand was read to the assembled nuns, April 30, 1631, and the House, novitiate, and

[1] Mistress Wigmore went by the *alias* of Campion, the same as that used by her brothers, Fathers Richard, Robert, and William Wigmore. Cf. FOLEY, *Records, S.J.*, vol. VII, part II, pp. 842-843.

schools were closed, and the nuns dispersed. Nine of the novices were sent to Munich ; and one, Frances Bedingfield, returned to England to become later the foundress of the Bar Convent, York, which was to be one of the foremost Catholic schools for girls in England and the rallying ground of the oppressed community.[1]

Mary Ward made one last attempt (in 1630) to save her Institute—this was a memorial to Cardinal Borghese, enclosing a plea to Pope Urban telling him of the twenty-five years of her devotion to the Institute and of her entire willingness to obey in case he should stop the work, but begging him to stay awhile the decree of suppression. It came soon, however. The Bull of Suppression is dated January 13, 1631, and on February 7, Mary was arrested at Munich by order of the Holy Office and imprisoned as a heretic, schismatic and rebel to the Holy Church. She remained in prison till April, of the same year, when she was released by order of the Pope. Meanwhile a command had been sent in her name to all the houses to submit quietly to the decision of the Holy See.

One has but to read the Bull of Suppression to see that it was the crystallization of all the charges against her. This induced her to go to Rome to clear herself, which she eventually did, and succeeded not only in satisfying Urban VIII. beyond a doubt of the orthodoxy of her work, but in arranging with the Congregation of Religious a *modus agendi* for the reorganization of her Institute.

3. *The Suppression of the First Institute.*

When Father Coleridge edited the two volumes of Mary Ward's *Life* by Mother Chambers in 1882–1885, he expressed a wish that these critical years (1627–1631) in the life of the Institute should be studied in the archives. "It is probable, in particular, that the hitherto inaccessible Archives at Rome must contain many letters and documents which, if consulted, might have thrown much additional light on many points which are as yet imperfectly understood."[2] But he adds in

[1] *St. Mary's Convent, Micklegate Bar, York* (1686–1887). Edited with a Preface by HENRY JAMES COLERIDGE, of the Society of Jesus, p. 44. London, 1887. (*Quarterly Series*, vol. LXI.)

[2] CHAMBERS, vol. I, p. xli.

the second volume: "the Archives at Rome are slow in yielding their treasures . . . nor is it at all certain that the documents which might help us most as to the difficulties in the history ought not to be sought for elsewhere than in Rome."[1] The present writer looked forward with interest to the search for these documents in Rome, for it was thought that they might supply an explanation of this period of three years when all seems vague and mysterious. For the general interpretation of the documents that were examined, a dilemma presented itself: should they be studied together with the conclusions to which Pope Benedict XIV. had come in his celebrated Bull *Quamvis justo*? or should each document be analyzed and explained from an independent point of view? The latter method "might appear disrespectful to the memory and authority of so great a Pontiff as Benedict XIV.," and those who have read Father Coleridge's preface to volume II. of the *Life of Mary Ward* will remember how careful he is to insist upon a favourable interpretation of the Bull. The whole question is too long and too complex for so short a sketch of the Institute as this chapter must necessarily be, but the difficulty has been removed somewhat by the recent decree of the Sacred Congregation of Religious, in which our Holy Father Pius X. has permitted the nuns of the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary to acclaim Mary Ward again as their Foundress. "It is impossible to study this Bull of Benedict XIV. without seeing that the Pope was not stating an historical fact, but issuing a prohibition for motives of prudence."[2] Without robbing the Bull of its juridic value, it can be called a disciplinary one, and as such it may in all justice be put in its chronological place among the documents which have emanated from the Holy See on the Institute. With the documents under our eyes, the Bull directs the student to the proper interpretation which must be placed upon them.[3] But, before beginning a description of these documents, another difficulty presents itself, and unfortunately it is one which cannot be solved: there are many *lacunæ* in the vast correspondence which covers these years (1628–1631) and until

[1] CHAMBERS, vol. II, p. i.
[2] *Life of Mary Ward, etc.*, p. xxiv.
[3] *St. Mary's Convent, York, etc.*, pp. 2–3.

these are bridged, a final account of the events which led up to the suppression cannot be given.

The first notice the Archives contain is that of Klessel's opposition in a letter of March 19, 1628, reporting the "English Ladies" to propaganda for having given a comedy in the school.[1] Later in the same week (March 21), an answer was sent from the Congregation of Regulars to the effect that measures would at once be taken against the Institute.[2] A special meeting of the Congregation was called to find a successful way for the suppression of the "English Ladies," and the advice of the General of the Society of Jesus was asked on the matter. In July, instructions were sent to the Nuncios of Germany and Flanders stating that the Institute had become a very grave inconvenience to the Church, not only on account of its novelty but also because it added to the discord between the Jesuits and their opponents; and they were asked to use their influence with their respective Princes for effective remedies to be taken to abolish the Institute.[3] In these instructions some of the charges brought against the Institute were: the nuns did not keep the enclosure, which had been ordained by the Council of Trent, and more particularly by the Brief, *Circa Pastoralis* of St. Pius V. They taught girls in the same way as the Society of Jesus taught boys, and this was also against the decrees of the Council of Trent, which prohibited in general all teaching without the permission of the Ordinary. Their Rule made no mention of the Ordinary. The freedom from enclosure might lead to grave scandals, to the dishonour of the religious life and to the reputation of the Company of Jesus whose name they had usurped. The Institute might bring grave danger upon the young women who join it, for in its unapproved condition, their dowries would be eaten up, if it was allowed to continue and grow; and they were so far from home and parents that they might fall away altogether "con pericolo di vender la sua pudicitia per vivere." Other inconveniences of

[1] *Prop. Arch., Scritt. Antiche*, vol. 69, f. 79.

[2] *Prop. Arch., Atti*, 1628–9, f. 44–45.

[3] *Prop. Arch., Istruizioni diverse degl'anni*, 1623–1628, f. 117v (*Istruttione per le Nuntii di Germania e di Fiandra circa l'Instituto delle Giesuitesse*); cf. *Scritt. Antiche*, t. 207, f. 118.

this same nature were sent on a separate sheet "che V.S. vedrà nell' inclusa relazione." They refused to depend upon the Ordinary of the diocese in which their Houses were, but wished to govern themselves, after the manner of the Jesuits, with Provincialesses and Generalesses, "al modo dei regolari maschi, cosa che non s'è prattica nella chiesa di Dio e che non potrà terminar se non in grandi scandali." Consequently, since they were increasing in numbers every day, the danger would be all the greater if they were not suppressed at once. For these reasons the Pope had closed their House in Rome and throughout Italy and wished the same to be done in Germany and in all other places where they had founded Convents and schools; he begged the Princes of these countries to co-operate with the Nuncios in the suppression of the Institute, which by the authority of the Congregation of the Bishops and Regulars "vien dannato come pernicioso alla chiesa di Dio." The measures to be taken were left in the Nuncios' hands.

The negotiations which now follow between the Propaganda and the Nuncios of Brussels, Cologne, and Vienna, cover a period of two years (1628–1630).[1] No opposition was expected on the part of the secular authorities, except in Vienna, where the Emperor had generously subsidized the schools of the Institute, and where nearly five hundred girls were being taught by the English nuns. A letter of July 17, 1628, to the Nuncio there is very emphatic.[2] In spite of the Emperor's and Empress's good-will towards the Institute, their confessor and their councillors should be shown the illegality of the same, and they should be urged to close it at once. On August 12, Klessel wrote to Propaganda that though he did not want the Institute in his diocese, he had found out that there was no connection between them and the Jesuits. "Esse non sono membre della Santa Compagnia di Giesù, perche habendone io più d'una volta parlato con i Padri, mi hanno sempre asservato che non le conoscono e non partecipano con loro in altro che nell'udire le loro confessioni."[3] Klessel now found that it was more difficult to suppress their

[1] *Prop. Arch., Lettere della S.C. Prop. Fide: Lettere volgari della S.C. dell' anno* 1628, vol. 7, ff. 92v–154v; 1629, vol. 8, ff. 23v–181v; 1630, vol. 10, ff. 4–132.

[2] *Prop. Arch., Istruizioni*, 1623–1628, f. 117v.

[3] *Prop. Arch., Scritt. Antiche*, vol. 69 (*Lettere di Germania e Polonia*, 1628), f. 102.

schools than he imagined. The Emperor wanted them to continue, and there would certainly be a scandal if the school in Vienna were closed. If any "inconvenienti" arose between the Holy See and the Court of Vienna as a consequence, he did not wish to be held responsible.[1] Klessel, as has been already said, changed his attitude towards the Institute before his death (1631) and regretted the measures he had taken. On the back of this letter is the draft of an answer sent, October 17, holding up to him for guidance, Cardinal Buoncompagni of Naples, who had explained to the civil authorities the moral danger of the Institute, and had sent at his own expense four of the "English Ladies" back to England, and four more to Belgium, where they were to be taken care of by the Nuncio of Brussels until they decided what they should do.[2] On the back of the letter of March 21, 1628, in Ingoli's handwriting are the rather significant words: "Jesuitissarum institutum examinandum ut prohibeatur." That this was successful and that the House in Vienna was shut up immediately, is evident from the fact that the Bull of Suppression was not published in that city. The House at Presburg was closed also at this time, but the English Ladies seem to have lived there together as lay-women until 1633, when they joined the Second Institute at Munich.

That there was danger of moving too quickly in the plan to suppress the "Jesuitesses," under which vague cognomen the "English Ladies" were classed, is seen in the answer of the Nuncio Consa sent from Brussels to the Propaganda, on August 8, 1628, in reply to the Instruction of July 15.[3] He replies that up to the present time he can only find one house of "Jesuitesses," six in number, living in Brussels, opposite the College of the Jesuits. He has heard that some years ago some Englishwomen went to Rome to seek approbation for a Rule similar to that of the Society, but having been refused they lived for some time in Belgium and then returned home —"che pero si crede adesso siano ritornate in Inghilterra." The Brussels community had been in existence since 1600, and had for its purpose the education of young girls in

[1] *Prop. Arch., Scritt. Antiche,* vol. 69, f. 104, Vienna, September 23, 1625.
[2] *Prop. Arch., Atti,* 1628–1629, f. 158v.
[3] *Prop. Arch., Scritt. Antiche,* vol. 162, f. 37.

religious instruction and domestic training.[1] It had been approved by the Archbishop of Mechlin. The Mistress of the House, which was called the House of St. Catherine, was also its proprietress. In 1621, the Archdukes declared it to be under their special protection. It consists of the Mistress or Prefect, seven women teachers "quae omnes vulgo vocantur Jesuitissae," who have taken a vow of chastity, though not solemnly, it being only inscribed in a book kept for that purpose. The scholars were many; some paid fees, but the greater part were taught free. The Jesuits were their spiritual directors and confessors. The women wore no distinctive religious habit, but dressed modestly. When the Nuncio proceeded to disperse the community, he found that it was impossible to do so, not only in justice, but because Isabella wished the school, which was very well liked, not to be hindered in its work. "Bonae famae sunt omnes, et dicuntur bene mereri de puellis quas instruunt, Ser^ma^ D^na^ Infans desiderat fundationem et familiam istam pro instructione juventutis conservari, et inclinatur ad hoc ut nulla vota ibidem ab illis emittentur vel rata habeantur, sed vivant ut mere laicae." In a letter to Ingoli, October 14, 1628, Consa again advised him to go slowly in the work of suppressing the "Jesuitesses," as they were doing excellent work in teaching children, and were filling a want that had long been recognized.[2] Besides, a difficulty had arisen, as he explains, November 25, 1628. It was not clear whether these "Jesuitissae" really fell under the decree of Pius V. Meanwhile, by order of the Nuncio, the Bishops of the Low Countries were making investigations in their dioceses to find out if any "Jesuitesses" lived there in community.[3] On August 22, the Bishop of Antwerp replied that no such congregation existed in his diocese, but that many devout women were gathered into little groups, living in common with no vows, under individual Jesuit direction, for the purpose of doing good works.[4] On August 27, the Bishop of Bruges affirmed very strongly that in his diocese, "licet in aliis reperiantur,"

[1] *Prop. Arch., Scritt. Antiche*, vol. 131, f. 64.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 131, f. 54.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 131, f. 67.
[4] *Ibid.*, vol. 205 (*Belgium sive Flandria. Jesuitessae ad* 1648 *inclusive*), f. 300.

no such congregation existed, but that some women lived in common for good works and teaching.[1] On September 19, the Bishop of Tournai replied that no "Jesuitesses" were to be found within the precincts of his diocese, but a small congregation of five or six women existed for the purpose of teaching poor children reading and writing, good manners, and Christian doctrine. Every Sunday a Jesuit Father came to give them a lesson from the Roman Catechism.[2]

It was at this stage of affairs that Mary Ward compiled a narrative of the twenty-two years she and her companions had lived together in the religious life, and presented it to Urban VIII. and the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars. This Memorial seems to have stopped for a while the work of suppression, though no document has been found in the Propaganda or Vatican Archives to explain what took place between the Brussels Nuncio's letter of October 14, 1628, advising Ingoli to go slowly, and one of January, 1629, when the Nuncio of Brussels received further instruction to proceed with the suppression.[3] He replied to Cardinal Bandino on January 20, that he had made the Holy See's wish known to the Archduchess, but he found her unwilling to do more than suppress "quella parte che risguarda l'esser religiose, perche vogliono, che restono mere laiche, et habbiano cura delle fanciulle."[4] This evidently has reference to the House of St. Catherine. Consa promised to proceed with their suppression, but sent a complete Relation of this community, probably with the view of informing Rome on its legitimate character. On March 17, 1629,[5] he wrote to Propaganda, saying that the negotiations for the suppression of the house in Brussels were proceeding favourably, and finally, on May 12, he wrote, both to Bandino and Ingoli, that, after much difficulty and opposition on the part of the "Jesuitesses," who deny they are such, the Archbishop of Mechlin has suppressed the House at Brussels and has forbidden them to reside in community.[6] He recommended that the Archbishop's obedience

[1] *Prop. Arch., Scritt. Antiche*, f. 301.
[2] *Ibid.*, f. 299.
[3] *Prop. Arch., Atti*, 1628–1629, ff. 155–195.
[4] *Prop. Arch., Scritt. Antiche*, vol. 131, f. 190.
[5] *Ibid.*, f. 203.
[6] *Ibid.*, ff. 215–217.

to the Holy See be held up as an example to the Archbishop of Cambrai, who so far had made no effort to suppress the houses of the "Jesuitesses" within his jurisdiction. Two important facts are worthy of note in these letters—the first was that the book containing the vows was to be burnt, no vows were to be taken, and the ladies permitted to teach as lay-women if they so wished. There is no doubt that Mary Ward could have saved her community if she had been willing to accept these terms. This was indeed the only loop-hole which remained. The second fact is the very evident confusion made by the ecclesiastical authorities in Rome between the Institute of the "English Ladies" and all other communities of women living together for teaching purposes. No doubt the Archbishop of Cambrai realized this, for he made a gallant fight for all such communities living within his jurisdiction. Only one House of the "English Ladies" was in the Nunciature of Brussels, that of Saint Omer, and therefore in the Archdiocese of Cambrai. A lengthy correspondence now began between the Nuncio and Propaganda, chiefly through Ingoli, the Secretary, detailing Consa's efforts to force the Archbishop of Cambrai to suppress the Houses of the "Jesuitesses."[5] Finally, on September 6, 1629, the Archbishop, knowing full well that the cause of education was to suffer in consequence, issued a last appeal to the Cardinal Prefect to save these communities. His letter is very valuable for the history of education of the times, and also hints at the fact that Mary Ward was considered in Rome to be the foundress of all these Houses under individual Jesuit direction. He explained to the Secretary of Propaganda that Cardinal Bandino had written to him in July, giving him orders to suppress the Institute of the "Jesuitesses" throughout his diocese. He had prepared a reply to this for Bandino, but the Cardinal died August 1, 1629, so he sent the letter on to the Secretary instead. It is a long letter, explaining that no "Jesuitesses" existed in his archdiocese, "sed sunt in variis locis congregationes honestissimarum puellarum quae juventutem sui sexus gratis docent. Earum pleraeque gloriosissimam Virginem Mariam, aliae Sanctam Agnetam patronam habent, et unde filiae domus B. Mariae et Agnetianae appellantur."

[1] *Prop. Arch., Scritt. Antiche* ff. 224–241.

The first was the Congregation Filles de Notre Dame, founded at Tournai in 1598, and the second was the Daughters of St. Agnes, founded at Arras, 1601, the Rule of which had been suggested to Mary Ward between 1609 and 1611 by the English Jesuits of Saint Omer. This was also a branch of the community at Brussels which the authorities confounded with the "English Ladies." "Subinde tamen malevoli," the Archbishop continues, "eas per irrisionem Jesuitissas vocant, at injuste, cum nullo modo patribus Societatis sint subjectae nec regulam eorum profiteantur, aut profiteri intendant." There was, however, as he had heard, a small congregation of English Virgins at Liége who had taken the name of "Jesuitesses," who professed the three religious vows, and wander from place to place giving missions and preaching the Gospel like priests, "sed nostrae Agnetianae et filiae domorum B. Mariae longe sunt aliae, nec ullum unquam cum eis commercium habuerunt. Non vagantur per mundum, non faciunt missiones, non praedicant, non emittunt tria vota religionis, nec habitum religionis deferunt, sed vovent dumtaxat castitatem, et praefectae domus obedientiam promittunt, sine voto paupertatis." The Congregation acted wisely, he declared, in suppressing the English Virgins at Liége, if what was said against them be true, but not the Filles de Notre Dame or the Agnetianae, for they were not the same. Besides, he himself had not erected these communities. The necessity of the times, and the spread of the pernicious doctrines of heresy during the past forty years had brought them into being.[1]

He is speaking of these schools in the different towns of

[1] "Erat olim penuria scholarum. In multis locis viri masculos et puellas promiscue docebant, et inde orta fuerunt magna et gravia scandala; alibi reperti ludi-magistrae non sanae in fide, quae et discipulas erroribus imbuerunt ac perverterunt. Cumque haereticis proprium sit fidem nostram catholicam simulari ut venena sua occulte diffundant, facile profecto ludi-magistra quae sola et sine teste docet, virus perversae doctrinae incautis discipularum animis instillare potest, ad scandala et pericula ista praecavendum factum est in multis civitatibus et oppidis, ut magistratus de scholis per praedictas congregationes erigendis cogitant, erectasque variis exemptionibus et privilegiis munierit. Et merito quidem, nam ubicumque ejusmodi congregationes sunt, florent scholae puellarum quam maxime gratis omnes docentur, optimis moribus et solida pietate imbuuntur, omnibusque puellaribus artibus egregie instruuntur. Puellae ita instructae evadunt optimae matres familias, iisque respublica multum juvatur, et confirmatur in fide ac bonis moribus quia filii et filiae in institutione a matribus potissimum dependent. Taceo privatas scholas, etsi optimae sint, facile concidere, saltem morte ipsius magistrae." (*Biblioteca Casanatense* (Rome), x, iii, 14–15 (2425–26)).

his archdiocese, and goes on to show the scandals and inconveniences that would arise if they were suppressed. He gives a list of these congregations of teaching women, living under superiors without being religious, and praises the good works they have done. The school of the "English Ladies" in Saint Omer is not in this list. He does not see how he can get these congregations to accept the papal enclosure, or to make the three vows of religion, because that would militate against the splendid work they are doing. The point we are trying to show is that all recognized the necessity of such schools, and that the suppression of Mary Ward's Institute was not due to the utter newness of her ideal. Sifted out to its last analysis, we shall find that the calumnies propagated against her by some of the Liége nuns were the real cause of the suppression. We have the alternative of admitting that the Holy See suppressed this work on the lying word of one of her nuns, or of finding another answer to the mystery.

Mary Ward's conception of the necessity of teaching orders of women for young girls in the Counter-Reformation was realized by others as well. Living in a country which had seen the ravages of heresy as England had done, the Belgians realized the necessity of instructing the coming generation in the Faith, and it is not to be expected that those who saw Protestantism from the other side of the Alps, in a land where it never penetrated, could understand adequately the vital importance of this work of educating the young of all classes. Ingoli's notes on the back of this letter are significant of this attitude. It matters little what the times demand, he says, the Canon Law of the Church will not allow women to live in community, unless they become religious, and as this entails enclosure, then all congregations that refuse the enclosure must be suppressed. His notes on the margin are very caustic and sometimes bitter, especially against the Archbishop of Cambrai, and he constantly quotes the canons of Trent requiring the enclosure as an effective answer to Van der Burch's frantic plea to allow the work to go on. All congregations of women living without religious vows and non-enclosed were prohibited by the Decree *Pericoloso* of Boniface VIII., by the Councils of Vienna and of Trent, and the Bull of St. Pius V. *Circa pastoralis officium;* and Ingoli mentions examples of

similar congregations condemned by the authority of the Holy See. Cardinal Borghese had been informed, August 8, 1629, by the Nuncio of Brussels that the Archbishop of Cambrai was defending "con ogni sua forza," the Institute of the "Jesuitesses," claiming that they follow the same Rule as the Ursulines, and so cannot be justly suppressed. The Nuncio adds that the "Jesuitesses" who lived opposite the College of the Society in Brussels, were suppressed on May 12: "hora vivono come laiche, non in forma di congregazione con voti come prima," nor doing anything that would show a semblance of a religious life. On September 9 the Archbishop of Cambrai wrote to the Nuncio that the Bull of St. Pius V. had never been published in Belgium, and therefore could not be cited against these teaching communities.

To prove to the Archbishop that the Holy See was acting with full knowledge of the matter, Ingoli sent him a report of the proceedings of the Particular Congregation of July 23, 1629, entitled, "Scrittura continente li scandali et inconvenienti che nascono delle Giesuitesse d'Inghilterra per cagion di quali e necessario che V.S. dissolva questo instituto o vero sforzi dette Giesuitesse alla clausura et ai voti."

"Li principali inconvenienti sono: che vanno quà e là per il regno con poco decore del sesso muliebre et ignominia della religione cattolica pratticanda co' giovani con molto liberta: che vanno essortando le vergini più ricche a pilgiar il loro instituto, le quali poi trovando poco fundamento in eo con perdità della dote data alle Giesuitesse non sono ricevute dai parenti ne si possono maritare; per far acquistare alle vergine audacia la fanno essercitar a recitar in scena; che sotto pretesto d'andar a instituir le putte, et insegnare alle donne maritate il governo delle case, et educatione de figlioli avertono gl'animi di essa dalli sacerdoti secolari biascinandoli e cercano d'affettionarli alli Giesuiti lodandogli sui al cielo. Il medesimo fanno con le serve e li servi; In Italia cioe Pempia, Napoli e Roma, saranno 30; In Londra sono 30."[1] In consequence the Congregation decreed that the "Jesuitesses" either should be obliged to enclosure or should be suppressed by virtue of the Bull of Pius V.

[1] *Vat. Libr., Bibl. Barb.*, t. 6992, f. 209; cf. *Analecta Juris Pontificii*, vol. 14, p. 889.

Nothing could prove more clearly the confusion which existed than this document sent to the Archbishop of Cambrai as a reason for the suppression of the Filles de Notre Dame and the Filles de St^e. Agnes. The provenance of the letter is clear. With a few changes it merely repeats the charges made against the Institute of the "English Ladies" by the Archpriest Harrison and sent to Rome after his death in 1622 by the Dean of the Chapter and his assistants.

Propaganda replied to this petition on October 2, 1629, by ordering the Nuncio to command Cambrai to proceed at once with the suppression of these Houses in his diocese,[1] and on October 17, the Nuncio replied that he had done so, and had ordered the Archbishop of Cambrai to send him a report of the Houses of these two communities at Mons, Valenciennes, Arras, Douay, and other places.[2] On November 3, he repeated to Ingoli his advice of the year before, that they must proceed slowly, for these communities were certainly not guilty of the charge contained in the letter sent the July previous.[3] Later he writes that he has succeeded in suppressing three Houses.

The suppression of these so-called "Jesuitesses" brought about a thorough investigation in the four suffragan dioceses of Cambrai (Tournai, Arras, Saint Omer, and Namur), and the decree of suppression was sent to the Bishop of Saint Omer on November 20, 1629. The following May, the Nuncio at Brussels was informed that, on receipt of the order, the Bishop of Saint Omer sent his Archpriest to the "English Ladies" and announced the suppression of their Houses and school. He closed their public oratory, and ordered them to avoid everything that pertained to the life of real religious. In July, 1630, Consa writes to Ludovisi to say that the house of the "English Ladies" at Saint Omer was the only one in his nunciature: "con detta estintione quì non resta altro collegio di Giesuitesse Inglese."[4] The Bishops of Arras and Tournai reported the non-existence of the "Jesuitesses" in their dioceses. Of Namur no record was found.

Meanwhile the Nuncio of Cologne was being urged by

[1] *Prop. Arch., Atti*, 1628, f. 336.
[2] *Prop. Arch., Scritt. Antiche*, vol. 205, f. 290.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 131, f. 249.
[4] *Ibid.*, vol. 132, f. 103.

Propaganda to close the Houses at Cologne, Trier and Liége. These three Houses were in the nunciature of Cologne, the Nuncio of which usually writes from Bonn or Liége. On November 30, 1629, he was ordered to proceed with the suppression.[1] Late in December he informed Ingoli that the two houses of English "Jesuitesses" at Cologne and Trier were subject to the Ordinary, and that German bishops did not usually take kindly to his interference in matters pertaining to their jurisdiction. The Bishop of Trier had promised, however, that the Houses there would be closed. The "Jesuitesses" of Cologne and Liége had obtained twenty-five days' postponement from their bishops in which to write to Mary Ward and ascertain what they should do. It is here that Mary Ward's enemies accuse her of insubordination to the Holy See, in writing to the communities at Cologne and at Liége to resist to the very last the wish of the Church in the matter. It is further alleged that it was the resistance at Liége, led by Winifred Wigmore, which brought about the Bull of Suppression of Urban VIII. on January 13, 1631. Both these charges are historically indefensible. When the community was suppressed, Mary Ward wrote a command from Munich to the Institute to obey at all costs.[2] Urban VIII.'s Bull *Pastoralis Romani Pontificis* is but an incident in the doom the English Clergy Agent had pronounced on the Institute.

In September, 1630, the Nuncio of Cologne sent to Propaganda a "Compendio del Processo formato dal nuntio di Colonia contro le Giesuitesse,"[3] containing the whole story of the process of expulsion in his Nunciature from January to September of that year. On March 15, 1630, he wrote to Ingoli : "Io sto promovendo con ogni possibile modo e destrezza l'estinzione di queste Giesuitesse Inglese, e penso con un poco di tempo di riduarla a buon fine."[4] When this information reached Propaganda, stricter orders still were sent him to carry out at once the suppression of the "Jesuitesses" in his Nunciature.[5]

[1] *Prop. Arch., Atti*, 1628–1629, f. 361v.

[2] "Osservate, vi prego, tutto che prescrive con tutte prontezza ed animo retto." *Istanza*, p. 16.

[3] *Prop. Arch., Scritt. Antiche*, vol. 205, ff. 309–312. The *Compendio* is dated January 14, 1630.

[4] *Prop. Arch., Scritt. Antiche*, vol. 98, f. 157.

[5] *Prop. Arch., Atti*, 1628–1629, f. 32, Cong. March, 19, 1630, no. 8.

In May, 1630, the Nuncio reported that the nuns at Liége were opposing the decree of suppression, and he believed that their resistance was due to secret orders from Mary Ward herself.[1] Mary's enemies had not been idle. The suppression of Liége was the last strategic move in the opposition to her work, and when once that House was closed, the Institute would be practically at an end. We know now that Mary Ward never wrote a letter of defiance to the orders of the Congregation of Propaganda. The evil had been done at Liége before she was aware of it, and before Winifred Wigmore, who went there in her name, arrived to settle the difficulty. A similar state of affairs appears to have existed also at Trier. Rigorous measures were now taken, for on June 7, 1630, the Nuncio wrote to Ludovisi from Liége that the Bishop of Trier "ha datto l'ultima mano a tal esecuzione," and that the House at Cologne had also finally been closed. He adds that the "English Ladies" were complaining bitterly of the harsh treatment meted out to them—harsher, they claimed, than any shown the Houses in Vienna, Prague, Naples, or Rome, where the Decree of July 7, 1628, was carried out. In Ingoli's hand on the back is an endorsement congratulating the Nuncio on the efficiency of his work, and adding that all the "Jesuitesses" say is false regarding harsh treatment; that they are not tolerated at Rome, except "ut aliquae mulieres laijcae" living together. This denial of harsh treatment is untrue, for in 1633, Urban VIII. ordered their property at Cologne to be restored to them.

We have now the formal accusation of open rebellion against the authority of the Holy See, which is the worst of all the long list of charges contained in the Bull of Benedict XIV. "Maria enim, in Urbe adhuc degens (1629) statim ac intellexit, quid ferrent Pontificia mandata, omnem rationem inire studuit, ut ea effectu fraudaret; suasque sequaces ubique existentes per Encyclicas Litteras admonuit, ne iis obtemperarent. Itaque praedictus Nuntius, ad evitanda magna scandala nunc quidem ab incoepto desistere satius habuit." Since Pius X. has spoken on the historical force of this Bull, it

[1] *Prop. Arch., Scritt. Antiche*, vol. 98, ff. 164–165 (*Ex literis Matris Superioris Virginum Anglarum Romae scriptis*, 6 *Aprilis* 1630). Mary Ward was in Vienna at that time.

may be said in all justness, and in all respect to the memory of Pope Benedict XIV., that this accusation is groundless. Benedict speaks in the lines preceding these of the fight made by one of the "English Ladies" ("Cambiani nuncupata," viz. Wigmore) at the suppression of the House in Trier, and speaks as though the Cologne, Saint Omer and Liége Houses had been closed in 1629.[1]

Nothing is more obscure in the whole of the history of Mary Ward than the suppression of the Houses in Germany and Belgium. The House at Cologne we know to have been closed in June, 1630. The House at Saint Omer, from which the "English Ladies" were expelled in November, 1629, was finally closed in September, 1630. The House at Trier was suppressed on August 25, 1630. The House at Liége could not have been suppressed before April 30, 1631, when the Prince-Bishop of Liége issued his decree of suppression. We have then a blank to fill in between the Nuncio's letter to Ingoli of May 10, 1630, regarding the alleged letter sent by Mary Ward urging the "English ladies" to resist suppression, and April 30, 1631, when Liége finally succumbed.

In 1624 Ferdinand had taken their Houses in Liége under his special protection until the "English Ladies" should obtain the confirmation of their Institute by the Holy See. Until then, they were to be considered religious and ecclesiastical persons with all rights and privileges of such. He announced the same decision to the Nuncio, who wrote a letter in their favour to Propaganda.[2]

Mary Ward's personal defence of the Institute, before a Particular Congregation of the Cardinals appointed by Urban VIII. to hear her side of the case in April, 1629, might have postponed proceedings for a while, had not fresh difficulties arisen in the houses of the Institute at Liége. There cannot be much blame cast upon ecclesiastics or lay-people who had relatives or friends in the Institute for feeling anxious about their welfare. Their dowries were already sunk in the Institute, and the nuns could not be sent home; nor do the other

[1] *Prop. Arch., Scritt. Antiche*, f. 172.

[2] *Istanza per potere chiamare Maria Ward fondatrice del' Instituto di Maria, alla Santità di nostro Signore Leone PP. XIII. felicamente regnante* (1892). MS. Archives of the community, Rome, p. 3.

English convents seem to have shown any desire to accept them out of charity. The English Jesuits of Liége, who knew the canonical position of the Church better than Mary Ward, saw that there was no chance for them to be approved by the Holy See unless they agreed to papal enclosure and the three solemn vows of religion; and it may have been by their prudent influence that a goodly number of the "English Ladies" decided to abandon the Institute completely, and to join one of the approved Orders. This caused dissension in 1628–1629, and it was in order to save the House of the Institute that Winifred Wigmore was sent in 1629 to Liége to calm the storm. The disorder was past remedy when she arrived, but she, at any rate, obliged the disaffected ones to leave the Institute, and gathered the others who were still loyal to their ideal around her. There is no doubt that she did everything to save the House at Liége. So long as the other Houses in Munich and Presburg were not closed, and knowing that Cardinal Klessel, the Archbishop of Vienna, lamented his own opposition to the work of the "English Ladies," Winifred Wigmore must have felt that her resistance was just. The decree of 1628 was a secret one, and the result of accusations which they did not deserve, and, short of a public act on the part of the Holy See, nothing would induce her to yield.

The means taken by the local authorities to suppress these young women so far away in those days from their parents and friends were indeed harsh. In September, 1630, the Nuncio reported to Ingoli that Winifred Wigmore, who had been sent by Mary Ward to settle the difficulties at Liége, was fighting hard to keep their Houses there, and encouraging the sisters not to obey the Bishop's orders. She claimed that the decree of July 7, 1628, did not include them; that the "Jesuitesses" who were condemned were a community unknown to her, which held that it had a mission to teach the Gospel, and that this was not done in their Institute, and therefore they were being treated unjustly.[1] Winifred Wigmore was right in this. Not knowing the secret orders sent to the Nuncios she had only one idea, to quiet the factions which had broken out in the Institute, the one siding with

[1] *Prop. Arch., Scritt. Antiche*, vol. 98, f. 176, Nuncio to Ingoli, Liége, September 27, 1630.

Mary Ward and the other wishing to take the alternative given it by the Nuncio (December 28, 1628), namely, to enter one of the already approved orders for women in the Church. On November 15, 1630, the Nuncio wrote that he was having great difficulty in suppressing them, but on January 3 and 10, 1631, he stated that the work was finally under way. There is no doubt that the troubles of Liége, and especially Winifred Wigmore's effort to get a hearing before being thrown into the streets, as the nuns subsequently were, had most disastrous results in Rome upon the negotiations then in progress.[1] We know that Pope Urban's scheme was to suppress all the Houses of the Institute quietly and without harshness. Mary Ward saw opposition would only bring fatal results. That Winifred Wigmore was not altogether wrong in her efforts at Liége is seen from the fact that the "English Ladies" there, all of whom came from good families, and had brought their dowries into the Institute, were expelled, homeless and penniless, and obliged to beg their bread from door to door. She had been imprisoned in 1630, it seems, though no notice was found in the Nuncio's papers regarding this. Her name does not occur among the eleven "English Ladies" who assembled in April, 1631, to hear the Bull of Suppression read to them by the Vicar-General of Liége. All we know is that she was released in 1632 by Urban's orders. It would be interesting to know what became of all the "English Ladies" who were at Liége at this time; but it is impossible to trace them. The Catalogues of the other Convents of the time contain no reference to these suppressed religious. Many, of course, went back to England, and joined the house founded there by Mary Ward in 1613; others, especially the novices, returned home to their parents, while many went to the House of the community in Munich, which was the refuge during these years of difficulty with the Holy See. Only one notice was found in the Roman Archives, that of a letter of the Nuncio to Ludovisi, asking for a dispensation for Anne Gage.[2]

But the troubles at Liége could not in themselves have entirely caused the severity of the Bull of Suppression, written

[1] There is an undated history of the suppression at Liége in *Vat. Libr., Bibl. Barb.*, vol. 6551, ff. 103–110, but it does not clear up the difficulty.

[2] *Prop. Arch., Scritt. Antiche*, vol. 98, ff. 166–167.

January 13, 1631, by Urban VIII., for it is significant that it was not published till May 21. How far external elements entered into this severity we do not know, but there are two series of events (the documents for which are bound up with those in the Vatican and Propaganda Archives dealing with the "Jesuitesses") which certainly had an influence on the authorities in Rome. The first is the series of letters sent to Rome by the Brussels Court Physician, Andreas de Trevi. This informer had gathered up all the scandals connected with the communities living without enclosure, over which the Jesuits had been placed by ecclesiastical authority as spiritual directors. As early as July 14, 1629, he writes to Bandino that he is fighting the Jesuits "per ben publico."[1] Consa mentions to Cardinal Borgia in a letter of November 3, 1629, that Trevi is not very much loved by the Jesuits; and later, knowing the effect of Trevi's letters, in which every community (even the Benedictine nuns of Brussels), who had a Jesuit confessor, was called a "House of Jesuitesses,"[2] he told Ingoli that the decrees and orders received are too general, that they ought to distinguish better what communities are to be dissolved, and to explain exactly what English "Jesuitesses" means. A paper was then drawn up by Ingoli, *Delle Giesuitesse e loro Instituto*, based upon Trevi's letters. In it mention is made of three English Jesuits, Thompson (*vere* Gerard), Lee and Talbot, who are called aiders and abettors of the "English Ladies."[3] Trevi writes from Brussels, August 23, 1631, accusing the Benedictine nuns of that city of being "Jesuitesses" in disguise. He writes from Antwerp, September 12 and 18, that his investigations there have been fruitless. The Jesuits deny that such communities exist, but Trevi is sure that they are hiding under false names, such as Ursulines, etc. He writes again, October 9, from Brussels that the English Benedictine nuns there, at that time greatly disturbed by factions, are secretly governed by the Rule of St. Ignatius, and not by that of St. Benedict.[4] Propaganda began to understand better

[1] *Prop. Arch., Scritt. Antiche*, vol. 131, f. 260.

[2] *Ibid.*, f. 249.

[3] *Prop. Arch., Scritt. Antiche*, vol. 205, ff. 312–319.

[4] A year after the suppression of the house in Flanders, we find the Nuncio writing to Ingoli from Brussels, January 10, 1632, about the "Jesuitesses" (*i.e.* English Benedictine Nuns) of Brussels. Cf. *Prop. Arch., Scritt. Antiche*, vol. 74.

the confusion caused by this pell-mell attack upon the non-enclosed bodies of women, and at last distinguished clearly between the Institute of the Blessed Virgin, which had been erroneously called English "Jesuitesses," and those communities mentioned in Trevi's letters, in which scandals had occurred; but the harm had been already done, and Mary Ward's community bore the blame of all the scandals, whether true or not, written by Trevi between 1628 and 1631.[1] She was the Foundress of the "Jesuitesses." Scandals that hardly bear repetition were claimed to be discovered by Trevi in houses of "Jesuitesses" in Belgium,[2] and charges of a like nature had been made by the English Clergy against the English nuns. The suppression of the Institute was a foregone conclusion. When one reads the accounts of these scandals, for which she, as Foundress of the "Jesuitesses," was held responsible, the severity of the Bull of Suppression,[3] and of the celebrated *Quamvis justo* needs no further explanation. They both condemn disorders that existed, and justly so. That her community had nothing in common with those which were the cause of this need not create any heart-burnings to-day, when Mary Ward has at last come into her rightful place again. It becomes difficult to follow the documents at this period, for in the *Atti* for September, 1631, at a special Congregation held in Urban's presence, we learn that strict orders were given that all documents on the case, together with Trevi's letters and all papers pertaining in any way to the suppression of the "Jesuitesses," be sent to the Holy Office.

Trevi's accusation against the English Benedictines of Brussels as "Jesuitesses" in disguise brings a second element into the influence which may have brought about the suppression. In February, 1629, a quarrel broke out in the Monastery there between the Abbess and some of the nuns over the question of the confessor; the Appellants, as they were called,

[1] Cf., *e.g. Prop. Arch., Lettere della S. Congreg. dell'anno*, 1631–1646, vol. 9, which is entitled: *Abbatissae Persiae monalium Anglicarum Belgii, forse Giesuitissae. Ibid., Scritture Antiche*, vol. 74, ff. 253–259 (*L Abbadessa Maria Persi delle Giesuitesse*).

[2] "Quaedam Jesuitissa in Belgio annorum 19 induit habitum Jesuiticum virilem, mansitque duos annos in quodam Collegio Rectori. . . ." Cf. *Istanza*, pp. 17–18.

[3] For an analysis of the Bull, cf. *S.D.N.D., Urbani divinâ providentiâ Papae VIII. Suppressio Praetensae Congregationis Jesuitissarum*, pp. 3–53 (*Examen Bullae contra Jesuitissas.* Brussels, 1631.

holding out for a Jesuit confessor in place of the Vice-President of Douay, Champney, who had been appointed confessor to them some years before by the Archbishop of Mechlin. The scandal this dissension caused spread outside the Monastery, the English friends and relations of the two factions taking sides, until finally the Abbess, Lady Mary Percy, refused to obey the orders of the Nuncio.[1] What is important here is that Mary Ward's Institute, as the Bull of Urban VIII. shows most clearly, suffered for all this disorder.[2] After 1631, nothing is to be found in the *Atti* relative to the Houses in Flanders; so that they can be considered from that time on as being suppressed beyond recall. Mary Ward's obedience to the Bull of Suppression was prompt and childlike. On February 10, 1631, she wrote from her prison in Munich to all the Houses commanding them to observe the order of suppression at once.

The truth came out at last, no doubt, for Mary Ward was released from prison in Munich, Winifred Wigmore was freed at Liége, and the Foundress of the First Institute was called to Rome by Urban VIII., and given authority to reconstruct her community on new lines more in accordance with the wishes of the Holy See.

4. *Mary Ward and the Second Institute.*

The years of bitter opposition to her work had stopped the steady flow of applicants into the Institute, and caused as well a large falling off in the number of pupils sent from England. At the time of the suppression, there were ten Houses of the Institute with about three hundred religious in charge of them: namely, one at Saint Omer, two at Liége, one each at Cologne, Trier, Rome, Naples, Munich, and Presburg, and one in England. Of these Houses all were shut up with the exception of the house in England and that of Munich. Maximilian obtained a special leave from the Holy See for Mary Ward and her companions to continue the work begun in the Paradeiser Haus, and the Munich House soon became the centre

[1] *Vatican Archives, Nunziatura di Fiandra*, vols. 17, 20, 22, 23, 32.

[2] The Bull, which will not be found in the *Bullarium Romanum*, exists in a printed copy in the *Prop. Arch., Scritt. Antiche*, vol. 205, ff. 315-313.

for all those who still clung to the Institute. Those from Vienna seem to have gone there at once;[1] those of Presburg followed, but the greater number of the religious left and returned to the world, a few only entering other religious orders. The Bull had not forbidden them to teach children, and even allowed them to live together with private vows.[2] In 1632, therefore, in an audience with Urban VIII., Mary Ward explained that many ladies, who had belonged to the Institute, were unable to return to England, and he gave the desired permission for the foundation of the Second Institute, ordering her to collect her scattered flock together in Rome, and to begin anew with a new Rule.

Thus these two Houses, at Munich[3] and Rome, arose from the wreck of the suppression, and Rome became (1633) the mother-house of the new Institute and the Residence of the Chief Superioress down to 1703, when a transference was made to Munich. Their property at Cologne was returned to them in 1633, but everything in Liége and Saint Omer was lost irrevocably. Their arrival in Rome precipitated another burst of opposition, with the Agent of the English Clergy at its head, because Mary Ward was still believed to be the tool of the Jesuit party in England, and they accused the authorities at Rome of practically annulling the effect of the Bull of Urban VIII. Nevertheless, schools were soon opened again in Rome and at Munich, and the work of the Institute sprang up with renewed vigour. Rome was unusually full of English exiles at this time, and Mary Ward's school was taxed to its utmost capacity with the daughters of the refugees, while the House became the rendezvous of English Catholics and Protestants. Though the groundwork was really untouched by the Bull, her opponents tried ineffectually to have her bound to remain in Rome by papal order, so that the Institute should not spread; and, indeed, orders had been given to stop her if she should proceed to England. Mother Chambers hoped that the

[1] WEISS, *Geschichte der Stadt Wien*, vol. II, p. 121 ss. Vienna, 1883.

[2] LEITNER, *Geschichte der Englischen Fräulein und ihrer Institute seit ihrer Gründung bis auf unsere Zeit*, pp. 92–101. Regensburg, 1869; SCHUPPE, *Das Wesen und die Rechtsverhältnisse der neueren religiösen Frauengenossenschaften*, p. 18, Mainz, 1868; O. LAUTENSCHLAGER, *Maria Ward, Stifterin des Instituts der Englischen Fräulein, Leben und Werken*, p. 30. 2nd edition, Straubing, 1880.

[3] *Oberbayeriches Archiv.*, t. XVII (1897), pp. 122–131.

Archives of Rome would clear up the mystery of this silent but powerful opposition to Mary Ward personally which was maintained till 1635, but very little was found which threw any light on the matter. Perhaps the Archives of the Holy Office would reveal the story. In September, 1637, she left Rome for Spa, arriving in Liége in May, 1638. An interview with the Prince-Bishop, Ferdinand, took place at Bonn, in which she begged for the re-opening of the schools in Liége under the same conditions as were exacted in Munich and Rome, and she seems to have re-opened the House there with a few of the old members who still lived in the town, before setting out for England.[1] She left in December, 1638, but on reaching Antwerp, she had news that opposition had again broken out against the House at Liége, and she returned there at once. All her efforts seemed to have been in vain, for if the work was re-begun, it was of short duration. The only sources we possess for this period (the Archives at Nymphenburg) contain no further notice of the Houses in Flanders.[2] In May, 1639, she resumed her journey to England, passing through Saint Omer, but no record exists of an attempt to re-establish the House there. She arrived in London on May 20, where she soon gathered the members of the Institute around her, among whom was Frances Bedingfield, and the work of teaching children began again with renewed energy under her care. So far as the Foundation Movement in Belgium is concerned, the history of the Institute ceases with its suppression in 1631. It only remains to add that in London at this time she found the Catholics going openly to Mass at the French Ambassador's chapel, while the Queen's chapel was being publicly served by Capuchins. Count Rosetti, the Papal Nuncio to Queen Henrietta Maria, showed her every courtesy, and the House she began in London soon became the centre of Catholic life in the city. No English Catholic woman of her time was so well known to Catholics and Protestants alike in Europe,

[1] Mary Ward's letters to Barberini and to Urban VIII. between 1633–1645 give us a deep insight into the admirable courage she displayed after the trying days of 1631, and the affectionate interest the Pope showed at all times in the progress and success of the Second Institute. *Vat. Libr.*, *Bibl. Barb.*, vol. 8620, ff. 45–47; vol. 8624, ff. 51–62.

[2] A list of the pupils of the school at Hammersmith is among the Archives of the Austin Canonesses at Newton Abbot.

while her school was frequented by the daughters of the best families in the land. Her purpose now was to open Catholic schools for the poor in several parts of London, but the Civil War put an end to her hopes, and forced her in 1642 to give up the House in London and go to her own county—Yorkshire—where a convent was begun at Hatton Rudby. In 1644 the House was transferred to Heworth Hall, and here she died, January 30, 1645, being buried in the Protestant churchyard at Osbaldwick, where her gravestone may still be seen. In 1650, unable to exist amid the poverty and persecution of the Civil War, her community migrated to Paris. In 1667, one of the Paris nuns, Mother Frances Bedingfield, returned to England and founded two Houses, one at Hammersmith, and another at Dolebank, in Yorkshire (1677), which eventually became the present Convent, Micklegate Bar, York (1686). During James II.'s reign they had Houses and schools, therefore, in London and York,[1] and the House in Paris was abandoned in order to increase the number of workers in London. The London convent was lost in the riots of 1688, and the sisters went to Hammersmith, though some returned to Paris. In 1703, when the *Englische Fräulein* were confirmed by the Holy See, only Hammersmith and York remained (apart from the German and Austrian houses), as representatives of the Institute. In 1795, the surviving members of Hammersmith opened their doors to the Benedictine nuns of Dunkirk, and in a short time this House of the Institute ceased to exist. In 1653, Mary Poyntz left Paris for Rome, going through Munich, taking with her a party of students, among whom was Catherine Hamilton. In 1662, Catherine Hamilton founded a House at Augsburg and one in 1683 at Burghausen. German novices now began to join the Congregation of English Ladies. Sisters from Augsburg were sent to help Frances Bedingfield in her Hammersmith foundation, but once the Houses in England, especially that of York, had gained a reputation, no further pupils were sent to Germany, and communication between them grew more or less desultory. In 1693, a petition was presented to Innocent XII.

[1] *The Nuns of the Institute of Mary at York*, 1677–1825; *Catholic Registers of York Bar Convent Chapel*, 1771–1826. Contributed by J. S. HANSOM, *Publications, Catholic Record Society*, vol. IV, pp. 353–411. London, 1907.

for confirmation of the Institute, but was not granted.[1] In 1694, John Leyburne, Vicar Apostolic of London, wrote asking for papal approbation of their Rule. In 1702, the petition for confirmation was renewed, and was granted June 13, 1703, and thus gave the Institute of Mary the privileges of a Congregation in the Church. The Confirmation of 1703 gave fresh zeal to the Institute, and between this date and 1749, which marks another epoch in the history of the Institute, eight more Houses were begun in Germany and Austria. In 1706, the Institute had been placed formally under episcopal jurisdiction, and in 1745 trouble on this point broke out between the House at Augsburg and the Bishop of Augsburg;[2] the case was taken to Rome, and was settled in the Bishop's favour by the Bull *Quamvis justo* of Benedict XIV.[3] Since then, step by step with the net-work of Houses which have sprung up in Germany, Austria, England, Ireland, India, Africa, Spain, Canada and the United States, went a desire on the part of the community to rehabilitate Mary Ward as Foundress of the Institute.[4] In 1877, Pius IX. gave his approbation to

[1] The Holy See was particularly insistent upon the regulations of the enclosure being observed to the letter, especially in those parts of Europe which were then disturbed by war. Frequently the different Nuncios report to Rome that the enclosure was being violated, and it was to obviate all possible scandals arising from this laxity that the decrees on the subject were so rigorously enforced. The Instructions sent to the Nuncio in Flanders during the years the Institute of Mary existed there (1611–1631) contain many references to the condition of the enclosure. Cf. CAUCHIE-MAERE, *Récueil, etc.*, pp. 43, 66, 84, 128, 160, 213. An interesting document on the whole question will be found in the *Vat. Arch.*, *Archivio Borghese III.*, vol. 12a, ff. 239–283. Cf. also, *Vat. Libr.*, *Bibl. Barb.*, vol. 5187, ff. 113, 311–377; *Vat. Libr.*, *Mus. Borg. P.F. Latin*, 71 (H.VII, 7).

[2] Two books written in defence of Mary Ward, the one in 1717, the other in 1732, were put on the Index. They are: R. CORBIANUS KHAMN, O.S.B., *Hierarchia Augustana*, pp. 487–568 (*Relatio de Anglarum Virginum origine . . . et justa defensione*). Augsburg, 1717. (Cf. REUSCH, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 265–266); R. D. MARCO FRIDL, D.D., *Englische Tugend-Schul Mariae unter denen von Ihre Päbstlichen Heiligkeit Clemente XI. gutgeheissen und bestätigen Reglen dess von der hochgebohrenen Frauen, Maria Ward als Stifterin aufgerichteten Edlen Instituts Maria insgemein unter dem Namen der Englischen Fräulein*, 2 vols. Augsburg, 1732. (Cf. REUSCH, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 298.) Among other books written about this time in defence of the Institute should be mentioned: JOH. UNTERBERG, *Stürtzer Begriff des Wunderbarlichen Lebens Maria Ward, Stifterin der Englischen Fräulein*. Augsburg, 1735; JOANNES COLNERUS, *Schediasma historicum de Jesuitissis*. Leipzig, 1719. (Cf. REUSCH, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 298.)

[3] *Bullarium Romanum Benedicti XIV.*, t. III, pp. 25–31. Rome, 1771; *Vat. Libr.*, *MS. Vaticana*, 7942, f. 238.

[4] *Marie Ward, Une fondatrice du XVIIe siècle*, article in the *Revue Générale* (Brussels) by the COUNTESS DE COURSON, vol. XLIX (1913), pp. 661–682; 920–948.

the whole Institute; and in 1909, Pius X. restored Mary Ward to her legitimate rank of Foundress. Only one thing yet remains to crown the work of this great pioneer "of that now widely-spread system of uncloistered religious congregations of women, formed to meet the exigencies of modern times, whose position and work in the Church enjoy at the present day the full recognition and approbation of the Holy See,"[1] and that is to bring all the Houses, with the branch Congregations which have grown from the parent stem, together again under one Chief Superior with Assistant Superiors all over the world, so that all may share in the glory of having this holy servant of God as their mother in religion and their guide in spiritual things.

[1] *St. Mary's Convent, York, etc.*, p. 2.

CHAPTER VII

THE ENGLISH BENEDICTINES

I. The English Monks of St. Benedict

1. *The Rise of the Anglo-Benedictine Congregation*

When the partial restoration of the religious orders which had been effected during the reign of Mary Tudor, was swept away on the feast of St. John the Baptist, 1559, the Franciscan Observants of Greenwich, the Dominicans of Smithfield, the Bridgettines of Syon Abbey, the Carthusians of Sheen and the Benedictine monks who had been solemnly reinstalled under the Abbot Feckenham at Westminster Abbey, one of the centres of the old Benedictine life in England, found but two roads open to them—conformity or exile. Cardinal Pole had wisely seen that the gradual return of the religious Orders, and more especially of the Benedictines, would be the surest means of winning back the nation to the Catholic Church. What they had been in the age of its first conversion, he hoped they might become again: the preachers of the Word and the leaders of the people.[1] He looked forward to the restoration of Canterbury, St. Albans, Glastonbury, and other suppressed Benedictine abbeys as to future centres of the Catholic revival. This dream, alas! was never to be realized. Westminster alone had been reoccupied by the monks, but that once flourishing community now only numbered twenty-eight monks all told. He had counted on these for his future restorations. We know the sequel.[2] When Mary Tudor and Cardinal Pole died all fell with them. The Act of Uniformity under Elizabeth was the death-blow to the religious houses of

[1] K. Zimmerman, S.J., *Cardinal Pole, sein Leben und seine Schriften*, pp. 303–329. Ratisbon, 1897; Husenbeth, *op. cit.*, pp. 60–77.

[2] Taunton, *The English Black Monks of St. Benedict. A Sketch of their History from the Coming of St. Augustine to the present day*, vol. I, p. 176, note. London, 1897.

the Marian renaissance. Refusal to take the Oath meant deprivation of all ecclesiastical functions and powers and the confiscation of all revenues, with the further obligation of quitting the realm. Events had moved quickly since the day in November when the civil and ecclesiastical heads of the nation had both passed away. Every one could see the direct march of Elizabeth's Government back to that form of religion which had been imposed under Edward VI. Consequently, the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity found the majority of the members of the restored houses in voluntary exile in Ireland, Scotland, and on the Continent. We know very little about the twenty-eight Benedictine monks of Westminster between their deprivation in 1559, and Abbot Feckenham's death at Wisbech in October, 1584.[1] Some of them were Italians from the Cassinese Congregation brought to England by Pole, who was their Protector. They no doubt returned to their own Monasteries. There was one, however, among his community at Westminster, Dom Sigibert Buckley, who was destined to be the historic link between the old English Benedictines of the past and the later Anglo-Benedictine Congregation which was to come into existence fifty years later on; and we shall see how this venerable confessor of the Faith, for forty years imprisoned by Elizabeth at Wisbech, was to become the means of restoring the ancient glories of his Order in England, and of handing on the glorious English heritage of St. Benedict to the first members of the Anglo-Benedictine Congregation in 1607.

Before the close of the sixteenth century, a number of young men from the English Colleges in Italy and Spain joined the Benedictine Monasteries in these countries, and in the first years of James I.'s reign, their number had grown large enough to warrant the establishment of a Benedictine Mission in England. Thus were begun the *Spanish* Benedictine Mission and the *Italian* or Cassinese Mission.[2]

[1] Dom Henry Norbert Birt, O.S.B., *The Obit Book of the English Benedictines, from* 1600 *to* 1912, *being the Necrology of the English Congregation of the Order of St. Benedict from* 1600 *to* 1883, *compiled by Abbot Snow*, p. xvi. Privately printed, Edinburgh, 1913.

[2] *Revue Bénédictine*, t. 1 (1884–1885), p. 231. The words, *Spanish* and *Italian*, have been italicized to signify the English members of the Spanish and Cassinese Congregations.

The stirs in England, Flanders and Rome on the question of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and that of the Succession had an undeniably bad effect on the young men in the English colleges across the channel. Students (so ready at all times to take sides) ranged themselves into factions. Some threw in their lot with the Jesuits, while others became bitter enemies of the Society. There was always, however, a section of the students who were unwilling to become partisans of the two factions, either because they had friends on both sides or were by nature averse to quarrelling. They were seeking in the priestly life that peace and quiet which the Seminaries actually lacked at the time. Living, as these students were, in the atmosphere of the fierce discussions which divided the exiles, it was obvious from the outset that the foremost effect of these disturbances would be "to turn the minds of many students to other places where they might both continue their studies and, when on the mission, be able to keep clear of either of these contending parties. Their thoughts naturally turned towards that great Order which had converted England and which was so bound up with the glories of their Church. The Benedictines were men of peace too, and had an old tradition at their back ; and, though ready to adapt themselves to new circumstances, were not lovers of novelty. Besides, there was nothing in the life of a monk to prevent him from taking up mission-work in face of sufficient cause and when duly called upon ; for had they not been the great missionaries of Europe ?"[1]

The movement towards the Benedictine Order began in 1587, when an English exile, a student at the English College, Rome, took the habit at Monte Cassino.[2] During the last quarter of the sixteenth century, the movement continued

[1] TAUNTON, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 2–3.

[2] FOLEY, *Records S.J.*, vol. VI, p. 155 ; OLIVER (*Collections S.J.*, p. 593) mentions Robert Sayers as a man of superior merit, who had studied both at Douay and Rome before going to Monte Cassino (Cf. KNOX, *Douay Diaries*, p. 185 ; WELDON, *op. cit.*, p. 39). He became Professor of Dogmatic Theology at the Monastery, and died in 1602. PITT mentions him in his *De Illustribus Angliae Scriptoribus*, p. 101. His *Clavis regia Sacerdotum casuum Conscientiae* was reprinted at Antwerp in 1619. It would seem according to Dom Anselm's *Report* that he was accused by the Jesuits of going to Monte Cassino at the instigation of the English Government in order that later he might act as a spy among the Benedictines (Cf. DODD-TIERNEY, vol IV, p. ccix).

to people the Benedictine Monasteries at Monte Cassino, Padua, Venice and Valladolid with English subjects, and the English ecclesiastical authorities soon began to regard these desertions from the secular Colleges with an anxious eye. How large the exodus had grown is evident from Cardinal Sega's Report on the Condition of the English College, Rome, where we are told that from the opening of the College in 1575 to 1595, out of three hundred and three students, thirty-one had joined the Jesuits, seventeen had become Benedictines, fourteen Dominicans, ten Franciscans, ten Carmelites and four Carthusians.[1] Although Cardinal Allen could not help regretting the loss of so many valiant workers from the ranks of the Secular Clergy, he favoured vocations to the Orders whenever they occurred. His beautiful letter to the Reverend Anthony Martin (in religion Dom Athanasius) shows his delight at the choice of his "dear brother and child."[2] The Colleges at Douay and Rome could afford to give up these chosen souls to the religious life and still send a goodly quota of missionaries to England; but it was in the Colleges of Valladolid and Seville that the drain was keenly felt. These two Seminaries had been founded for the one definite purpose of training up priests for the missions in England. They were under the government of the English Jesuits in Spain, and "as it belonged to them to watch over the College interests, it is surely not unintelligible that they should have been startled and concerned at an exodus so considerable: especially as their departing pupils had previously, by the mission oath or otherwise, declared their vocations to a missionary life, whereas the Order in which they now enlisted had not at first permission to send any one to England; indeed, the Spanish monks were bound by a vow of perpetual enclosure."[3] Until the Diary of the English College at

[1] *Vatican Library*, MSS. *Ottobonian Lat.*, t. 2473, fol. 185 ss; printed in English in FOLEY, *Records S.J.*, vol. VI, pp. 1–66.

[2] KNOX, *Allen*, pp. 354–355.

[3] *The Rise of the Anglo-Benedictine Congregation*, by J. H. POLLEN, S.J., in the *Month*, vol. XC (1897), p. 585; DOM BEDE CAMM, O.S.B., *A Benedictine Martyr in England, being the Life and Times of the Venerable Servant of God, Dom John Roberts, O.S.B.*, p. 81. London, 1897; *Jesuits and Benedictines at Valladolid*, 1599–1604, article by DOM BEDE CAMM, O.S.B., in the *Month*, vol. XCII (1898), pp. 365–377; C. REYNER, *Apostolatus Benedictinorum in Anglia*, t. 1, p. 242. Douay, 1626. Cf. *Vat. Libr., Ottobon. Lat.*, t. 3166.

Valladolid is published, we cannot tell what is the exact proportion of students who left the English Colleges in Spain to become religious.[1] In Blackfan's Annals,[2] the first vocations to San Benito date from 1599, when four left. Several more followed them in 1603, and from that time on, till the foundation of St. Gregory's Monastery at Douay, there were constant accretions to the Order.

The General Chapter of the Cassinese Congregation, which had been represented in the revival under Mary Tudor, petitioned the Holy See in 1594 to grant permission for their English subjects to take a share in the work of the English Mission, which was up to that time monopolized by the Jesuits and Seculars. Similar petitions were made by Owen Lewis, the Bishop of Cassano, and by some of the English nobility who hoped that the Benedictine monks would bring peace to the troubled household of the Faith in England. In 1601, a petition to the same effect came from the English monks of San Martino in Compostella. The result of these petitions was to increase the exodus from the Seminaries, and soon the Jesuit Superiors of the Colleges of Rome, Valladolid and Seville, found themselves in violent opposition to the whole movement. "Accordingly," as Tierney sees it, "every method was adopted; first, to prevent the admission of new postulants, and afterwards, to frustrate the design of establishing an English mission. It was said that the Benedictines were decoying the students from the Seminaries; that the employment of missioners trained under different institutes and formed to different views would be productive only of animosities and discord; and that in point of fact the duties of the mission to which the parties in question proposed to dedicate themselves were incompatible with the obligations of a religious life, and a direct violation of the monastic vow. To silence the last of these objections, appeal was made to the doctors of Salamanca; and a solemn sentence in the academy soon after declared that it was unfounded. But this only tended to increase the opposition on the other points. The

[1] DOM BIRT, O.S.B., informs me that some years ago he made a transcription of the Valladolid Diary, and that the number of students who left the English College there to become Benedictines was about forty; of these, thirty were professed.

[2] *Annales Collegii S. Albani in oppido Valesoleti* (*auctore Patre Joannes Blackjan*), published by J. H. POLLEN, S.J., pp. 57, 71, 86, Manresa, 1899.

Jesuits became more loud in their complaints. They appealed to the Nuncio ; they addressed the people ; they called on the Council of State to interfere and prevent both the reception of the postulants and the erection of the proposed mission ; and it was not until the Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo, after a careful examination of the several charges, had formally pronounced the allegations to be false, and the design of the new mission to be meritorious, that its opponents could be induced to suspend their hostility, and suffer the scheme to be carried into execution." [1] This decision quieted the opposition in Spain, but it was to be awakened with a bitter intensity once that scheme was put into operation at Douay.

Father Joseph Creswell's fight against this exodus from his Seminaries in Spain, was certainly excusable to a great extent. Father Creswell first came into prominence as Rector of the English College, Rome (1589–1592). After Father Persons' departure from Spain he was put at the head of the English Colleges there, and lived mostly at Madrid as the agent for the Colleges at the Spanish Court. The accusation brought against Creswell and his brother Jesuits, that the Society wished the entire monopoly of the English Mission, is one that goes to the very root of all the College difficulties of this period. It would be comparatively easy, therefore, to dismiss the charge against the Society as a corporate body, and put the blame on Persons, Holt, and Creswell, were it not that in spite of Clement VIII.'s decree of March 20, 1602, whereby permission was granted to establish a Benedictine mission in England, and in spite of the admission which had already been made that party spirit was partly the cause of the trouble in Spain, the same opposition of the Society occurred at Douay when it was first suggested to found an English Benedictine Monastery there. And yet to admit unconditionally the charge that the scheme the Society prosecuted was to have the whole glory of regaining England to the Faith, and that in order to accomplish this they endeavoured through thick and thin to obtain full control over all ecclesiastical affairs in the country, would be as Father Pollen has shown, the worst possible method of getting at the real truth. The English Benedictines themselves have done

[1] DODD-TIERNEY, vol. IV, p. 88, note.

very little to clear up these dissensions. Taunton's thinly-veiled prejudices have not helped us much to understand any better the case against the Jesuits. The "perfectly reckless misuse of evidence" Father Pollen accuses him of, is unfortunately true in this most delicate part of Benedictine history.[1] New evidence must be forthcoming on this very painful subject before a decision can be reached. The general character of the present thesis does not postulate a clearing up of all these difficulties. The more one reads of the original letters connected with the case, the less anxious one becomes to set down anything at all on this burning question of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[2] It is impossible not to be edified at the dignity and patience shown by the Benedictine leaders, and yet it is equally possible to defend the policy of the Society of Jesus. It was not altogether, as their opponents would have us believe, a mistaken policy, but a policy which was followed from the highest of motives—the conversion of England. The obvious motive of the opposition to the foundation at Douay was the fear that the Benedictines should have the same effect on the English College there as they had had at Valladolid. To obtain almost fifty scholars from one College in the course of a few years, was surely an event which ought to make the heads of other Colleges take measures to prevent the repetition of such an unparalleled migration. If fifty scholars to-day, for example, went from St. Edmund's College to Downside, either together or in succession, it would set the whole Secular Clergy in a ferment, and it would be morally impossible to persuade them to admit new Benedictine settlements at Ushaw and Oscott.

Immediately after the Decree of 1602, the *Spanish* Fathers began the project of erecting a separate Monastery for themselves. It needed to be near England, preferably on Spanish territory, and Douay, being at the same time a University centre for the English, appeared to them to be the logical place for their foundation. "English Catholicism,"

[1] POLLEN, *Rise, etc.*, p. 595.

[2] *Doctor Gifford in* 1586. *A Symposium by* DOM BUTLER, O.S.B., *and* FATHER JOHN H. POLLEN, S.J., in the *Month*, vol. CIII (1904), pp. 243-259, 348-367; HAUDECŒUR, *William Gifford, dit Gabriel de Sainte-Marie de l'ordre de Saint-Bénôit, 87e Archévêque de Reims* (Extract from vol. CIII, of the *Travaux de l'Académie de Reims*). Rheims, 1898.

says Meyer, "is not joined as closely with Rome itself by such a wealth of reminiscence as with this Flemish city."[1] Douay was, moreover, in the midst of the Benedictine life of the Low Countries, having as its neighbours the Monasteries of Arras, Marchiennes, and Anchin, besides being the home of the English Secular College, which was one of the main sources of vocations to the regular Orders.[2] In 1603, two of the Valladolid students who became Benedictines in the exodus of 1599, succeeded in gaining the help of the Abbot of Arras, de Caverel, to forward the work of providing a separate Monastery for the English monks. Five years of opposition on the part of the English Jesuits of Saint Omer and of Dr. Worthington, the President of the English College, Douay, were to follow these first steps towards the foundation of the Monastery of St. Gregory.[3]

2. *St. Gregory's Monastery at Douay and other English Benedictine Foundations.*

During the long delays caused by the opposition to the erection of the new establishment, the *Spanish* Benedictines opened a temporary house at Douay. Their learning was of such a high character that they became professors in the College of Marchiennes and in the University itself. The necessity of some special home for the English monks was growing more pressing every year, for St. Gregory's house which had been opened at Douay, was prospering so well under Dom Bradshaw, its Prior, who was also Vicar-General of the *Spanish* Benedictines and had been Chaplain-General of the English regiment in Flanders, that a Monastery would soon be needed.[4] The Society had not been victors in the troubles in Spain or in Flanders. The climax came soon in the trend of affairs. The Jesuits dropped into the background of the fight, but the President of Douay carried on single-handed the work of hindering the progress of the Benedictines.

[1] MEYER, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

[2] TAUNTON, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 26–27.

[3] *A Brief History of the Anglo-Benedictine Congregation, from a manuscript discovered in the Archives of St. Edmund's Abbey, Douay*, article by D.C., in the *Douay Magazine*, vol. VII (1902), June, pp. 129–139.

[4] *The Makers of Saint Gregory's Downside*, article in *England under the old Religion and other Essays*, by GASQUET, pp. 263–288. London, 1912.

Between 1606 and 1608 the struggle went on bitterly, and several times the case seemed hopeless for the English monks. Worthington, who now assumed a leading part in the unpleasant business, appealed to the Nuncio, Caraffa, at Brussels, for the ejection of the Order from the town.[1] The *Douay Diaries* are silent about his share in the quarrel, but we know that one of the main causes of his dislike for the new Monastery was the unhappy state of the English College itself at the time. The ruin he was causing in the College, which was due in large part to his own incompetency, was arousing dissatisfaction among the students, and many in consequence were going over to the Benedictines. When Dr. Gifford, after his banishment from Lille, was made Rector of the University of Rheims, the English Benedictines obtained through his influence from Cardinal Charles of Lorraine, Archbishop of Nancy, the old collegiate church of St. Lawrence at Dieulouard.[2] Dom Bradshaw took possession of the property on December 2, 1606. The English monks had now a secure refuge in case they should eventually be driven out of Douay by their enemies. Dr. Worthington had gained nothing by his opposition except to disturb his own household and to increase the dissensions among the students. The matter was now brought before the authorities at Rome, but was so delayed that all hope of a settlement seems to have been given up for a time. The energy of the new community was spent

[1] "Father Taunton and his authorities ascribe to the Jesuits all Dr. Worthington's opposition to St. Gregory's at Douay at the time when this College was founded. But the evidence on which he relies is, to say the least, very hazardous. There is extant a letter from Dr. Worthington to Father Persons, written some years before the outbreak, in which he transfers to him a vow of obedience which he had made to Allen during Allen's lifetime. From this fact Father Taunton unhesitatingly concludes (vol. II, pp. 44–48), that Worthington's administration of the College must in all respects have been enjoined on him by the Jesuits. But whatever presumption in favour of this conclusion might otherwise have been deducible from the fact of such a vow (and after all personal vows of this kind are not generally intended to have such far-reaching effects), the presumption is destroyed utterly by the direct evidence to the contrary. The Nuncio in Flanders, through whose hands all the transactions passed, assured Father Augustine Bradshaw, O.S.B., that it was not true that the Jesuits were at the bottom of the opposition made to him (CAMM, *op. cit.*, p. 197 note) and the Jesuits themselves assured Father Anselm that the opposition to Douay did not come from them, and that they were seeking a thorough remedy (DODD-TIERNEY, vol. IV, p. ccxvi; vol. V, p. iv)." POLLEN, *Rise, etc.*, p. 586.

[2] DOM ALMOND, O.S.B., *St. Lawrence's Monastery, Ampleforth.* Ampleforth, 1897; DODD-TIERNEY, vol. IV, pp. 89, ccv; *Arch. Dioc. West.*, vol. VIII, f. 400.

meanwhile in consolidating the work at St. Lawrence's, where, in August, 1608, monastic life was begun.

Rome at last gave a decision. A memorial, drawn up by Dom Anselm in 1608, contains convincing answers to the eight objections brought against the Benedictines by their opponents. This was presented to the Pope together with a long letter to the same effect, and by a Decree dated December 10, 1608 (entitled *Regulae observandae a Patribus Ordinis Sancti Benedicti et Patribus Societatis Jesu ad eam quam inter religiosos esse oportet concordiam conservandam ad cultus divini et fidei catholicae in regno Angliae propagationem a Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Paulo Papa V. in Sacra Inquisitionis Congregatione ordinatae die decima Decembris*, 1608), it was decided that all should be silent on the question for the future; that the Jesuits should not prevent pupils in their Colleges from becoming religious, that the Benedictines or other religious should not entice or exhort any pupil in the Jesuit Colleges to join their Monasteries; and that all difficulties for the future must be referred to the Cardinal Protector. This decree, with its subsequent confirmation in April, 1609, gave the required ecclesiastical permission for the foundation of St. Gregory's at Douay. It did not quiet the faction adverse to the monks, who experienced great trouble in obtaining the necessary legal permission from the Courts of Brussels and Madrid; but by 1610, they had overcome all their difficulties, and Philip de Caverel, the generous Abbot of St. Vedast, in Arras, now came forward with the necessary means, as he had promised five years before, and the building of the new Monastery was begun. It was finished, in October, 1611, and the English monks, after an interval of fifty years, began again singing the divine office in common.[1] Caverel had given them an annual sum of about two hundred pounds in our present money, and, encouraged by the growth of the Monastery (whose subjects numbered about eighty monks in 1614) and by the efforts made to bring about a union of the three branches of English monks, he endowed St. Gregory's with an annual pension of 2000 florins for the purpose of supporting twelve monks, though the Prior was left free to

[1] Dom Norbert Birt, O.S.B., *The History of Downside School*, p. 16. London, 1902.

take in as many as the house could support. The Deed of Foundation gave the Abbot of St. Vedast seigneurial rights over St. Gregory's, and in it Caverel reserved to himself and his successors the privilege of confirming the election of the Prior. The powers of visitation he reserved also to himself, and ordained that the financial status of the Monastery should be presented annually to the Abbot of St. Vedast. This Deed of Foundation was confirmed by the Bull *Copiosa sedis apostolicae benignitas* of Urban VIII., June 3, 1626.

One of the objects Caverel had in view in promoting the English foundation was to supply professors to his new College of St. Vedast in Douay.[1] From the beginning of

[1] *Vat. Libr., Bibl. Barb.*, t. 6319, avvisi of December 13, 1636, announcing Caverel's death. The saintly Abbot of St. Vedast had settled 10,000 florins a year upon the English monastery. This money seems to have been put out at interest in the *Monts de Piété* at Brussels, from which they received an annual interest of 6¼ per cent. (Cf. PIRENNE, *Histoire de Belgique*, t. IV. pp. 441–444. Brussels, 1911.) It was a precarious system at the best, and the constant regulations of the Government and of the Holy See (cf. CAUCHIE-MAERE, *Récueil*, p. 215) to keep the Lombards within just bounds rendered it a fluctuating security. Cf. letter of Barberini to the Nuncio, Stravius, Rome, April 17, 1638: "I monaci benedettini inglesi del monastero di san Gregorio di Duay hanno il capitale delle rendite loro com'essi rappresentano ne monti della pietà di Fiandra, et intendo che per le occorrenze presenti i ministri regij pensino di valersene, han supplicato Nostro Signore a significare a monsignor di Cambrai, et ordinare a V.S. che assistono loro afinche quando pure ciò non potessi evitarsi si assegnino almeno ad essi rendite equivalenti, onde possino sostentarsi. M'ha ordinato però Sua Beatitudine, di scriverne come faccio a monsignor sudetto a cui vengono raccomandati gl'interessi loro, e di commettere a V.S., che gli aiuti in tutto ciò che potra, come s'attendera, ch'ella faccia, etc." (*Vat. Libr., Bibl. Barb.*, t. 6142, f. 27.) The economic affairs of the Anglo-Benedictine Congregation deserve as detailed a collection of statistics as Foley has published for the Jesuits. But the loss of so many of the account-books in the haste to escape the horrors of the French Revolution renders this practically impossible. One gets the impression of the Congregation being supported generously, and no doubt this gave rise to a generous use of the funds, in which loss and gain accounts were lost sight of in the general progress of the Missions, the Monasteries, and the Colleges. In the Propaganda Archives several references and letters were found concerning a misuse of the Congregation's funds by Dom Humphrey Peto (Placid de Sahagun), but without further explanatory letters they are useless (cf. *Prop. Arch., Scritt. Antiche*, t. 150, f. 310: David Codner to Propaganda, London, October 19, 1631; t. 133, f. 250, Sigibert Bagshaw to Propaganda, Douay, January 20, 1633). In 1646, the President of the Congregation, Dom Wilfrid Selby, who had spent long years at Rome as Procurator to the Order, petitioned Propaganda for a small church in Rome, S. Nicholas sotto Campidoglio, in order that they might collect some revenues for the College at Douay (*Prop. Arch., Scritt. Ant.*, t. 412 (*Memoriali di* 1646), f. 114; *Atti*, 1646–1647, Cong. 20, f. 268; *Vat. Libr., Bibl. Barb.*, t. 8624, no. 27); whether they obtained this or not is not known. The main sources of their revenues, like those of all the other teaching colleges, were revenues from endowments, legacies, pious foundations, gifts, tuition and pension fees of the students, and collections made by missioners in England. At the time they asked for the church in Rome the English merchants of Leghorn and of Naples

St. Gregory's the English Benedictines had been professors at the Marchiennes College, and about the year 1608, according to Dom Birt's calculation, they had opened an English school attached to their own house in the town. In 1621 the Abbot of Marchiennes decided to change his staff of professors,

petitioned the Holy See to send Benedictine monks from Douay to these ports, but they do not seem to have accepted the charge (*Prop. Arch.*, *Scritt. Ant.*, t. 412, (*Memoriali di* 1646), ff. 231–240). The Benedictines suffered also during the Commonwealth and Protectorate (1649–1660), when practically all communication with the missions was cut off; and they were just recovering from the effects of this, when the Oates Plot occurred (1678), and again they faced poverty until the end of Charles II.'s reign (1685). It is not surprising, therefore, to find St. Gregory's Monastery mentioned in the Nuncio's letter of June 24, 1679, as being in great want and needing immediate help. It was the Nuncio's opinion that the Colleges and Seminaries should be helped first, the Convents afterwards (*Vat. Arch.*, *Nunz. di Fiandra*, t. 69). In the List drawn up for the Holy See (*ibid.*, t. 66), the Monastery at Douay numbered thirteen monks and seventy-five students. At first they were allotted 816 florins (*ibid.*, t. 72, f. 163), but subsequently received 1620 (*ibid.*, t. 71, f. 162; *Vat. Libr.*, *Bibl. Barb.*, t. 8621, f. 48, Augustine Howard, Prior of St. Gregory's, to Barberini, thanking the Holy See for the money sent, Douay, October 7, 1679). This papal subsidy bridged over the last years of Charles II.'s reign, and when James came to the throne, the second Catholic Revival took place, and they were on a better financial footing. But, after the Revolution (1688), many of the Benedictine monks fled from England and took refuge at St. Gregory's. This added burden almost ruined the Monastery, for the Nuncio informed the Holy Father on April 1, 1689, that unless the Holy See ameliorated the sad state of the English Benedictines at Douay, the College would be obliged to close. They were starving when he wrote (cf. *ibid.*, t. 79). There is little doubt that money of the Congregation found its way to the Stuart Cause. The King, Charles II., and the Duke of York had always professed a particular affection for the Benedictines, and the Nuncio reports to Rome (*Vat. Arch.*, *Nunz. di Fiandra*, t. 44, July 26, 1660), that the English monks had contributed very much to the Stuart party, so much so that Chancellor Hyde held them up to the Jesuits and all other English ecclesiastics as models of loyalty to the King. The Procurator at Rome, Dom Bernard Palmes, O.S.B., was in constant correspondence with Hyde. That they recovered only to have more harrowing poverty thrust upon them during the days when *Marlbroucque s'en va-t-en guerre*, is evident from the number of vocations during the first half of the eighteenth century. They had escaped the general shipwreck which threatened the exiles, only to enter upon a long decline of a hundred years which nothing could alter. Beyond a few account-books saved from the havoc at the moment they left for England, there are sources such as the Book of Benefactors, now preserved at Downside, but they contain little for the earlier part of the eighteenth century. In the *Tableau des Abbayes et des Monastères d'hommes en France, à l'époque de l'édit de* 1768 *rélatif a l'assemblée générale du Clergé*, published by M. PEIGNE-DELACOURT at Arras, 1875, we learn that at the time of the French Revolution, St. Gregory's consisted of forty monks, with an annual revenue of 5464 florins. The Monastery of St. Edmund's at Paris was richer proportionately, having twenty-two monks, with an income of 4250 florins. When the school became French in 1785, better times set in for the whole establishment, for "a study of an account-book of that period shows that the French boys were required to pay handsomely for the privilege of admission." (BIRT, *op. cit.*, p. 66.) For an account of the loss of English Benedictine property in France after the Revolution, cf. GASQUET, *England under the old Religion and other Essays*, pp. 314–326. London, 1911.

and discharged his own religious and the English Fathers to make room for the Jesuits. The opening of the new College of St. Vedast was fortunately well-timed, and when the English monks began teaching there they drew a large number of their former pupils with them. At that period only two schools for English Catholic boys existed in Flanders —Douay and Saint Omer—and the necessity of providing a suitable education for the future generation of Catholics grew more apparent as the hopes which English Catholics entertained for toleration under Charles I. grew more substantial.[1] The studies in the school in the beginning were of an elementary character, preparing the boys for the more arduous studies of philosophy and theology; but they were so arranged that at the end of the College course the young students who were not destined to enter the priesthood were equally prepared to take their place in the world. As the boys grew older they went to the College of St. Vedast, adjoining that of St. Gregory's, for lectures in philosophy, in which studies the Summa of St. Thomas was the text-book, followed by master and pupil alike. Vocations to the secular and religious priesthood naturally increased. Some went to Douay and became secular priests; others went to the Jesuit novitiate at Watten; but the majority of those who became priests joined the Monastery itself. No catalogue of the alumni is in existence, though the materials are plentiful. St. Gregory's also supplied the other English Benedictine monasteries of Dieulouard, Lambspring, St. Malo, and Paris with novices. The full number of students, from the beginning of the College down to the French Revolution, was about eleven hundred. We can, however, reach a comparative estimate from the account-books, from the Council-Book of the Monastery, which gives the status of the house from 1684 to 1726, and from the sodality lists, which give over seven hundred names. It would be difficult, however, owing to the dual

[1] Belgium was just then (1598–1621) experiencing the benefits of the true reformation of the Church from an educational standpoint: apart from the Jesuit Colleges, the Augustinians had begun eleven Colleges in the principal centres of the country; the Dominicans had opened four more; the Premonstratensians, one; and the Benedictines, one, at Douay. Educational activity in Belgium had gone up by leaps and bounds during the first fifty years under the new hierarchy, and Douay was the heart of all this intellectual energy. It was logically the only place for the new English foundation.

nature of the College taught by the English Benedictines, to compile a catalogue of the students, for it must be remembered that the two Colleges of St. Gregory and St. Vedast were under the same roof, and the latter, having nearly four hundred students constantly on its register, would take precedence in all matters of ceremony and distinction, so that the English contingent, especially because of the friendly intimacy between the two, would be somewhat lost sight of. Lewis Owen gives the number as about forty in 1626. The number fluctuated between thirty and forty until 1661. A list of the community (priests, choir-religious, and lay-brothers) from 1621 to 1710 will be found in Weldon.[1] In the distribution of 1682 we learn that there were thirty-three English monks in the Monastery itself, and that the school had fifty-five English boys. In the Parliamentary Report of 1700 the number is given as fifty-nine. In 1769–1770 a new monastery and College were erected, through the generosity of the Superior, the Abbot of St. Vedast at Arras, and through that of numerous friends in England. It is significant that the College of St. Gregory was exempted by the French Government from teaching or holding the Declaration of 1682 on the Gallican liberties. In 1762 they were offered the suppressed College of Saint Omer, but they refused, for fear that the acceptance of it might destroy the harmony between them and the clergy.

In 1779 St. Gregory's became the general house of the Congregation for the training of postulants, novices, and junior monks of all the other houses, Lambspring excepted, while St. Lawrence's, Dieulouard, became the preparatory school for the novitiate. Indirectly, this change had a disastrous effect upon the boys' school. It brought about a lack of harmony in the Benedictine houses, and English families, accustomed to send their sons to St. Gregory's to prepare themselves for a career in the world, hesitated to send them to a school which had now become primarily a novitiate for the Order. It was soon recognized that St. Gregory's had lost its place among the

[1] Dom Birt, O.S.B., who has so ably co-operated with Abbot Gasquet in making the history of the English Benedictines better known, has completed the Catalogue of the Alumni, which will be published in the *Downside Review* this year. It is, however, very fragmentary up to 1690.

Colleges for English boys, and the Prior, Dom Jerome Sharrock, decided to open its doors to French and Belgians, as well as to English and Irish.[1] Between 1780 and 1785 more than two-thirds of the School, which then numbered over eighty pupils, were either French or Belgian.[2] It remained a distinctly French school under English masters until the abandonment of Douay, in 1795.

In Dechriste's well-written sketch, *Douai pendant la Révolution*, we find a rapid sketch of the events which overtook the English Benedictines from 1789 to their return to England in 1795. The first law, dated November 7, 1790, granted the right to administration of the foreign establishments to their actual superiors; but all religious on French soil were forbidden to appear in their habits in public. This decree was followed by another, March 8, 1793, which declared all Colleges in France confiscated to the nation. Foreign foundations were exempt from this confiscation. After the declaration of war against England, by a decree of October 10, 1793, all British subjects were arrested as prisoners of war, and their property confiscated. The English Benedictines of St. Gregory's were arrested before this law came into effect. On August 9, 1793, they were imprisoned in their country house at Esquerchin, on the outskirts of Douay. The community consisted of thirty-one members, with Dom Jerome Sharrock as Prior. An attempt was made to escape from Esquerchin, but only half their number succeeded in reaching England. The rest were captured and brought back to their former prison. In the beginning of October, 1793, they returned to Douay, and were made prisoners in their own house. On the 16th they were taken, together with the boys and professors of the English College of Douay, to the citadel of Doullens. Here they remained, living in edifying harmony with the Secular Clergy for a whole year. On November 26, 1794, they were taken back to Douay, and imprisoned in the Irish College. Their poverty was extreme, and their hopes of ever occupying

[1] *Catholic Magazine*, July, 1831.

[2] Dom Birt, O.S.B., mentions only one American Benedictine in his edition of SNOW'S *Obit Book*. This was Dom Richard Paul Chandler, born in Maryland, educated at St. Gregory's Douay, and professed there, December 28, 1705. He was ordained in 1710, and died at Douay, April 12, 1712. There are four other American names on the College Register during the eighteenth century.

the old cloisters of St. Gregory's were now abandoned.[1] The news of the safe arrival in England of so many of the other English communities turned their thoughts to their own country, and a petition to the Committee of Public Safety of Douay was made, asking for permission to return also. This was granted, and on March 2, 1795, they took passage on board an American vessel at Calais, and arrived the same evening at Dover. At first they were generously housed by an old student of St. Gregory's, Sir Edward Smythe, at Acton Burnell, where they found some of the Dieulouard monks, who had succeeded in reaching England before them. The School was re-established under the name of "Acton Burnell College." Here they remained until 1814, when they settled in their present residence, the Monastery and school of Downside.

The foundation of St. Lawrence's Monastery at Dieulouard has already been explained. Had their former opponents succeeded in forcing them out of Douay in the beginning, St. Lawrence's would naturally have become the centre of English Benedictine life, for the other two Monasteries, St. Malo and Paris, did not attract English boys. Indeed, it is a question whether there would have been any successful College at all, for Dieulouard never had more than a small school for the boys of the neighbourhood, and Lambspring was too far away from England to keep up the small College for English boys begun there. St. Lawrence's Monastery soon grew beyond its capacity, and in 1611, two of its monks, both of whom, Dom Gabriel Gifford[2] and Dom John Barnes, became

[1] *Le dernier chapitre de l'histoire des Bénédictins anglais de Douai*, article by RÉNÉ FAUCHEUX in the *Memoires de la Société d'Agriculture, Sciences et Arts, du département du Nord*. 3rd Series, t. VIII (1904), p. 215.

[2] Dr. William Gifford, the first English monk professed at St. Lawrence's Dieulouard was one of the greatest English Benedictines of his time. He was born in Hampshire, 1554, the grandson of Sir George Throckmorton. Educated at Oxford by Dr. Bridgewater, D.D., the author of the very valuable *Concertatio* and one of the most reliable of all our Elizabethan historians, with whom he fled to Louvain in 1573, he took his degree of M.A. at the University, and followed for a time the theological lectures of Bellarmin. From Louvain he went to the Sorbonne, and later to the English College, Rome, where he was admitted in September, 1579 (FOLEY, *Records, S.J.*, vol. VI, p. 139). Ordained priest in 1582, in July of that same year he was given the chair of Divinity at the English College, Rheims (KNOX, *Douay Diaries*, pp. 154, 188). He went to Rome in 1591 as almoner to Cardinal Allen, a position similar to that which he had held in the household of St. Charles Borromeo at Milan. He was nominated to the Deanery of Lille in 1597, and after his withdrawal in 1606, was made Rector Magnificus of the University of Rheims. In 1608, he made his profession at

celebrated, though in a different way, while on their way to Spain, to beg for help in the financial difficulties which had

St. Lawrence's, and nine years later was a leading member of the Paris Conference which resulted in the union of the three branches of the Order then on the English missions. Consecrated Bishop of Archidalia *in partibus* in 1617, he succeeded the Cardinal Archbishop of Rheims in 1621, and so became Archbishop and Duke of Rheims, First Peer of France and Legate of the Holy See. He was numbered amongst the most eloquent preachers of the time. He died in 1629, leaving behind him in his diocese a reputation for eminent learning and sanctity. His political activity dates from his entrance into the Faculty at Douay, in 1582, and no final judgment has yet been passed upon his motives in this regard. It is one of the obscure pages in the history of the exiles, and one deserving a fuller treatment than has yet been given. Gillow's account (*Dict. Eng. Cath. Biog.*, vol. II, pp. 457–461) is unsatisfactory, and Haudecoeur's little sketch of twenty-one pages (HAUDECOEUR, *William Gifford*. Rheims, 1898) does not enter into his connection with the plots which centre around Mary Stuart. Dom Butler, O.S.B., and Fr. J. H. Pollen, S.J., have published a joint explanation of his political tendencies in the *Month* (March and April, 1904). Gifford had identified himself at the beginning with the Morgan-Paget faction, and was considered by the authorities at Madrid as a formidable opponent of Philip II.'s schemes (*Vat. Arch.*, *Nunz. di Spagna*, vol. 46, ff. 678, 680, 681–686). A letter of Gifford to Thos. Throckmorton in 1595 concerning the Conference about the *Next Succession*, which was intercepted and sent to the Queen's Council in London, and by them to the King of Scotland, numbered him among the future King's friends, and when James I. came to the throne, he was commissioned by the Nuncio of Brussels to go to London for the purpose of offering in the Pope's name (Clement VIII.) to recall all those whom His Majesty should reasonably judge to be harmful to the kingdom and State; by which phrase is understood the English Jesuits and the leaders of the Spanish party. The Instructions given him on this occacion by the Nuncio Frangipani, dated Brussels, August 1, 1603, are very clear (*Vat. Arch.*, *Archivio Borghese II*, vol. 64–65, f. 138); his Report to Cardinal Aldobrandini, the following August (*ibid.*, *II*, vol. 448 ab, f. 129), contains little more than what we already know about the good dispositions of the King towards the Catholics. He had been attacked in 1596 by the English Jesuits, Persons and Holt, and had appealed to Aldobrandini to be defended at Rome against them (*ibid.*, *III*, vol. 85b, no. 5, fol. 27, s.d. original; cf. *Nunz. di Fiandra*, vol. 14, October, 1596). His official position at the Nuncio's Court in Brussels as advisor on English affairs (*ibid.*, *III*, vol. 124 gl., f. 27) brought him into the brunt of the attack which seems to have increased; for in August, 1606, the English Agent Edmondes writes to Salisbury that "the wrong which the poore Dr. Giffourd hath received by their [the Jesuits'] means for the profession which he hath made of better sinceritie and more naturall affection to His Majestie and the State geiveth me occasion to continue to be a suitor unto Your Lordship for him" (*P.R.O.*, *Flanders Correspondence*, vol. 8, p. 152). This letter was caused no doubt by Gifford's letter to Edmondes some time before this, telling him of the orders he had received to depart from the Archduke's dominions within twenty days—"the result of Owen and Baldwin's wicked and false information concerning me" (*ibid.*, pp. 205-206; cf. also *Vat. Libr.*, *Bibl. Barb.*, t. 5919, fol. 204 ss). It is not to be wondered at therefore that after his profession in 1608, Gifford should have taken so prominent a part against his old enemies in forwarding the erection of St. Gregory's. For Dr. Worthington, the President of Douay, as an opponent to the foundation of the Benedictines at Douay, Dom Augustine Bradshaw has nothing but contempt. Worthington's line of conduct, presumably under the direction of Persons, had lost him all authority in the College and all reputation for prudence outside among the Clergy. Bradshaw ridicules his pretensions to learning and speaks of him as one of those "qui jurarunt in verba et

overtaken Dieulouard, were induced by the Bishop of St. Malo to found an off-shoot of their Monastery in that town. Dom

consilia Personii Jesuitarumque nostratum, nihilque audeant praestare, nisi quod ipsis videant placiturum" (DODD-TIERNEY, vol. V, p. xxii). How far Worthington's opposition had progressed may be seen in Edmondes' letter to Salisbury, Brussels, January 22, 1606–1607: "The President of the English College at Douay, called Doctor Worthington (who is wholly the Jesuits' creature) hath been lately to sue unto the Archduke that one White [Bradshaw] a Benedictine friar, may not be suffered to procede to the erecting of a College of English Students of the order at Douay, as he has in hand to do; the said President pretending to desire the restraint thereof, for that the said new Company would be an occasion to overthrow the other College under his Charge, which is of ancienter foundation, but the speciall reason is that the Jesuits will not allow of any Seminaries but such as they may absolutely govern, and to have the means to chose out of them the best spirits, to draw unto their Society, and therefore Baldwin did interest himself and join with the President in the presenting of that suit" (*P.R.O., Flanders Correspondence*, vol. VIII, p. 239v). It was the policy of the Holy See, however, to avoid a repetition of the conflict which had occurred (1599–1603) at the Seminary in Valladolid, and accordingly when the projected foundation of St. Gregory's caused disorder at the English College in Douay, the Nuncio in Brussels was advised by Rome, February 17, 1607, to persuade the English Benedictines that it would be better to erect their monastery in some other town than Douay. The Nuncio was advised to use the greatest possible tact, for the English were so apt, so the Instructions ran, to quarrel amongst themselves (*Vat. Libr., Bibl. Barb.*, t. 5919, ff. 215–216). In the Instructions given to Bentivoglio, the Nuncio at Brussels (May, 1607–1621), dated Rome, July 5, 1607, he was ordered to procure by every mark of charity harmony between the Seculars and the Regulars in England, and to prevent the quarrel between the Jesuits and Benedictines from assuming a larger scope. Caraffa, his predecessor, had urged the necessity of erecting the monastery away from Douay, and had tried to impress upon the Benedictines what little fruit could be expected if they were to live in conflict with the English College authorities. At Rome it was thought that, in spite of the appearance of good the Benedictines had in view in founding at Douay, nevertheless their motives were not without self-seeking, namely, to set themselves in opposition to the progress made by the Jesuits and to hinder them in their work for the Church in England. "Tentano li benedettini d'erigere in Duaco un seminario et, se bene l'opera ha apparenza di pia, non di meno ha per fine l'interesse proprio, ciò è d'opporsi a progressi de' padri gesuiti et impedire i lor disegni per servitio de le cose d'Inghilterra" (CAUCHIE-MAERE, *Récueil des Instructions Générales aux Nonces de Flandre*, 1596–1635, p. 32. Brussels, 1904). To this persuasion the Benedictines turned a deaf ear, and there is no doubt that the power influencing them was the Rector Magnificus of Rheims. The Holy See finally began to tire of the quarrel, and a strict inquiry was begun at Rome. We possess the lists of gravamina sent to the Pope by both Benedictines and Jesuits. Thomas Law published the list drawn up by the Jesuits (T. G. LAW, *The Jesuits and Benedictines in England*, 1602–1608, in the *EHR*, vol. VI, (1889), pp. 730–738), and Father Anselm's answers are in TIERNEY'S DODD, vol. IV, pp. ccviii–ccxviii. DOM BEDE CAMM published another version (1606), *op. cit.*, p. 196, from the *Westminster Archives*, vol. VIII, p. 87, while the *Stonyhurst Archives, Anglia VI*, 74, p. 332, contain another (1610), entitled *Rationes prohibendi Benedictinos*. Both sides fought the battle vigorously at Rome (*Vat. Libr., Bibl. Barb.*, t. 5919, ff. 293, 307), although the Holy See had decided (October 27, 1607) that force should not be used to persuade them to settle elsewhere (*Vat. Arch., Archivio Borghese III*, vol. 45c, ff. 7–11; *I*, vol. 42-49). The Benedictines won their case finally; for on November 3, 1607, the Nuncio was ordered to allow them to begin the foundation at Douay (*Vat. Libr., Bibl. Barb.*,

Gifford became Prior of the new English Monastery and also theologian of the Bishop, and Dom Barnes "taught casuistry in the cathedral," while the six other monks who had been sent from Dieulouard to join them "sweated in the confessionals and pulpits." Gifford's part in the Benedictine reform of the time attracted the attention of Richelieu and the leading ecclesiastics of France, and in 1618 he was consecrated Bishop of Archidalia and coadjutor of the Cardinal Archbishop of Rheims, whom he succeeded in 1621, and thus became Duke and first Peer of France. He died at Rheims, April 10, 1629, at the age of seventy-five. St. Benedict's Monastery at St. Malo had but a lingering existence, and by the acceptance of French Benedictines, it soon lost its distinctly English character.[1] Support came meagrely to the new foundation, and in 1672 it was finally abandoned and sold to the Maurist

t. 5919, f. 311). What happened between this order to the Nuncio of November 3, 1607, and the decree of December 10, 1608, is not known. The quarrel continued more bitterly than ever, especially because the English Secular Clergy so much resented Worthington's interference, whether voluntary or advised, that they were clamouring for his resignation. In June, 1608, the Nuncio was again advised by the authorities at Rome to assist the Benedictines in their plans for St. Gregory's, because of the excellence of the work they were doing on the English Mission (*Vat. Libr., Bibl. Barb.*, t. 5919, f. 386). The decision of December 10, 1608, did not put an end to the dissensions, and on January 10, 1609, Bentivoglio sent an interesting letter to the Cardinal Secretary relating the whole quarrel, in which he sees, and perhaps quite justly, no element of jealousy on the part of the Jesuits, nor an overweening ambition to dominate the ecclesiastical education of the English youth, nor to control the missionary activities of the priests, but simply the unfortunate fact that once more in the history of the exiles must the historian chronicle an appalling example of that naïveté which allowed both factions to be made the pawns of one of the cleverest rogues in Europe—Robert Cecil (Cf. *Vat. Libr., Bibl. Barb.*, t. 5880, f. 402 verso). There is another account from the pen of Bentivoglio, dated January 31, 1609, in the *Arch. Borg. I*, vol. 190, f. 42 (*Fondazione dei Benedettini a Douai*); copies of the *Relatione d'Inghilterra* are in vols. 290–302, 383–385. The supplementary Decree of April 23, 1609 (DODD-TIERNEY, vol. IV, p. ccxviii) settled the quarrel, though it did not reconcile the two parties, and the fact that appeals and counter-appeals did not follow this decree is due in great measure to the firmness and the tact of the Nuncio. (Cf. *Vat. Libr., Bibl. Barb.*, t. 5919, f. 486, where Bentivoglio is thanked by the Holy See for having settled matters so well between the opposing factions). The English agent at Brussels, Edmondes, whose letters from the time of the Powder Plot till his recall contain all the small and scandalous gossip against the Jesuits, reported on May 26, 1609, to Salisbury: "I understand that the Pope not knowing what to determyne in the complaints of the continuall dissentions between the English Jesuits and the Benedicteins, he hath geiven them this generall answeare, that if they do not better agree, he will revoke both the orders out of England; which doth much displease the Jesuitts, that the Benedicteins should be putt into such equall ranck with them." *P.R.O., Flanders Correspondence*, vol. 9, p. 263.

[1] OLIVER, *Collections, etc.*, p. 484.

ST. ALBERT'S COLLEGE LIBRARY

congregation. During its uneventful history, only fourteen monks were professed.[1]

The history of St. Lawrence's is that of a Monastery out of the current of English activity and of the different discussions and dissensions which variegated the life at Douay. The house was one of strict observance and gave great edification to all. Its reputation grew, and postulants arrived in good numbers, and within the first twenty years of its monastic life (1608–1628), over fifty choir-monks were professed. The war of 1636, the pestilence and high cost of living had a bad effect on St. Lawrence's, and in order to assist it in this crisis the Monastery was made the common novitiate of the Anglo-Benedictine Congregation (1673). Two years later this arrangement had to be given up, for it was hard to attract the English boys from Belgium. The Monastery diminished continually in numbers, though never in real religious spirit, until the French Revolution, when it was swallowed up in the vortex of confiscation and suppression. The escape of the monks from Dieulouard is another of the terrible pages of this unhappy period. After their arrival in England in 1793, they lived at Acton Burnell. An attempt was made to amalgamate the Laurentians with the Gregorians, but they decided to remain separate communities, and in 1802 they went to their present home at Ampleforth, which still retains the name of St. Lawrence's Monastery.

Another foundation was made also from Dieulouard in 1611, at Chelles, where several of the English monks had gone on the invitation of the Abbess to act as confessors and chaplains to the royal convent there. It was this Abbess who later on (1615) resolved to found a house for the English monks in Paris itself, in order that they might have a residence for their pupils at the University. Before this house was ready for them, six of the Dieulouard monks, to relieve the necessitous condition of their Monastery, began

[1] Difficulty over the question of their independence from episcopal jurisdiction arose in the time of the Bishop Achilles de Harlay of St. Malo (1632–1646), and they appealed to Propaganda to help them in the affair (cf. *Prop. Arch.*, *Atti*, 1634, Congr. 153, no. 20 (*Litterae commendatoriae pro monachis Benedictinis anglis de S. Malo in Gallia*); and the next year the Nuncio of Paris informs the Cardinals of Propaganda, April 10, 1635, that he has written to the monks to assure them that their rights and privileges will be protected (*ibid.*, *Scritture Antiche*, t. 105, f, 195).

a temporary priory at Montacute College in Paris. Later they moved into their new home in the Faubourg St. Jacques, which they enjoyed rent-free, besides having an annual grant of nearly £300 for their support from the Abbess at Chelles. It was at St. Edmund's Monastery, in Paris, as the new house was called, that the meetings took place between the representatives of the three congregations at the time of the Union.[1] When Dom Francis Waldegrave, the superior of the house which was still kept up at Chelles in connection with the royal convent, began, together with the Abbess, to oppose the Union, the English monks left the house she had procured for them and took up their residence in the Faubourg St. Germain. This was also called the Monastery of St. Edmund's. Waldegrave and the anti-unionists were dismissed from Chelles by the Abbess in 1627; they retired for a while to the College of Marmortier in Paris, and later took possession of a Monastery at La Celle en Brie. This Monastery of St. Peter and St. Paul, when Waldegrave made his submission to the Anglo-Benedictine Congregation in 1634, was made over to St. Edmund's and became the novitiate of the Paris Monastery. The Monastery of St. Edmund's was the leading English Catholic centre at Paris.[2]

[1] *Arch. Dioc. West.*, vol. XXXVI, ff. 503–769 *passim*.

[2] In Prior Doyle's sketch of St. Edmund's Monastery, Paris (*Downside Review*, vol. XXXII (July, 1913), pp. 125–147), there is no mention of any difficulty between the Anglo-Benedictines and the ecclesiastical authorities of Paris. There is no doubt that their refusal to comply with the wishes of the Abbess of Chelles, the Princess Marie de Lorraine, cost them dear; and the few items of information found at Rome for this period in their existence (1623–1640) do not shed much light on the topic. DAUMET'S volume (*Notices sur les Etablissements réligieux anglais, écossais, et irlandais, fondés à Paris avant la Révolution.* Paris, 1912), deals mostly with the economical aspect of the British religious foundations at Paris just before the Revolution. The Propaganda Archives contain one or two letters which seem to hint at friction between the Congregation and the Archbishop of Paris. Dom Wilfrid Selby, O.S.B., then the Procurator of the Order at Rome, writes to Propaganda in 1631, begging the Cardinal to intercede with Richelieu and the Archbishop of Paris to aid the young community (*Prop. Arch., Scritt. Ant.*, t. 391 (*Memoriali del*, 1631), f. 454). The following year (1632) in the *Informazione* he sent to Propaganda (*ibid.*, t. 392 (*Memoriali del* 1632), f. 13 ss) we learn that the Anglo-Benedictines numbered eighty missioners in England, but that much difficulty had been caused by members of the Cassinese and Cluny Congregations who had gone there of their own accord, and who were without any superior. He recommends that all be placed under the President-General of the Anglo-Benedictine Congregation. Among other things he mentions the poverty of the Paris Monastery. The Nuncio at Paris writes to Ingoli, March 8, 1632 (*ibid.*, t. 392, f. 174), that Cardinal Gondi had at first refused permission to the foundation

James II. visited it often and was buried there in 1701.[1] Among other notable visitors were St. Francis de Sales, Samuel Johnson, and Benjamin Franklin who made the Monastery his home during the negotiations he was effecting with the French Government (1776–1784) for the young American republic. The Monastery suffered, as did all the houses during the last fifty years of the eighteenth century, and at one time it was thought advisable to give it up altogether. In 1790, the annual revenues were something over 26,000 livres. In the crash which followed the declaration of war in 1793, the community at St. Edmund's was broken up, and those who had not escaped were sent to prison. The decree of January 5, 1795, allowed them to take possession of their house again, but under the Directory in 1799, the house was again confiscated and ordered to be sold. The English Monks regained possession of it, however, till 1804, when it was amalgamated in the United Establishment under Dr. Walsh.[2] The Edmundian monks in 1818 entered into possession of the abandoned Monastery of St. Gregory's at Douay, and remained there till 1903, when the last confiscation of ecclesiastical property took place in France. They returned to England, taking up their residence at Douai Abbey, Woolhampton, where they now reside.

After the French Revolution the Lambspring Monastery alone remained out of the five abbeys given to the English Congregation. In 1621, the first project was to make it a Convent of Anglo-Benedictine nuns, but when the foundation of the Convent at Cambray took place in 1623, it was made a Monastery for men and soon became one of the centres of English Benedictine activity. From 1645 to 1802, one hundred and seventy-two professions took place there.[3] Eight

of St. Edmund's. Things could not have gone well with them, for in 1647, Propaganda was again appealed to for help (*ibid.*, t. 414 (*Memoriali del*, 1647), f. 317), or at least that they be recommended to Mazarin. It was only in 1654 that the Monastery was finally established on a solid financial basis (Cf. DOYLE, *ut supra*, p. 130).

[1] OLIVER, *Collections, etc.*, p. 488.

[2] *English Benedictine Property in France*, in GASQUET, *England under the old Religion and other Essays*, pp. 314–326. London, 1911; WARD, *Eve of Catholic Emancipation*, vol. I, p. 217 (*The Colleges on the Continent*); vol. II., p. 255 (*Recovery of the English Colleges in France*). London, 1911.

[3] Father James Corker, O.S.B., of this Monastery was received by James II. at his accession as resident ambassador of the Elector of Cologne. This appointment

abbots had reigned over the community when Lambspring was suppressed by the German Government in 1803. A small compensation was made by the Prussian Government to the English monks, and they returned to England. A proposition was made to merge their community with the Laurentians at Ampleforth, but it was not accepted by the Lambspring monks, who hoped to re-establish themselves as a separate community in England. An attempt was made in 1832, but six years later it was given up, and the few survivors cast in their lot with Fort Augustus on its foundation in 1876. That house is considered by the Benedictines to represent the old foundation of SS. Adrian and Denis in the English Congregation.

3. *The Politico-religious Activity of the Anglo-Benedictine Congregation*: 1621–1795.

The first idea of union among the English members of the Order, belonging to the three branches then at work on the Benedictine Mission (1610), namely, the *Spanish*, *Italian*, and English fathers grew out of the possible danger of friction arising from secondary differences of Rule. "Many meetings there had been about it, many articles conceived and proposed about the manner, and great expenses there had been in journeys upon this account."[1] The first series of these Articles was drawn up in 1610 and was ten in number.[2] "They acknowledged the necessity of union among the brethren, provided that all feuds and distinctions should be thenceforth abolished, and agreed to adopt such measures as were best calculated to render their observance permanent. The members of the several congregations in England were to be governed by a common Superior, elected by themselves, and subject to a code of regulations, to be previously drawn up and agreed to, for the government of the mission. The Spanish congregation was to renounce all claims to separate property, in favour of the general body. All donations and

enabled him to set up a quasi-embassy at Clerkenwell in 1686, which was in reality a Monastery. Cf. OLIVER, *Collections, etc.*, p. 495; *Vat. Arch.*, *Nunz. di Fiandra*, t. 13, f. 12.

[1] WELDON, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

[2] DODD-TIERNEY, vol. V, pp. ccxx-ccxxi (*Articles of Union between the Benedictines of the several congregations in England:* February 13, 1610).

bequests, not specially destined for the erection or support of a particular convent, were to be applied to the general purposes of the Mission; and all future professions were to be made in the English congregation. With a view to prevent misunderstanding, until the common Superior could be elected, it was further provided that, during the interval, each of the three Superiors of the English, Spanish, and Italian congregations should have an equal right of admitting postulants to the houses of the Order." [1]

There were great difficulties to be overcome in acceding to these articles. The English monks were in the possession of the traditions and privileges of the Benedictines of the past, through the Brief of Paul V. of December 24, 1612, which ratified what Dom Buckley had done in 1607 and 1609; the *Spanish* monks were in greater numbers, being almost ten to one; the *Italian* monks felt that they were to lose their standing in the Cassinese congregation and to gain nothing in return. This first project of union fell through. Another project was formed in 1612, which was more successful, but no Union was permanently effected until after the publication of the decree of Paul V., dated May 19, 1616, whereby the three congregations were ordered to proceed to an immediate Union. Nine definitors were chosen from the three bodies; these nine definitors met at Paris on June 1, 1617. They were DD. Leander Jones, vicar-general of the *Spanish* congregation; Robert Sadler, President of the English congregation; Gabriel Gifford, Prior of St. Malo's; Robert Haddock, Superior of the *Spanish* congregation in England; Rudesind Barlow, Prior of St. Gregory's at Douay; Edward Mayhew, Prior of St. Lawrence's Dieulouard; Benedict Jones, assistant vicar-general of the *Spanish* monks; Thomas Latham, professor of philosophy at Douay; and Sigibert Bagshaw, monk of the English congregation. The result of this meeting at Paris was the appointment of Dom Gabriel Gifford as first President of the United Congregation, with the General of the Spanish congregation of Valladolid as his Superior. The restored Anglo-Benedictine Congregation was approved by Paul V. in the Bull of August 23, 1619. Later that same year the *Italian* monks agreed to the Union, and at once

[1] DODD-TIERNEY, vol. V, p. 90 note.

preparations were made for the first General Chapter, which was eventually held at Douay, July 2, 1621. The ecclesiastical subordination of the Anglo-Benedictine Congregation to the General in Spain caused some friction, and a vigorous campaign against the Union was carried on by two of the *Spanish* monks, who maintained that the restoration of the old English Congregation was impossible, because no such congregation had existed in pre-Reformation days. It is in answer to this absurd charge that we owe the very excellent and scientific history of the Benedictines in England, the result of fifteen years' labour of Dom Augustine Baker, which is embodied in the *Apostolatus Benedictinorum in Anglia* of Dom Clement Reyner. Father Barnes, a leader of the *Spanish* party, was among those who opposed the amalgamation of the three congregations into one, and he wrote in support of his opinion of the non-existence of an old English Congregation, the book *Examen Trophaeorum Congregationis praetensae Anglicanae Ordinis S. Benedicti*, which he published at Rheims in 1622. This unfortunate man lost his reason some time after the publication of Reyner's reply in 1626, and was imprisoned at Paris, and later at Vilvorde Castle in Flanders, as a protection against himself.[1] Later on, he went to Rome, where he vigorously attacked the temporal power of the Pope, the legality of the Oath of Allegiance, the casuistry of the day, and the restored English Congregation.[2] He died in 1661 in an asylum, where he had been confined for thirty years. Dom Reyner replied to his *Examen* at the end of one of the editions of his *Apostolatus*.

A Decree of the Congregation of the Council, May 23, 1626, settled the dispute by deciding that previous to the dissolution of the Monasteries, the English monks constituted a true congregation of the Order of St. Benedict.[3]

[1] *Publ. Cath. Rec. Soc.*, vol. I, Misc. I, p. 103 (*Note-book of John Southcote, D.D.*). London, 1905. Cf. *Vat. Libr., Bibl. Barb.*, t. 6207, ff. 4, 11, 21, 39; t. 6141, May 4, 1628; *Nunz. di Fiandra*, t. 21A, ff. 301–314.

[2] Cf. CAUCHIE-MAERE, *Récueil*, p. 169; REUSCH, *Index der Verbotenen Bücher*, t. II, p. 404. Bonn, 1885.

[3] DODD-TIERNEY, vol. IV, pp. 84–104. There is a very interesting paper in the *Vatican Library* (*Bibl. Barb.*, t. 2720, ff. 146–149), entitled "*Status monachorum anglorum in Anglia existentium*," which contains a detailed series of reasons why the Union was impossible. It is difficult to fix its date, probably 1626, as the foundation of Cambrai is mentioned. For the Nuncio's Instructions in 1617, 1619, 1621, 1627, for

The Anglo-Benedictines, freed at last from alien and domestic troubles, eagerly took up the work of strengthening their monastic and educational houses on the Continent. An abortive attempt to spread the congregation in Germany was made in 1628, when they accepted the Abbey of Cismar, and, later, the houses at Dobran, Scharnabeek, Weine, Lambspring, and Stoterlingbough; but all these, with the exception of Lambspring, were soon given up. A similarly unsuccessful attempt was made to set up a seminary at Rintelen.[1]

guidance in settling the dispute between the different branches, as well as at Douay, cf. CAUCHIE-MAERE, *Récueil*, pp. 66, 92, 116, 169–173.

[1] "A College at Rome, instituted by Abbot Cajetan on the plans of the present universal College of San Anselmo, was given over at this time into the hands of the English monks. The General Chapter was chary about accepting what had been a failure in the hands of its founder, and only gave leave to the English procurator at Rome, Dom Selby, to see what he personally could make of it. It soon proved to be an unwise experiment, and cost the congregation a large sum of money." TAUNTON, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 167. The English monks were represented, according to WELDON (*op. cit.*, p. 128), in this College of St. Gregory from its foundation in 1621. At Cajetan's death in 1641, the entire College was given to the Anglo-Benedictine Congregation. At the twelfth General Chapter of the Congregation, held at Paris in 1657, £600 were contributed to it proportionately by the Monasteries of Douay, Lambspring, Dieulouard, St. Malo, and Paris (WELDON, *op. cit.*, p. 194). Weldon does not state when the College was given up by the Congregation, and he is in general so untrustworthy that we cannot be sure of the dates he gives. It would be interesting to know more about this College, the forerunner of San Anselmo. In a Particular Congregation of the Propaganda, February 3, 1642, we find that an attempt was made by Propaganda to take over the College for its own uses, owing to the little good it was producing (cf. *Prop. Arch., Congr. Partic.*, vol. 4 (*Missioni*), ff. 150–151). The same matter came up again in 1643 (cf. *Prop. Arch., Scritt. Ant.*, t. 406 (*Memoriali di* 1643) ff. 134, 182). There is an undated letter from the Anglo-Benedictines to Cardinal Barberini, the Protector of the Order, which gives a side-light on the question, but with the meagre information we found, no complete explanation of the affair can be given. Cf. *Vat. Libr., Bibl. Barb.*, t. 8624, no. 3: "Eminentissime et Reverendissime domine. Cum dominus Constantinus Caietanus aggregaverit monachos congregationis Angliae sub collegio, eumque titulum, et ius ad illos ijs dederit, quod habuissent si professionem in eo emisissent: videndum est num integrum illi sit novam donationem facere dicti sui collegij sine expresso consensu praesidis et monachorum dictae congregationis, cum abbas nunquam possit conventum alienare, nec aliquid in magnum præiudicium conventus facere sine monachorum consensu. Deinde tametsi possit dominus abbas valide facere donationem sine eorum consensu, dignabitur tamen Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide considerare, an conveniat eam fieri in praeiudicium Benedictinorum anglorum, si cogitet antiqua merita vel monachorum Benedictinorum, qui fidem propagarunt per totam Europam, magnam partem Americae, Asiae, et Africae, vel Benedictinorum Anglorum, qui suo sanguine et sudore pene universam Germaniam et Belgium peperierunt fidei catholicae, et Sanctae Romanae Sedi in difficillimis temporibus inservierunt. Moderni autem Benedictini Angli merita quidem non obtendunt, agnoscunt enim se servos inutiles, tametsi faciant quae possunt ad conservandam et propagandam fidem in Anglia, praetendunt tamen necessitatem, quam patiuntur in hoc suo exilio propter fidem, et ultimum exterminium quod passi sunt his ultimis bellis quamque illis necesse sit, ut habeant aliquod domicilium Romae, quo in hoc statu Angliae facilius exponere

The Magna Charta of the English Congregation, the Bull *Plantata in agro dominico* dated July 12, 1637, confirmed all the privileges of the revived congregation, and implicitly abrogated their dependence on the Spanish Congregation. For some time this freedom seems not to have been properly understood; and indeed it was not till the General Chapter of 1699 that the English Congregation broke off from all subjection to that of Spain.[1]

James I. had been on the throne of England eighteen years, when the Anglo-Benedictine Congregation assumed a corporate existence. Members of one or the other of the three branches had suffered and died for the Faith during his reign, among them the founder of St. Gregory's, the Venerable John Roberts (1610). The English Counter-Reformation which had called the new army of workers into existence was nearing its

possent S. Curiae suam, et patriae necessitatem, et immediate magis, clariusque mentem illius praecipere et influxum ab ea recipere : deinde habitura est Sacra Congregatio eos monachos, qui hic manserint velut pignus, et obsides devotionis, fidelitatis et obedientiae eorum, qui sive in missione laborent, sive alibi commorentur, ac proinde sperant hanc Sacram Congregationem ne dum non decreturam aliquid, quod in illorum praeiudicium sit aut infirmet aggregationem illis factam a domino Constantino Caietano, sed etsi cogitet sumptus aliquos facere in fabrica dicti collegij Gregorij facturam eos intuitu Benedictinorum anglorum qui soli pene omnium aliorum missionariorum Angliae, nec stipendium, (ut nonnulli) habent a Sede Apostolica, nec (prout alij) hospitia aut monasteria sui ordinis in Urbe, in quibus recipiantur, quidquid sit, supplicant humiliter Eminentiam Vestram ne aliquid statuatur quod illis, et iuri acquisito ad collegium gregorianum possit esse praejudicio, et orabunt Deum pro Eminentia Vestra. Quam Deus, etc."

(Tergo) "Eminmo et Rmo dño dño Card. Barberino Protectore Ordinis S. Benedicti pro monachis Cong. Angliae Ordinis S. Benedicti."

[1] A last echo of the anti-Unionists occurred in 1640 when four Spanish monks refused to make obedience to the President of the Anglo-Benedictine Congregation. Cf. *Vat. Libr.*, *Bibl. Barb.*, t. 8620, f. 59, Barberini to Father-General of Spanish Congregation, Rome, September 22, 1640 : "Molto Reverendo Padre, Mi viene rappresentato che quattro monaci benedettini professi inglesi in Spagna andati missionarii in Inghilterra ricusano di prestare al Padre presidente di quella missione, ò congregatione l'ubbedienza che devono conformi li atti capitolari di cotesta congregatione di Spagna confermati anco da questa Santa Sede Apostolica, il che apporta grave scandalo e disturbo a quella missione, e potrebbe prorompere in una manifesta divisione tra quei monaci, se non vi fosse prontamente applicato il remedio necessario, il quale dalla Vostra Paternità, come da loro superiore puo applicarsi con grande facilità e soavità maggiore di quella, che per adesso si possa esercitare per altra mano. Ho voluto perciò dargliene avviso, acciò lei provegga a questo disordine, o con rechiamare quei monaci in Spagna o con altri modi secondo li dettara la sua prudenza, si che il servitio di Dio, e la carità non patisca, anzi più tosto l'uno e l'altro si aumenti, conforme io per la protettione che ho di que' regni d'Inghilterra, e della religione benedettina insieme sommamente desidero et alla Paternità Vostra prego ogni prosperità. Roma li 22 Settembre 1640. Di Vostra Paternità affezionatissimo." It is interesting to note that down to 1815, the general of the Valladolid Congregation continued to use the honorary style of President of the English Congregation.

close in 1621, but its force had not been spent, and the sons of St. Benedict were to have their share in its triumphs as well as in its sufferings. They were going into a vineyard reddened already by the blood of hundreds of martyrs, and they were also to become victims of the fateful destiny which seemed to hang over every sincere effort to reach a neutral ground between the two forces, the State and the Church. In the chapters on Douay and the Jesuits, sufficient has been said to give the reader an idea of the points upon which Catholics found themselves at variance both with the State and with one another. The first of these was the Oath of Allegiance to their Sovereign, and the second was the thorny question of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The English Benedictines were soon to be in the thick of the contest on both these difficulties.[1]

James's accession had closed one long painful chapter of the warfare among brethren. Dispute about the Succession was now a matter of past history, and with it had disappeared, for the most part, the wild dreams of armadas and crusades for the conversion of England. True indeed, the King, led on by his ministers, had disappointed the hopes of his Catholic supporters. His promises of toleration turned out vain and worthless, and the result was the Gunpowder Plot, the work not of the many but of the few in whose minds lingered the old, fierce methods of the past. When the memory of that regrettable November day of 1605 had in some measure passed away, serious efforts were made to meet the Government on the common ground of loyalty and allegiance to the Sovereign of the State, notwithstanding the fearful reprisals which the Powder Plot had brought about. The Oath that had been framed during the awful persecution which raged from 1606 to 1612, had divided the Catholics into three parties: (1) those who considered it lawful, (2) those who saw a Catholic interpretation in it, despite its wording, and (3) those who were opposed to it altogether. The Archpriest Blackwell had first opposed it, but at a conference of the Clergy, held in June, 1606, he admitted that he thought it could be lawfully taken. Many Seculars and Benedictines were also in favour of the Oath, which was opposed without qualification by the Society of Jesus. Father Thomas Preston, an *Italian* Benedictine then in England, took

[1] *Prop. Arch., Scritt. Ant.*, t. 93, f. 174.

a leading part, under the name of Roger Widdrington, in promoting the views of those who were in favour of it, but later on he assumed a negative attitude and opposed the Oath.[1] A meeting was held in June, 1606, at the Archpriest's house in London, but as neither side would yield in any way, it broke up abruptly, and the matter was sent to Rome for a decision. On September 26, 1606, Paul V. by a Brief to English Catholics pronounced the Oath unlawful as "containing many things contrary to faith and salvation." The vagueness of this Brief, together with the peculiar way it reached the Archpriest, seems to have made Blackwell hesitate, and though he showed it to a few friends he did not publish it. Its existence soon became known to the King, who retaliated by forcing the Oath upon all Catholics without exception. The persecution now raged again in all its fury. It was a terribly bitter trial to Catholics. They wished to remain steadfast and loyal in everything to the will of the Holy Father, but they wished equally to be able to throw off the charge of treason and disloyalty to their King. Rome pronounced a second time (August 27, 1607) its disapproval of the Oath, though the Brief still omitted to specify its objectionable parts.[2] Before it reached England, Blackwell

[1] TAUNTON, *op. cit.*, vol. II, 173-9; CAUCHIE-MAERE, *Récueil*, pp. VII, pp. 171-173, 238; Cf. TAUNTON, *Thomas Preston and Robert Widdrington*, in the *EHR*, t. XVIII, (1903), p. 119. Preston's works were condemned by the *Index* (1613-1616). Cf. J. HILGERS, S.J., *Index der Verbotenen Bücher*, p. 421. Freiburg, 1904.

[2] How prudently the Pope acted in not attempting to enumerate the objectionable points in the Oath of Allegiance of James I. is explained by Father Pollen, S.J., in his admirable article on the question of Oaths (Catholic Encyclopedia, vol. XI, pp. 177-180). "This would have increased the tension," he says, "and it is even now difficult to specify them, partly because of the ambiguity of the terms used; partly because of the deceitful interpretation put upon them by the English authorities. For James now hypocritically asserted that his oath was not meant to encroach upon any one's conscientious convictions. Hereupon minimizers began to maintain that the words of the oath might be interpreted by the intention of the law-giver, that the oath might therefore be taken. But it is necessary here to advert to the Church's doctrine concerning veracity in oaths. These we believe to be addressed to God himself and to be accepted in the precise sense of the words pronounced. If King James had made his subjects swear specifically 'in the sense by him explained,' the oath might perhaps have been endured, but when he made them 'swear according to the plain and common sense, and understanding of the same words,' to what was injurious to Catholic consciences, this could not be tolerated." Father Pollen then explains the chief objectionable points in the Oath: the objectionable words about the deposing power of the Pope; strictures used upon the deposing power itself; the fraudulent object of the Oath; the dishonour it would entail to the Holy See, and the fact that it had already divided Catholic opinion in England. Cf. *A Hundred Years Ago, A Glance at the Former Position of English and Irish Catholics*, article by Abbot Gasquet, O.S.B., in the *Ave Maria*, vol. LXI (1905), pp. 491-492.

and many of the seculars and laity, together with some of the Benedictines, had already taken it. Bellarmine and Persons both attacked the legality of the Archpriest's action, and Blackwell was deposed from his office, February 1, 1606, George Birkhead being appointed in his stead.

James I. now attacked Bellarmine, and a general controversy ensued, which lasted the whole of his reign. A schism arose within the struggling Church in England which all the gentleness and conciliatory attitude of Birkhead could not heal. He hesitated to pronounce censure upon those who had taken the Oath, for James had recently sent three priests to the gallows for opposing it, and he feared an aggravation of the Government's resentment. "It was in vain that he applied, through his agent, for advice from the Roman Court; it was in vain that he described the miseries and dissensions of his people, and requested the pontiff to pronounce that sentence in Rome, which it was neither safe nor prudent for him to pronounce here. Even to a request that, for the satisfaction of the Government and the country, the Catholics might be enjoined, by a special breve, to abstain from all treasonable attempts, and to manifest towards their sovereign the true allegiance of dutiful and faithful subjects, no answer was returned; and he was at length (August 16, 1611) compelled, after more than three years of delay, to notify to his assistants and to the Catholic body that the parties in question had been deprived of their faculties."[1] Tierney would seem to throw the blame of the lives that were given up on the scaffold for the temporal claims of the papacy upon the silence of the Pope. The real fact is that James was as insincere in his desire for a workable Oath as his Parliament was cruel and tyrannical towards the Catholics of the realm. Paul V., as Cardinal Borghese, had shown too great an interest in the welfare of the English Catholics to desert them at the last moment, and the letters and documents on English affairs in the two thousand volumes of the *Archivio Borghese* in the Vatican Archives, as well as his correspondence with the Nuncio at Brussels, should first be studied before judgment is passed upon his action in the matter.[2] When

[1] DODD-TIERNEY, vol. IV, pp. 76, 77.

[2] Cf. *Vat. Arch.*, *Nunz. di Fiandra*, t. 136, 137; *Archiv. Borgh. III*, vol. 40; *II*,

Charles I. came to the throne in 1625 the discussion on the Oath had changed, and it appeared to all that the Government would at last draft an Oath better adapted to the doctrines of the Catholic Faith. "It was," says Taunton, "to contain no ambiguous and ensnaring clauses, to be fully expressive of the duty of civil allegiance, and no ways encroaching upon the spiritual jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome." [1]

We now enter upon a long period of unofficial and semi-official negotiations between London and Rome, which ended with the unsuccessful missions of Panzani and Con (1634–1637). The Benedictines played an important part in the search for a formula which would be acceptable to both sides. Consummate tact was needed in this search, as it would be an admission on the part of the Government that the Oath which had been forced on the Catholics by James I. was an impossible one for them to take, and that a new one was to be formed which Rome, now willing to meet the English Court half-way, could also accept.[2] The question of allegiance cannot be wholly separated from that of episcopal jurisdiction; after sixty years of "presbyterian" government of one form or another, Rome appointed (1623) William Bishop (who had signed the protestation of allegiance to Elizabeth in 1603), Bishop of Chalcedon with ordinary jurisdiction in England and Scotland. On his death, in 1624, he was succeeded by Richard Smith, who took possession of his vast Vicariate under the misapprehension that England and Scotland were ripe for a perfect system of ecclesiastical government. The story has been told elsewhere, and has no bearing on the status of the exiles, except that it clouded the situation more than ever.[3] The Government soon

vol. 489; *I*, vol. 914; *II*, vol. 428; *II*, vol. 365; *II*, vol. 403; *Vat. Libr.*, *Bibl. Barb.*, t. LXV, f. 8; t. LVI, f. 101; t. LIX, f. 158; t. XXXVIII, f. 63; t. XXXII, f. 222; t. LXX, f. 35.

[1] *Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 79.

[2] *Vat. Arch.*, *Nunz. di Fiandra*, t. 20, February 8, 1628.

[3] Cf. BRADY, *Annals of the Catholic Hierarchy in England and Scotland*, 1585–1876, pp. 74–103. WELDON claims (*op. cit.*, p. 106) that Dom Rudesind Barlow, O.S.B., President-General of the Anglo-Benedictine Congregation (1621–1629), and at the same time Professor of Theology at St. Vedast's, one of the first divines and canonists of his time, was appealed to by the Holy See on the death of Bishop (1623) to propose a candidate for the English episcopacy. He wrote to Propaganda urging the appointment of Dr. Smith, and Smith's subsequent and ungrateful attack upon the Regulars so embittered him that he wrote against Chalcedon's arbitrary proceedings, and this no doubt was instrumental in causing Smith's exile and resignation. Barlow did not

became aware of the dissensions which had arisen on the question of Scotland between the Bishop and the Jesuits and

escape in the general hunt for heretics in the Low Countries, which began even before the death of Jansenius (May 6, 1638); the Nuncio reports to the Holy See that an inquiry had been made at Douay, and that he was forwarding a letter from Barlow himself denying the charge (*Vat. Arch., Nunz. di Fiandra,* t. 23, April 17, 1638). The Chalcedon *versus* Regulars controversy lasted during the whole of Smith's episcopate, 1625–1655. It is told succinctly in GILLOW's biographical notices of Bishop Smith (vol. V, pp. 511-514), Father John Floyd, S.J. (vol. II, 301–306), Kellison (vol. III, pp. 677–685), and Champney (vol. I, pp. 462–466). How necessary the presence of episcopal authority was in England at the time is eloquently portrayed in an interesting paper among the *Propaganda Archives*, t. 297, ff. 1–74 (*Breve raguaglio d'alcuni abusi introdotti nella Chiesa anglicana delle cause di essi et del modo d'extirparli, dal quale si raccoglie il miserrimo stato de Cattolici in Inghilterra sinche saranno senza vescovi* (? c. 1622)). The distribution of the missionaries in England was unequal and not in accordance with the needs of the different parts of the country. Jealousy had arisen over the seeking of comfortable posts. There were about six hundred missionaries at the beginning of Smith's episcopate, and as such good posts only amounted to a hundred, rivalry ensued to the discredit of the missions. The condition of the houses on the Continent belonging to the Regulars was such that instinctively, out of a spirit of loyalty, they desired to obtain the most lucrative posts in order to help their brothers and sisters on the Continent. The different attitudes of mind on questions of liturgy and of moral theology already called imperatively for a Superior to settle them. The mass of correspondence which followed is enormous. Everyone felt called upon to advise the Holy See, and petition followed petition to Urban VIII. (1623–1644), Innocent X. (1644–1655), Alexander VII. (1655–1667), Clement IX. (1667–1669), Clement X. (1669–1676), until Innocent XI. (1676–1689) finally restored the Vicars-Apostolic. Some of these letters are of the highest importance for a just appreciation of the supreme prudence shown by the Holy See in refusing to accede to the wishes of the English clergy. Cf. Dom David Codner's letters (*Vat. Libr., Bibl. Barb.*, t. 8619, ff. 118–127); the charges made against the Regulars by the Secular Clergy (*Prop. Arch., Atti*, 1627, Cong. 10, f. 230; *ibid.*, 1627, Cong. 11, f. 207; *ibid.*, 1629, Cong. 33, f. 199; *ibid.*, 1630, Cong. 48, f. 84; *ibid.*, 1630, Cong. 41, f. 180; *ibid.*, 1632, Cong. 9, f. 152; *ibid.*, 1635, Cong. 15, f. 52); the protests of the Anglo-Benedictine Congregation against the authority of Chalcedon in *Dom. Cal., Charles I.*, 1628–1629, cxvi, no. 54, xci, no. 16, the letters of George Muskett, one of Bishop Smith's Vicars-General, to Urban VIII., and Card. Barberini between 1629 and 1642 (*Vat. Libr., Bibl. Barb.*, t. 1622, ff. 30, 31, 36); the letters of Chalcedon (*Prop. Arch., Scritt. Ant.*, t. 100 (1631), ff. 231, 241–262; the despatches of the Nuncio Consa (*Vat. Arch., Nunz. di Fiandra*, t. 20); the various letters of Fr. Simon Stock, the Carmelite (*Prop. Arch., Scritt. Ant.*, t. 100, ff. 263–285; t. 101, ff. 13–23); and the articles of the temporary truce of December 10, 1635, between the two factions (*Vat. Libr., Bibl. Barb.*, t. 8619, ff. 202, 203). The *Nunziatura d'Inghilterra*, t. 5, contains the results of Panzani's mission (1634–1636), and t. 6, that of George Con (1636–1637). One of the historic facts which upset the theory that the Holy See had shown a culpable neglect towards the Church in England during this acephalous period is the concord established by Rome between the Seculars and Regulars in Holland, where a quarrel almost as bitter had occurred contemporaneous with the dissensions in England (Cf. *Vat. Arch., Nunz. di Fiandra*, t. 14 B, f. 469, October 15, 1625: *Copia dell' accordo stabilito fra il Vicario Apostolico d'Olanda et suoi preti secolari con i PP. Giesuiti*). The points under consideration were: the administration of the Sacraments; the question of Faculties; marriage of the faithful; powers of sub-delegation; records of baptisms, etc.; regulars doing missionary work in places where seculars hold the cure; and the administration of alms. The Englishmen of Elizabeth's time were made

Regulars on the question of their faculties and privileges, and between the Bishop and the laity, who sided with the Regulars. The Bishop's hands were tied by Rome, and the Government issued proclamations for his arrest, so he withdrew to France in 1631, and resigned his post. His resignation was at once accepted. Later he changed his mind and endeavoured to be reinstated, but his request was not granted, and he lived at Paris as the guest of Cardinals Richelieu and de Gondi until 1642, when Mazarin deprived him of the Abbey of Charroux in Poitou, which he held *in commendam.* He died at Paris in 1655. During this controversy, the Benedictines as a body took the side of the Bishop. Their President, Rudesind Barlow, however, was one of the principal opponents of Bishop Smith's claim of being Ordinary *de jure* and *de facto* of Great Britain, and he, it is said, indirectly caused the Bishop's exile. Between 1623 and 1644, the Holy See made every legitimate effort to learn the exact state of the Church in England on these two questions which the Government, for reasons of its own, kept linked together—the Oath of Allegiance and the creation of a hierarchy. In 1634, Dom Leander Jones, President-General of the English Benedictines, is supposed to have been invited to England by his old friend, Archbishop Laud, for the purpose of bringing about a reunion of the Establishment with the Church. The real reason of his mission to England was the Pope's desire to have a more thorough knowledge of English ecclesiastical affairs. Little came of this mission, for Jones found his position an impossible one to hold. In his report to Cardinal Bentivoglio, he explains that there are two points "which disturb us: one is the oath of allegiance, and the other is the question of sending one or more bishops to England."[1] Books had been written for and against the Oath, and none had helped the Catholic cause. He sent also a long paper on the state of the Church in England to Cardinal Barberini, which is one of the best accounts we have for the

of too stern a stuff to agree as easily as their brethren across the Channel! One is struck with the ease with which peace was maintained in Holland through this means (Cf. *Prop. Arch., Scritture non Riferite nei Congressi*, t. I (1644-1669), (*Olanda et Belgio*), ff. 1-5; t. 2 (1670-1675), f. 19; t. 3 (1676-1686), f. 80).

[1] TAUNTON, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 124.

period. In it he recommends the appointment of a Prefect Apostolic to govern the Secular Clergy. Dom Leander's mission was not an official one, but it prepared the way for the celebrated mission of Gregorio Panzani who, with Charles' consent, arrived in London towards the end of the year 1634. His negotiations were carried on through the Queen, Henrietta Maria. Three Benedictine monks, Fathers Preston, Jones and Codner, justified the Oath. Preston was answered by the Jesuit, Courtney; Jones died in 1635; and Codner yielded to the decision of Rome against the Oath. Panzani had many interviews with Secretary Windebank. He endeavoured to give the English Catholics a bishop by suggesting to Barberini that the Queen's almoner should be made a bishop, and that the other chaplains, who should all be English, should be appointed vicars, canons and archdeacons. Panzani even met the King, but it was all to no purpose. He found himself in opposition to the Jesuits, and all the old discussions were renewed. The King finally refused to accept any solution of the difficulty. However, negotiations were not at an end, for an agent was despatched to Rome, in the person of Robert Douglass, but he died soon afterwards, and Arthur Brett was appointed for the same task. In his instructions was the request from the King that the Holy See should formulate an oath which all English Catholics could take. Two other political demands were made, and the King promised that if these were granted he would permit a bishop to reside in England. Brett never arrived at Rome, dying of a fever on the way. Count Cartegna, who had been appointed by Rome to represent the Holy See at London, was detained by official business at Ravenna, and two new agents were appointed, Mr. Hamilton to represent England in Rome, and the Rev. George Con to represent the Holy See in London. Both were Scotchmen. Soon after Con's arrival in London, 1636, Panzani was recalled. Hopes were held out that Con would be created Cardinal and that at least a *modus agendi* would be reached, but Con's mission proved no more fruitful than that of Panzani, and he was recalled in 1637. Events moved quickly, and in the giant struggle between the Parliament and the King, all these schemes with Rome came to nought. The execution of the King (1649), and the troubles

of the Commonwealth and Protectorate (1649–1660) diverted men's thoughts from the issue with the Church. Cromwell was inclined to tolerate all religions provided they were not opposed to his form of government. The Catholics were mainly Royalists; and so, after the Restoration of Charles II. to the throne (1660), no attempt was made for a time to force them to take the Oath of allegiance. Charles II. determined to reward the loyalty of the Benedictines by establishing them in the Chapel Royal at Somerset House. The Nuncio at Brussels reported to the Holy See, September 17, 1661, that the King had a great affection for the Benedictine monks of Douay, and had decided to bring ten of them over to take charge of the Chapel of his future Queen. There were to be six priests and four lay-brothers, with the title Chaplains of the Divine Service. They were to have the privilege of wearing their Benedictine habit in the part of the Palace allotted to them, but when at Court only a soutane to the knees; going and coming through the city, they were to wear secular dress. Placed in this position, the Nuncio hoped that they would have much power at Court and be able to do much for the Catholic cause. The English Benedictines remained as Royal Chaplains at Somerset House throughout the reign of Charles II. (1660–1685), and held their fifteenth General Chapter (1667) at St. James's Palace.[1] When James II. came to the throne in 1685, they founded at St. James's Palace a royal monastery of fourteen monks, with Dom Augustine Howard as Prior. Another priory was erected at St. John's, Clerkenwell, in 1687, by Dom Corker. The Benedictines were not alone in thus founding houses in England; the Franciscans, Dominicans, Carmelites and Jesuits all founded houses and churches in London, and the school of the Society of Jesus, begun in 1687, was so successful that in a year its pupils numbered over four hundred, half of whom were Protestants. When the Revolution took place, all these houses had to be given up.

The King's tolerance, however, roused the Puritan element, and after the Titus Oates Plot (1679), the Oath of Allegiance was again pressed on Catholics, who were now more united than ever on the unlawfulness of the Oath. The accession of

[1] *Vat. Arch., Nunz. di Fiandra*, t. 45, Brussels, September 17, 1667.

James II. (1685–1689) did away not only with the old Oath of his grandfather, James I., but opened the way after the Revolution in 1688 for another Oath which expressed no more than the word: allegiance. Since that time the question of Catholic loyalty has never been seriously raised, while Catholic Emancipation in 1829 settled it finally.

During the whole of the seventeenth century this search for a formula of allegiance went hand-in-hand with the difficulty of jurisdiction. From August 24, 1631, when Bishop Smith went into voluntary exile, until September 9, 1685, when John Leyburne was consecrated Bishop of Adrumetum and appointed Vicar-Apostolic of all England, there had been no organized attempt at governing the clergy of England. The Regulars were ruled by their Superiors. The Seculars were ruled after 1655 by the Dean and Chapter. As Dom Leander Jones had pointed out to Cardinal Barberini, this multiplicity of jurisdiction was a very fruitful cause of friction between the Regulars and Seculars. The Secular Clergy considered that they had lost their lawful bishop through the machinations of the Jesuits. The Benedictines had come into conflict with the Society in the matter of the Oath of Allegiance. The missionary priests sent from the Colleges where the Jesuits were in charge were men of meagre ability and no training. There was an unfortunate misuse at times of the alms given by the faithful for the missions. There were variances of opinion on questions of liturgy, on fasting and abstinence; nor was there any uniformity of feasts and fasts. But the bitterest source of all the controversial feeling that existed was due to the loss of places by the Secular Clergy in noble or wealthy Catholic families owing to Jesuit influence. Panzani attempted to regulate the mutual rights and duties of the two sides, but bungled it badly. His lack of discretion in dealing with the Jesuits caused them to hold themselves aloof from signing the agreement (The Instrument of Peace or Concord between the Secular Clergy and the Regulars) drawn up November 17, 1635. The teachings of Thomas White, alias Blacklow, both at the English College, Douay, and in England, where he resided from 1633 to 1649, were another cause of schism dividing the clergy for a while into Blacklowists and anti-Blacklowists. The Chapter especially was accused of

sharing his extravagant ideas on purgatory, passive resistance to legal authority, and other doctrines. The brilliant scenes of Court life which followed the Restoration awoke the old desires for a bishop, and from this time on (1660) we find the Chapter continually petitioning Rome for an Ordinary to govern them. Charles II. died February 6, 1685, professing himself a Catholic. Father John Huddleston, O.S.B., who had been instrumental in saving Charles's life in 1651, and who lived at Somerset House as chaplain to the Queen, reconciled the King on his deathbed. James II., Duke of York, his brother, ascended the throne, "and all the gloom which, for years, had seemed ominously to threaten, was, as by a magician's wand, at once dissipated . . . the great attempt was now to be made; and he would enforce it, it seemed, by measures which imprudence alone dictated, and which the laws of the country proscribed."[1] News came from Rome in the spring of 1685 that John Leyburne, Secretary to the Cardinal Protector of England, Thomas Howard,

[1] BERINGTON, *Memoirs of Panzani*, p. 327ss. The quasi-peace which existed between the Regulars and the Seculars during the reign of Charles II. (1660-1685) was greatly disturbed by the Titus Oates Plot, and the Nuncio at Brussels in a Report (*Status Ecclesiae in Anglia*) written December 20, 1681, informs the Holy See that the old difficulty was arising again between them. He asks the Cardinal Secretary of State to investigate the matter and to regulate the privileges of the Regulars, for they were coming into conflict very much of late in the exercise of their Faculties. Another element of discord, and one which deserves a more prominent place in the clerical dissensions from Elizabeth's time down to 1685 than it has received, is the presence of the foreign chaplains in the different embassies at London. In many cases, their nationality, their education, and their unconventionality caused scandal; not content with doing the work they were intended to do, quietly and unostentatiously, they did it loudly and offensively, relying too much on the immunity granted them by the Government. They were constantly going beyond their duties, as the Nuncio explains; serving families outside the embassies, ministering the Sacraments in the town, and not knowing the language or the customs well enough, they were doing a great deal of harm, especially in cases of marriage. Their interference was causing hatred, and the abuse was so manifest that the Holy See ought to take action at once (*Vat. Arch., Nunz. di Fiandra*, t. 71, f. 405). James's accession brought the difficulties to a head, and the most salient fact one gathers in reading over the letters and documents relative to the restoration of the Vicariate in England (cf. *Vat. Arch., Nunz. di Fiandra*, tt. 66A, 73, 74, 75, 76, 147) is that if ever the danger of the Gallican influence of Paris was seen in the English Church (for Paris always stood as a barrier between Rome and London), that danger was apparent in the years 1682–1688. The Chapter was Gallican to a man, and the great fear of the Jesuits and Benedictines was that the Vicar-Apostolic would be but the tool of the Dean and Chapter. The Jesuit Provincial, Fr. John Keynes, was of opinion that it would be just as hazardous to appoint a Jesuit or a Benedictine as a Secular; he suggested to the Brussels Nuncio that a Dominican be appointed, but James refused to listen to this proposition, because the head of the Church in Ireland was a Dominican (cf. *Vat. Arch., Nunz di Fiandra*, t. 75, January 1, 1685).

O.P., and for nine years the President of Douay, was appointed Vicar-Apostolic over all England. The events that followed: the distrust of the Chapter towards the Vicar-Apostolic; James's refusal and subsequent acceptance of one endowed with less than ordinary jurisdiction; the embassy of Lord Castlemaine at Rome, and the reception given the Papal Nuncio, D'Adda, at Windsor; the prospect of a Cardinalate for Father Petre, the confessor to James II.,—all these affairs brought Rome and London into closer contact, and in April, 1688, a second Vicar-Apostolic, Bonaventure Gifford, who became Bishop of Madaura *in partibus*, was appointed. He was consecrated at Whitehall by the Papal Nuncio. The declaration for liberty of conscience suspending the Test Act and other penal disabilities against Roman Catholics and Nonconformists, was published April 25, 1688, and precipitated the Rebellion which drove James from his throne. Two other Vicars-Apostolic had been elected, one of them being Philip Michael Ellis, O.S.B., who was consecrated Bishop of Aureliopolis *in partibus*, on May 6, 1688, by the Papal Nuncio, D'Adda, at the Chapel Royal, St. James's; the other was Dr. James Smith, the President of Douay. Each of these four Vicars-Apostolic received a stipend from the Royal Exchequer amounting to one thousand pounds. The Kingdom was divided into four great districts—the London, Northern, Midland, and Western, and the organization of the Missions on strict canonical lines began at once. Some difficulty arose between the Vicars-Apostolic and the Chapter, but the chief event of this period is the quarrel which broke out before the end of the century between the Vicars-Apostolic and the English Benedictines. The Bull *Plantata* had furnished the Anglo-Benedictine Congregation a solid working basis for their own activity, but it was soon found that the old rights and privileges it confirmed brought them into conflict with other rights exercised by the Vicars-Apostolic.[1] A letter from Dom Augustine Walker, though written during a later dispute, gives a clear résumé of the controversy from the Benedictine standpoint. The bishops were not Ordinaries, he says, but held their places only as delegates of the Roman Pontiff, who alone in reality was the Ordinary for England. The Vicars-Apostolic,

[1] *Vat. Arch., Nunz. di Fiandra*, t. 135, f. 261.

influenced by the Secular Clergy, endeavoured to gain control over the Regulars, and the Regulars, realizing that ordinary jurisdiction in England might mean the end of their privileges, laboured to keep the situation unchanged.[1] The bishops were

[1] In 1694, there were twenty-four monks at St. Gregory's, though the income they possessed was barely sufficient to keep twelve. After James's flight they practically lost everything. Sixty boys were in the College, but no pensions had been paid since 1689. (Cf. *Prop. Arch.*, *Visite e Collegi*, t. 36, f. 743 : *Status Collegii Benedictinorum Anglorum Duaci*). The Report sent to the Cardinals of Propaganda by the President-General of the Anglo-Benedictine Congregation, Dom Augustine Howard, dated August 10, 1701, on the state of his Congregation, shows how clearly the Benedictines were sufferers in the fall of the House of the Stuarts. They had four Monasteries (Douay, Paris, Dieulouard, and Lambspring), and two Colleges for boys (Douay and Lambspring), and he feared greatly that all the houses but one would have to be given up, while little hope remained of keeping the Colleges open. (Cf. *Prop. Arch.*, *Scritture non Riferite nei Congressi*, *Anglia I*, ff. 584–5). Even the churches they held in England during the reign of James II. were being taken away from them by the Vicars-Apostolic, and the loss of their old privileges had robbed them of their prestige with the laity, so that the alms were growing less every year (*ibid.*, t. I, ff. 25–6). Instructions were given in 1713, to the Internuncio at Brussels, Msgr. Santini (*Prop. Arch.*, *Instruizione Diverse B*, f. 221) that every care should be taken to save the Benedictine establishments from collapsing, but the agony was still prolonged. Twenty years later the Congregation appealed to Propaganda for help, saying that they had lost over 60,000 lire in French investments, and that they feared the twelve burses for young girls, founded by the Congregation at the English Convent of Cambrai, would have to be given up (Cf. *Prop. Arch.*, *Atti*, 1753, Cong. 21, p. 397, September, 1733 ; 1734, Cong. 16, p. 98, 1 March, 1734). These letters complain that Propaganda had not helped them as they deserved. The constant encroachment of the Vicars-Apostolic upon the old Benedictine privileges of the *Plantata*, on the ground that they could not enjoy them unless they had regularly established Monasteries in England itself, practically crippled the Congregation, though they tended to establish uniformity of ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the Vicariates (cf. *Prop. Arch.*, *Atti*, 1745, Cong. 15, f. 228). The Bull *Apostolicum Ministerium* of Benedict XIV., dated May 30, 1753, (printed in BRADY, *op. cit.*, pp. 496–521) settled the respective rights and privileges of the two bodies with the precision of judgment and tact which marked all the reforms of that great Pope. A subsequent regulation of Propaganda ordered each Regular to return once every six years to his monastery on the Continent for a stay of three months for recollection and prayer (*Prop. Arch.*, *Udienze di Nostro Signore*, vol. 19, July 1, 1755). To this regulation the Benedictines objected on the ground of their extreme poverty, and were exempted from following it (*Prop. Arch.*, *Atti*, 1762, Cong. 9, f. 153 ; 1764, Cong. 23, f. 268). The effect of their poverty can be seen in the number of Benedictines at work on the Mission about this time (1773). In the Western District, out of forty-four missionaries, six were Benedictines. In the Northern, out of one hundred and thirty-seven, there were seventeen ; in the Midland, out of ninety-five, there were but nine, while in the London District, there were only eighteen (cf. *Prop. Arch.*, *Scritture non Riferite nei Congressi*, *Anglia*, t. 5, (1761–1800), ff. 91–109 (*Numero dei Missionarii Regolari*, 1763–1773)). The appointment of Dom Gregory Sharrock, the Prior of St. Gregory's, to the episcopacy in 1779, ends the history of the College as far as English boys were concerned. The President-General, Dom Walker, explained to Propaganda how much his appointment had increased the burden at Douay, and he asked that Dom Sharrock be permitted to fill out the rest of his term as Prior (eighteen months), so that the difficulties about the Monastery at Douay could be settled in General

constantly maintaining that the Faculties exercised by the Regulars were contrary to Canon Law, while the Regulars claimed that they had their Faculties from the same source which made the bishops missioners, and that their Faculties were of a much earlier date. In 1696 the Holy See decided that while the rule of the Vicars existed, all other jurisdiction ceased. From that time, the Regulars (which meant all monks, friars, and Jesuits) were subject in their parochial duties to the Vicar-Apostolic of the district in which they lived. From that time also, the English Chapter lost all power in matters of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, though it still exists under the title of the Old Brotherhood of the English Secular Clergy, "the ruins of a venerable institution, through whom has been transmitted the fame of men that would have dignified any cause."[1] There were occasional moments of friction between the Regulars and the Vicars-Apostolic down to 1753, for the previous clear pronouncement failed to end the question. Bishop Stonor of the Midland District succeeded in obtaining from Benedict XIV. the Bull *Apostolicum Ministerium* of May 30, 1753, which confirmed the previous decree of 1745, and in which the rules of the English Mission were laid down, the jurisdiction of the Vicars-Apostolic confirmed, and the privileges of the religious carefully defined. Against this decree of 1745, which only reached England in 1748, Bishop Pritchard, the Franciscan Vicar-Apostolic of the Western District (1713–1750) with his coadjutor, Bishop Yorke, a Benedictine, wrote to Propaganda, alleging that the decree was inequitable as having been obtained surreptitiously. Charges and counter-charges disturbed the peace of the Church in England until 1753 when the Bull of Benedict XIV. ended at last the long strife. This Bull, usually called the *Regulae Observandae in Anglicanis Missionibus*, was the constitution of the Church in England until the restoration of the Hierarchy in 1850. During the last years of the eighteenth century, the Catholics were gradually freed from the penal laws and the oath of allegiance. The new oath of 1789 was condemned the same year, and again in 1791.

Chapter (*Prop. Arch., Miscellanee dei Collegi, Collegio Inglese, Ibernese et Scozzese di Duaco dall'anno* 1568 *al* 1790; ff. 588–9).

[1] BERINGTON, *Memoirs of Panzani*, p. 391.

It caused a schism for a while here and there in England, but the passing of the Catholic Relief Bill of 1791 freed the Catholics from the penal laws, and with Catholic Emancipation in 1829 the controversy was over.

In 1794 the Anglo-Benedictine Congregation consisted of eighty-seven professed fathers: namely, Douay, twenty-two; Dieulouard, twenty-eight; Paris, twelve; Lambspring, twenty-five.[1] During the French Revolution all the members of the different communities who could escape came to England, and the four monasteries suffered the fate of so many ecclesiastical houses during that time. The National Convention, October 10, 1793, confiscated all British property, but on Napoleon's advent it was to be restored in accordance with the Treaty of Peace of Amiens. The renewal of hostilities against Napoleon broke off the negotiations, but by Imperial Decrees of June, 1803, May, 1805, and June, 1806, Napoleon ordered all British property to be amalgamated under one administration, known as the *Bureau gratuit de Surveillance.* Between 1806 and 1814 all the revenues accruing from British ecclesiastical property in France went to the Irish College of Paris, and indirectly to the Irish missions. The Treaty of Paris, May 30, 1814, restored all unsold sequestrated British property to the owners. After the Restoration of Louis XVIII., the English bishops put in a claim for their properties, and Douay College and the College of Saint Omer were restored to them. The other properties were also regained. On February 2, 1826, by an Ordonnance of the King of France, all English Catholic property was placed under the guardianship of a separate administration. An administrator, under the control of the Minister of Education, was appointed by the English bishops. He received the rents, but all the money had to be spent in educating in France ecclesiastical students who were nominated by those who owned the property. In the Confiscation of 1903–1906 all this was lost, and the Benedictines made an unsuccessful attempt to induce the English Government to save their property.

[1] RICHARD MARSH, O.S.B., *Biography of the Presidents of the English Benedictine Congregation.* MS. in *Arch. Dioc. West.*

II. The English Benedictine Nuns.

The founders of the Anglo-Benedictine Congregation were not forgetful of the second great factor in the legacy their Holy Founder had bequeathed to them. "St. Benedict has daughters as well as sons, and his English patrimony would not be complete unless there were houses of virgins consecrated in the holy habit to God's service."[1] Two distinct movements must be chronicled in the rise of the Benedictine Convents for nuns; one of which sprang up of itself, contemporaneously with the exodus of the students from the Seminaries into the Monasteries of San Martino, San Benito, and Santa Justina, and which remained independent of the English Fathers, though following the rule of St. Benedict.[2] The first included the Convents of Brussels (1598), Ghent (1624), Boulogne (1652), Pontoise (1658), Dunkirk (1662), and Ypres (1665). The other was the distinctly Benedictine foundation of Cambrai (1623), and was the sole representative of that part of the Order which was dependent entirely upon the monks, while the others were under the jurisdiction of their various bishops. The same cannot be said of the filiation from Cambrai to Paris in 1652, for this also fell under diocesan jurisdiction, and became, like all the other foundations from the mother-house in Brussels, a house apart from the direction of the Anglo-Benedictine Congregation.

Before the foundation of the Abbey of the Glorious Assumption of Our Lady at Brussels, English ladies had entered Benedictine Convents on the Continent, but the movement had not assumed sufficient proportions to warrant a distinct establishment, as was the case at Louvain with the Austin Canonesses, and at Antwerp with the Carmelites.[3] Brussels

[1] Taunton, *op. cit.* vol. II, p. 312.

[2] The graphic scheme of filiation as contained in the *Ghent Annals*, in Dom Patrick Nolan's *Irish Dames of Ypres*, and Mgr. Ward's *Dawn of the Catholic Revival* (vol. I, p. 83), cannot otherwise be understood than as an accidental dependence between Brussels and Cambrai. The two branches must be kept quite distinct if their history is to be understood.

[3] It was a wistful moment to the professors and students of Rheims when they went on November 12, 1580, with Allen at their head, to assist at the solemn profession of Joanna Berkeley at the Benedictine Abbey of St. Peter's in that city. The recollection of what a splendid part the Benedictine nuns had taken in English Catholic life before the Reformation, must have warmed the hearts of the young men, many

was the first of the Benedictine cloisters erected under diocesan supervision for English women. It was founded in 1598 by Lady Mary Percy,[1] the daughter of Blessed Thomas Percy, Earl of Northumberland, who died a martyr for the Faith after the Northern Rising, of which he was a leader. Lady Mary's mother, the Countess, had fled to Belgium after the failure of the Earl's rebellion, and took up her residence in Brussels. In 1575, she was expressly denounced by Elizabeth as a rebel and traitor, and was obliged to retire to Liége. Lady Mary Percy was born after her father's flight into Scotland (1570). While still quite a child, she accompanied her mother to the Low Countries, and was educated in the different towns the Countess had lived in—Louvain, Liége, Mechlin, and Brussels. Having decided to become a religious, she entered the Convent of the Austin Canonesses at Brussels, and later that of Louvain, where a great number of English ladies had taken the veil; but subsequently she decided to found a Benedictine convent, which was commenced in 1598 at Brussels. The first Abbess was Dame Joanna Berkeley, who had been clothed at St. Peter's Abbey, Rheims, in 1580. The young community numbered eight choir-nuns and four lay-sisters. The distinctive feature of the Constitutions of the new Abbey was that the Benedictine Fathers were not given the spiritual direction of the nuns. From the beginning, therefore, we find this office of Confessor and Director a cause of difficulty, and it will not be surprising to discover that here, as in all other centres where the exiles and the English Jesuits came into contact, the dissensions which separated Seculars and Regulars were re-echoed, and in some cases aggravated, by the uncompromising attitude of individuals in either faction. The Convent grew very quickly,[1] and the young novices fresh

of whom were to be martyrs for Christ, with the hope that the conventual life of the great Order of St. Benedict would rise again from its ashes; and it is to the credit of their nation that within eighteen years, Dame Joanna Berkeley should be called to Brussels and elected Abbess of the first English Benedictine Convent of modern times. Cf. KNOX, *Douay Diaries*, p. 173; *Publ. Cath., Rec. Soc.*, vol. V, p. 207. London, 1908.

[1] VAN GESTEL, *Historia Sacra et profana archiepiscopatus Mechliniensis*, vol. II, p. 44. The Hague, 1725.

[2] Turnbull reports to Winwood in a letter dated Brussels, March 21-31, 1615-1616, that the Benedictine convent had increased very much in numbers and in wealth. They had offered about that time £7000 sterling for the Count de Berlaymont's palace

from England could not be expected to have extinguished all the heart-burnings they had experienced at home on the matters under dispute. An examination of the names of the nuns at this period shows how fraught the atmosphere was, even in this edifying religious house, with misunderstanding. The Arundells, the Cansfields, Thompsons, Tichbournes, and Wisemans; Mary Persons, the niece of Father Persons; the Digbys, the Knatchbulls, the Rookwoods, the Treshams, the Lovels, the Ropers, and Vavasours—these names had already spelt twenty years of conflict between the Seculars and the Jesuits. The mere fact that Fathers Holt and Persons were both instrumental in the foundation of the Abbey would have brought the house into disfavour with the Secular Clergy leaders. The solemn blessing of the Abbess on November 21, 1599, and the profession of the first nuns in 1600, were among the noteworthy events of the time, and were duly reported to Elizabeth's Government by the English Agent at Brussels.[1]

which adjoined the Convent, in order to enlarge their cloister. *P.R.O.*, *Flanders Correspondence*, vol. 12, p. 261. In vol. XIV, Misc. IX, the *Catholic Record Society* will publish in the near future an official account of the Brussels community, taken from the Archives of the Abbey at East Bergholt.

[1] "There are sixteen English Gentlewomen in this town who wish to set up a nunnery. The Archduke gave them 2000*l.* and they bought a house. On the 4–14 instant a daughter of Sir John Berkeley, and sister of Sir Nicholas Pointz, was solemnly created Abbess by the Archbishop of Malines, and the next Sunday, the Lady Mary Percy, Mrs. Dorothy Arundell, and six other English ladies took the habit. The ceremony was very solemn; the Infanta, who was their Godmother, the Archduke and all the Court, and the Pope's Nuncio being present. The ceremonies lasted till 2 p.m. The eight were most bravely apparelled (borrowed ware), and adorned with rich jewels like brides. The Infanta brought them into Church, leading the Lady Mary Percy and Mrs. Dorothy (Arundell), and one of her great ladies led each of the others. The ceremony over, they returned in pairs apparelled as nuns, the Abbess following. The Infanta embraced them all, and assured them she would be a mother to them. The Archduke promised them all assistance. The Infanta made a banquet for 100 persons, the great ladies, Abbess, and nuns dining at one of the tables. It was one of the solemnest things that was seen this hundred years; many ladies and others could not forebear weeping." *Dom. Cal. Eliz.*, 1598-1601, John Petit to Privy Council, Brussels, November 13–23, 1599. Edmondes gives an equally interesting pen-picture of a solemn profession eight years later, incidentally showing how true the Archduke was to his promise: "Here was yesterday a solemn professing of five Englishwomen to be nuns. At the which ceremony, these Princes (Albert and Isabella) did them the honour to assist with their persons, and the Pope's Nuncio to sing the Mass and to put their garments on them. The first in rank was Mrs. Morgan, who sometimes waited on the Countess of Sussex; she was conducted by the Infanta herself; the second was a Northern woman, called, it is said, Mrs. Elizabeth Doleman, niece to Coniers, the Jesuite; the third, the daughter of one Mrs. Gage; the fourth, the daughter of the brother of Persons, the Jesuit; and the fifth one, Mrs. Deacon, that heretofore attended on the Lady Riche; all the which were likewise severally conducted

The small fortune which remained to the Percys after the Rising of 1569, the dowries brought by the original members of the community, the generous help of the Archduke and Archduchess, both of whom were personal friends of Lady Mary Percy, and the contributions given by the English officers who were in Spanish service, soon placed the Convent upon a firm financial footing. It is a tradition among the nuns that the soldiers of the English regiment then in barracks at Brussels helped to build the new establishment.

The Archbishop of Mechlin had appointed a secular priest, Robert Chambers, Chaplain, Confessor and Director of the nuns in 1599, but some discontent arose over the appointment, and the Abbess very imprudently allowed the nuns who wished it, to have an English Jesuit as Director. This caused a difference of spiritual training, and with the growth of the discord in England, especially after the Powder Plot, the two elements in the Convent drew apart. A complete history of this controversy, which was not wholly unbeneficial to the growth of the Benedictine life, since it directly caused the first filiation to Ghent in 1624, would lead us too far afield. The documents in the Archives and in the Library of the Vatican, and in Propaganda concerning this difficulty, are the most numerous of all that we discovered relating to the English Foundations. It is a long, painful story; a story of open warfare, and for which unfortunately, we have little or nothing to explain the Society's side of the case. There must be another side to a quarrel such as this, and it is regrettable that nothing was discovered to explain it to us. The ubiquitous and light-hearted Sir Tobie Matthew, in his *Life of Lady Lucy Knatchbull*, explains the whole discussion in his own sweet-tempered way: "But then the Howse begann to fill, and so the Body grew too bigg for the Cloaths; and in multitudes, and especially of women, all like not easily to be of one Dictamen, or humour, insomuch as that (for severall respects)

by great ladies." *P.R.O., Flanders Correspondence*, vol. 8, f. 279, Edmondes to Salisbury, Brussels, April 17, 1607. Two years later (1609), Turnbull reports the Infanta's presence at the profession of Misses Digby, Knatchbull and Colford. Cf. *ibid.*, vol. 9, f. 310v, Turnbull to Salisbury, Brussels, December 13, 1609. The reason of these reports was not so much to keep the Government informed of the progress of the Foundation, as to keep all the members of the Powder Plot families under surveillance. Cf. also *Arch. Dioc. West.*, vol. VI, p. 483.

divers persons of great vertue and worth in that Company grew to be of opinion that it would be of no small service to Almighty God nor of inconsiderable good to the preservation of true Spirit even in that very Howse itselfe, if some little colony or two of the Religious might be gently drawne out from thence and placed in some other citty of the same country." [1]

In 1624, therefore, in order to secure Jesuit direction, four of the Brussels community (the names are significant—Knatchbull, Poulton, Digby, Roper), with two lay-sisters, set out for Ghent to begin a new foundation.[2] This separation, however, did not bring peace to the Convent at Brussels. It was a hazardous thing in those days to begin a Convent, and many of those who were at Brussels, having given their dowries to that house, had no desire to leave it, even though their views on the question of a confessor were the same as those of the Ghent nuns. The Archbishop thought to settle the difficulty in 1628 by appointing Dr. Champney, then the Vice-Rector of the English College of Douay, to the office of Confessor at the Convent in Brussels.[3] Champney was, without doubt, one of the most learned theologians among the English Secular Clergy. He had taken a leading part in the anti-Jesuit movement from the year 1596, when he was among those who objected to the Society's rule at the English College in Rome. He was one of the thirty-three appellants against Blackwell, and also one of the thirteen priests who signed the remarkable protestation of allegiance to Queen Elizabeth in 1603. He had been President of the English House of Writers in Paris, and had been appointed Vice-President of Douay in 1619. When it was seen that Dr. Chambers, the Spiritual Director, could not bring peace to

[1] Quoted in *Ghent Annals*, p. 5.

[2] Letter of King Philip of Spain giving permission for the Foundation at Ghent, *Annals*, p. 151. It will be remembered that the Abbess Lady Knatchbull's brother, who went under the name of John Norton, had caused much of the trouble at Douay during Worthington's term of office. He was Rector of the Jesuit House at Ghent in 1625. Cf. FOLEY, *Records, S.J.*, vol. VII, part I, pp. 423-424. Cf. *Ampleforth Journal*, vol. III (1897), pp. 33-47.

[3] "Eodem die (September 23, 1628) ad instantiam Rmi. Mecliniensis et Abbatissae Monialium Anglarum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti, Bruxellas profectus est Rdus Dnus Antonius Champneus, hujus Collegii vicepraeses, ad confessiones praedictarum monialium accipiendas et earum conscientias pacificandas, necnon pacem inter illas introducendam." BURTON, *Douay Diaries*, vol. I, p. 272.

the Convent, the Archbishop requested Champney to take the post, which he did on September 23, 1628.[1] At first, Champney succeeded in establishing harmony in the house, but the Jesuit faction among the nuns obtained from the Archbishop the permission to receive a Jesuit Father six times a year. Champney complained against this measure, and charges were brought against him, especially that of having signed the Protestation of 1603, with the view of ousting him from the Convent.[2] The question of his ortho-

[1] *Douay Diaries*, vol. I, f. 270.

[2] The history of this quarrel, for such it must be called, spreads itself out (so far as documentary evidence goes) from Champney's appointment in 1628 until the death of the fourth Abbess, Blanchard, in 1651. At that time one of the leaders in the Jesuit faction became Abbess (Dame Mary Vavasour), and the storm subsided. The first document in point of time is a long letter from Mary Percy to Cardinal Ludovisi, from Brussels, December 8, 1629 (*Prop. Arch.*, *Scritture Antiche*, t. 132, ff. 221–226), in which she speaks of the two causes of the disorder, namely, the variety and the number of spiritual directions, and the lack of honest motives on the part of the Jesuits in fomenting discord. When the trouble first broke out (before the foundation of Ghent, 1624), she appealed to the Archbishop of Mechlin, the Ordinary of the Convent, who sent Champney to settle it. All the nuns welcomed him until, it is alleged, Father Baldwin, S.J., interfered, and so the fight was renewed: "Proprii (ut sic dicam) fines ad quos nonnulli ex spiritualibus istis Patribus maxime collimarunt, qui ad verum Monasterii commodum, hoc est monialium in vera ac solida virtute progressum, minime conducebant." She herself wanted to resign, but the Archbishop would not allow it, and she appealed to the Cardinal to bring the matter before the Holy Father, because the scandal had already gone beyond the walls of the Convent, and had even spread to England. Out of the fifty-five nuns in the house, nineteen were rebels to her authority, and they wanted a Jesuit as Confessor, and had refused to receive Holy Communion from Champney or to attend his Mass. The Abbess did not want Jesuits as spiritual directors in the Monastery "non quia non habeam eos pro doctis et bonis viris, sed quia monasterium dum ab illis dirigebatur, in concordia et pace non vixerit." The following July, 1630, the Nuncio, de Lagonissa, informed the Holy See that he had received a letter from the English Benedictine nuns who were in opposition to their Abbess. He begged the Cardinal Secretary of State to settle the difficulty, and he hoped to have the same good fortune with them as he had had with the English Franciscan nuns of Gravelines, whose difficulty had been of a similar nature. (*Vat. Arch.*, *Nunz. di Fiandra*, t. 17, Brussels, July 22, 1630.) In September, the Nuncio ordered the Abbess and the leader of the appellants, as they were called, to appear before him at Brussels (*Prop. Arch.*, *Scritture Antiche*, t. 32, f. 233). Later, in an *avvisi* to Barberini, Consa writes, March 8, 1631, that the two factions had taken more definite proportions: one, with the Abbess, consisted of forty nuns, and was supported by the English Secular Clergy; the other, numbering twenty-five, being defended by the Jesuits. Peace, he declared, would be harder to obtain than he thought. The Jesuits say that all will be quieted if Champney is dismissed; but the others claim that this is simply a ruse on the part of the Jesuits to get control over the Monastery—a thing which is "*abborito*" by the Archbishop and the Secular priests of England; and as neither party will give in, the whole affair must go to a higher court (*Vat. Arch.*, *Nunz. di Fiandra*, t. 20). The Nuncio was informed, April 5, 1631, that as it was against the very constitutions of the Society of Jesus, the English Jesuits had no case; but Consa replied that the prohibition did not extend to individual

doxy was sent to the University of Louvain, where it was decided that the opinion of the signers of the Oath, though

Confessors and Directors : "E vero che li Giesuiti per le loro constitutioni non possono haver cura di monache però non lasciano d'haverle seguitamente, con dare a dette monache confessori et altri ministri loro dependenti, come si vede hora nel monasterio di Gravelinga, le cui monache furono divise per le loro discordie, perchè ritroai parte di esse fuori del monasterio ma non conviene dividere queste qui, come desiderano gli Giesuiti, perchè sarebbe di molto scandalo, e però aspetto li complichi il processo et permetta dipongono tanti rancoi e odii" (*ibid.*, t. 20, May 3, 1631). The case hung fire all through the summer months, and Mary Percy, fearing a delay in the decision, wrote two letters, August 29, 1631, one to Cardinal Barberini, begging him to settle the difficulty—"*urget necessitas !*"—and the other to the Cardinals of Propaganda, giving them a history of the case. Her claim is a just one : if Propaganda allows the appellants to win their case then "*actum est de obedientia !*" (*Vat. Libr., Bibl. Barb.*, t. 8619, ff. 220–222). In March, 1631, Consa had suggested to Ludovisi that Champney should be sent back to Douay, because the College was suffering in his absence (*Prop. Arch., Scritt. Ant.*, t. 100, f. 123) ; but when this was bruited, Dr. Kellison, then President of the English College, while thanking Propaganda for its solicitude for the welfare of Douay, denied any anxiety to have Champney back in his old post of Vice-President. The charge of heresy which had been brought against him by the Appellants made it impossible to receive him, and he would demand a canonical trial for the ex-Vice-President before taking him back (*ibid.*, t. 100, f. 227, Douay, July 30, 1631). The *Douay Diaries* give no reference to this change of attitude on Kellison's part. Nevertheless an order had been given by the Congregation of Regulars for Champney to return to the English College at once. Champney complicated matters by disobeying this order, his reason being that to leave without a thorough investigation would be tantamount to admitting the charges against him of heretical doctrines (*ibid.*, t. 100, f. 140, Champney to Propaganda, Brussels, June 31, 1631). These reasons Consa considered frivolous ("*alcune ragioni frivole*"), but did not wish to force him to go, lest it should offend the Dean and the Chapter (*ibid.*, t. 100, f. 139, Consa to Borgia, June 21, 1631). Mary Percy had appealed to Consa and to Propaganda in Champney's favour, and she explained that the appellants were at the bottom of all the grave charges against the former Vice-President of Douay. A Jesuit, Fr. Richard Vavasour, the brother of the leader of the appellants, (FOLEY, *Records*, vol. VIII, f. 2, p. 796), directed the quarrel (*Prop. Arch., Scritt. Ant.*, t. 100, ff. 169–189). The Nuncio acted unwisely on his visit to the Convent, October 31, 1631, in trying to force the Abbess to violate the Constitutions of the Order, which stated expressly : "omnes confiteantur eidem Confessario quem Episcopus ad hoc constituet," and Mary Percy now drew up a form of submission for the appellants. Her conditions were : (1) that the rebels recognize the present Confessor as legitimately constituted and that no cause for his removal was to be found in his direction ; (2) that they acknowledge all the charges made against the Confessor as calumnies ; (3) that the refractory nuns be sent to another monastery and that those of the appellants who chose to remain be deprived of their votes (jus suffragii activi et passivi) until they had shown signs of complete obedience to the rule ; (4) that the lay-sisters who took part in the quarrel be also suitably punished. This ultimatum she sent to Cardinal Barberini in November, 1631, (*ibid.*, t. 74, f. 259) and having given orders that the priest who had led the faction ("quem in aliis literis monasterium nostrum graviter infamasse significavi") should not be allowed to enter the Abbey, she caused the ultimatum to be read to the appellants. Consa had failed completely to restore order, and after his recall in 1634, in the Instructions sent with the succeeding Nuncio, Falconieri, in April, 1635, definite regulations were laid down for establishing peace at Brussels : "E nato anco una schisma nel convento delle monache inglesi di Brusselles per causa

false, was not contrary to faith. Despite all efforts to remove him, Champney held his post until 1637, when he was elected Dean of the Chapter. The Archbishop, Jacques Boonen (1621–1657), was not a friend of the Society, and wished to rid himself of the whole troublesome affair by placing the spiritual direction of the Convent under the jurisdiction of the English Benedictines, but Rome did not approve of this. The Brussels Chronicle would make us believe that this opposition of the nuns in refusing to obey the Archbishop was founded on a serious belief that they were combating the evil of Jansenism. "The knowledge of the leaning of the Archbishop (Boonen) and many bishops in Flanders to Jansenism, and the fact that the Jesuits were the bulwark of the Church against such errors, may have made them fear lest in removing the Fathers of the Society, the Archbishop

d'un tal Ciampeo, il quale, non essendo voluto per loro confessore da una buona parte di dette monache che pretendevono haverne un regolare, non ottenutolo, partirono dal convento, prendendo casa a parte, dove, dalla badessa delle rimeste loro e molto scarsamente somministrato il vitto. Procurera V. Gria. di riunirle, con persuadere destramente detto Ciampeo a ritirarsi, o all' arcivescovo o decano, di cambiarlo, essendo amovibili ad nutum, e procuri che le monache uscite rientrino nel convento con l'altre." Cf. CAUCHIE-MAERE, *Récueil*, pp. 214-215. The Appellants had been removed by the Archbishop to the neighbouring convent of Austin Canonesses (Berlaymont), and later to an abandoned Carmelite convent in Brussels, and they attempted to have their dowries restored to them, so as to begin a separate establishment. On this occasion Mary Percy lost her temper for the first time, for the nun who came to demand the dowries had been accepted ten years before without any: "et ista pro coeteris loquitur ut dotes suas recipiant!" (*Prop. Arch.*, *Scritture Antiche*, t. 74, f. 255.) They came back one by one and made their submission to the Abbess, and in 1637, all was in order and at peace again. Dr. Champney then resigned and returned to England. Under the succeeding Confessor, Rev. William Hanmer, the Convent enjoyed peace, but was in sore financial straits from 1635 to 1641. His appeals to the Holy See to aid them will be found in the *Vatican Archives*, *Biblioteca Barberini* (t. 8621, f. 55). There is little doubt that Rome came at once to their assistance, for from the letter of Barberini to the Archbishop of Mechlin, congratulating him on the settlement of the discord at Brussels (*Bibl. Barb.*, t. 1937, f. 12, Rome, July 19, 1636) it is evident that the schism gave much concern at Rome. Later, two English Benedictines were appointed Confessors to the nuns (WELDON, *op. cit.*, p. 185), and Mary Percy made an effort to have the Abbey placed under the jurisdiction of the Anglo-Benedictine Congregation. The Archbishop joined her in this petition, but the Dean of Mechlin and the Chapter opposed it, so no change was made. The story of this quarrel is an unpleasant one, and it need not have been told at all were it not that the effect of all these charges and counter-charges between 1621 and 1631 became confused with another difficulty the authorities at Rome were then called upon to settle, namely, the question of the Institute of Mary; and it may be said without exaggeration that had the disturbances at Brussels not occurred, the work of Mary Ward might have been modified without the trial it underwent of suppression and excommunication. Cf. also *Arch. Dioc. West.*, vol. XXIV, p. 743; vol. XXXVII, p. 97.

was only paving the way for introducing his own spirit into the Monastery." [1] This is erroneous. The schism at the Brussels convent was completely settled in 1636. Boonen's connection with Jansenism (which only assumed shape after the publication of *Augustinus* in 1640) was of a later date. The cause of the schism was the English Jesuit opposition to the English secular direction of the nuns. Jansenism had nothing whatever to do with it.[2] After these disputes the Abbey of the Glorious Assumption of Our Lady continued its life of contemplation, its school for English girls, and its noble part as the pioneer in the Foundation Movement for religious women, harassed, as were all the other English communities, by lack of funds to carry on the work. When the French Revolution forced the nuns to leave Brussels, June 20, 1794, they settled first at Winchester, where Dr. Milner was then the resident priest. Here they remained till 1857, when they

[1] *Brussels Chronicle*, p. 142. During the Commonwealth period, the Convent of Brussels, being one of the Jacobite centres on the Continent, suffered great financial losses. In 1672, the Abbess and the nuns wrote a long letter to Cardinal Barberini exposing to him the terrible poverty they were enduring (*Vat. Libr., Bibl. Barb.*, t. 8621, f. 65); the Dean and Chapter wrote to the same effect to the English Clergy Agent at Rome, Fitton, and in February, 1673, the Internuncio at Brussels, Airoldi, implored Propaganda to come to the assistance of the nuns (*Prop. Arch., Scritture non Riferite, Anglia*, t. I., f. 443). It was the distress of the Benedictine nuns at Brussels and Ghent which drew Rome's attention to the deplorable state of the English Foundations and caused the grant of 20,000 florins in 1682. In the list given by the Nuncio, there were twenty-six nuns at the Brussels Convent, and they received 1040 florins, the second largest amount in the grant. (*Vat. Arch., Nunz. di Fiandra*, t. 66; t. 72, April 23, 1682). The money was used to pay the interest on a loan of 3000 florins they had been obliged to borrow during the wars, and the rest of the money went to satisfy their most pressing creditors and to buy provisions for the coming winter (*Vat. Arch., Nunz. di Fiandra*, t. 12). James II.'s accession brought them some relief (*ibid.*, t. 75, *avvisi* of May 4, 1683); but after the accession of the Hanoverians, the decline set in. The help obtained from the English refugees of 1688–1689, who were lodged in the outlying parts of the Convent, formed a valuable means of support during this period. Charitable Belgian families were not behindhand in assisting *les nobles dames anglaises*. Lists of these benefactors exist at East Bergholt. "Many names, even of humble benefactors, are unknown except for their gifts, such as that of a charitable friend who in a time of scarcity and distress, sent every week for a month, a whole calf to the Monastery to supply its pressing needs." *Brussels Chronicle*, p. 180.

[2] When the Jansenistic quarrel began between the Archbishop of Mechlin and the Jesuits, Boonen (1621–1655) was accused of persecuting any nuns who wished Jesuit Confessors, and when Lady Mary Vavasour, who was a leader in the Jesuit faction in Abbess Percy's time, became Abbess at Ghent in 1652, it is not surprising that she found it difficult to obtain Boonen's consent for a Jesuit chaplain. (Cf. *Vat. Arch., Nunz. di Fiandra*, t. 34; HENNÉ-WAUTERS, *Histoire de la ville de Bruxelles*, vol. II, p. 216. Brussels, 1843–1845.

transferred their convent to their present Abbey at East Bergholt. The school begun at Brussels was kept up until 1877, when they returned to the stricter and more contemplative Benedictine rule as more in conformity with the life of the nuns in pre-Reformation days. From its foundation in 1598 till the French Revolution, the community had been governed by twelve Abbesses, of whom Lady Mary Percy was the second. A list of religious professed in the Abbey contains the names of one hundred and thirty-seven choir-nuns and forty-five lay-sisters.[1]

The English Benedictine Convent in Ghent had a severe struggle to exist in the early days. The nuns had been allowed to make the Foundation on the express condition that they should take out of the Convent at Brussels nothing whatsoever, neither from the pensions nor annuities brought by them, except what the Lady Abbess might be willing to grant them. From a financial statement among the Episcopal Archives at Ghent for the years 1642–1646, we learn that in 1642, from the capital (58,000 florins) invested in England and 6000 in Ghent) the Abbey received 6000 florins a year. The debt in 1642 was 39,841 florins, which when paid left them with a surplus of 23,694 florins. Between 1642 and 1646 the capital in England and the usual collections sent out to Ghent by the families of the nuns had diminished somewhat owing to the Revolution, but at the end of the year 1646, the capital had increased to 80,000 florins, the debts to 61,686 florins, leaving a residue of capital of 18,314.[2] In common with the other English communities in Belgium, the period between the end of the Thirty Years' War (1648) and the end of the seventeenth century was a very critical one for the Ghent Convent. Practically cut off from all help from their families, who found it hard to make ends meet at home for long years after the Restoration, they were obliged to make appeals to the Holy Father as well as to the citizens

[1] The only American subject who came to the Convent in Brussels was Dame Elizabeth Rozer, of Holtz Hall, Maryland. She was professed on December 8, 1769. She died in 1791.

[2] *Ghent Annals*, p. 155, Statement made by the Lady Abbess, Mary Roper, at an Episcopal Visitation of the Monastery, on February 23, 1646 (*Episcopal Archives*, Ghent).

of Ghent to keep their Convent in existence.[1] In an Appeal to the citizens of Ghent at this time, we learn that no one was admitted to the Convent as a postulant who was not furnished with a competent dowry. This was in accordance with the condition of their founding in the city, namely, that they would not be a burden to the city, "sans aucunement charger icelle Ville ou Pais en chose quelconque, prenant égard que les dites suppliantes apporteront des moïens avec elles pour s'entretenir et faire les autres dépens nécessaires."[2] They placed their capital in English securities, because these yielded double what they would have done in Belgium, and because England was at peace, while war was still going on in Belgium. As they explained in the Appeal, this capital had not yielded anything since the outbreak of the Revolution, and they therefore begged the generous Catholics of Ghent to come to the relief of their community. Belgian, and especially Flemish, hospitality had never failed the English exiles during the hundred years which preceded this Appeal, and there is no doubt that it was answered in a large-hearted spirit. No record remains of what the collection amounted to, but as it only afforded a temporary relief, it was deemed prudent to take the one measure, which seems to have been a familiar one with the exiled communities, namely to lessen the burden of their house by beginning a foundation elsewhere. The Duchess of Buckingham, who had been forced to fly from Ireland and England and had retired into their Abbey at Ghent on a pension given her by the Bishop, conceived a design of returning to Ireland with some of the nuns to start a convent there and so relieve the burden at Ghent, but this plan did not come into effect quickly enough. Hopes had been formed that Charles II. would help the community, which he visited March 24, 1650, "the second year of his reign," as the *Annals* loyally say,[3] but the monarch could only promise aid when he came into his kingdom—one promise at least which he did not forget after that happy event came to pass. The Abbess of the Convent at Ghent, Mary Roper, the daughter of a

[1] *Arch. Dioc. West.*, vol. XXX, f. 175; Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Bruxelles, MS. 3628 (16562) 53 (F5).

[2] *Ghent Annals*, p. 159.

[3] *Pub. Cath. Rec. Soc.*, vol. VI, p. 31. London, 1909.

family that never swerved in its loyalty to the Stuarts, seems to have given his Majesty a very serious chiding about his private conduct, which even then was not above reproach. When Abbess Roper died, another of the Knatchbulls succeeded her, Dame Mary Knatchbull, niece of the foundress of Ghent, and at once a plan was suggested to lessen the burden of the community by making a foundation in another town. The house at Ghent then numbered about eighty persons, and with the revenues at their disposal it was quite impossible to keep them in food and clothes. The investments in England had long since yielded no profit. Charles II. had not forgotten the wants of the community, and in 1651 he sent a donation of £800. Their poverty was such, however, that this generous grant, which he intended to give annually, only slightly alleviated their distress. After due reflexion, the town of Boulogne was chosen for the new foundation. It seems incredible that "amidst all her preparations, one thing seems to have escaped the Abbess of Ghent, namely, an application to the Bishop of Boulogne," for permission to settle within his jurisdiction.[1]

The six nuns who set out from Ghent on January 9, 1652, all belonged to foremost English families: Dame Christina Forster, the daughter of Sir Richard Forster, Secretary and Treasurer to the ex-Queen of England; Dame Paula Knatchbull, the niece of the Abbess of Ghent; Dames Catherine Wigmore, Margaret Markham and Eugenia Thorold, and Sister Agnes Pickering. According to Husenbeth, Sir Richard Forster settled 20,000 livres on the new community, and later, the Abbot Montague gave a large amount. The *Annals of Ghent*, the *Annals of the Abbess Neville*, and the *Annals of Teignmouth* verify this. Communications were much slower in those days, and they set out all unconscious, it seems, of the very unpleasant welcome the Bishop of Boulogne was preparing for them. The growth of the English convents is seen in the story of their itinerary. At Bruges they were housed by the English Canonesses of St. Augustine; at Nieuport, by the English Franciscan nuns; at Dunkirk, by the English Governor "most courteously"; at Gravelines, by the English Poor Clares, and at Calais, by the French Benedictine nuns.

[1] *Ghent Annals*, p. 30.

Before their arrival at Boulogne, the Bishop had been prejudiced "by a rumor that the new arrivals were the scum of Ghent Convent, and were coming to be a burden to the town," and he resolved not to admit them. He sent a messenger to Calais to warn them not to enter his diocese, but they missed this messenger, and on their arrival in the exceedingly severe winter weather of a seaport town, the Bishop refused to see them, and only gave them permission to find shelter in the town for that night. Later he agreed to let them settle in the city, provided they could show him that they had a sufficient capital to build and support a convent. The history of this *contretemps* is not sufficiently clear in the literary sources at our disposal; and it is evident from the whole attitude of the Bishop that it was not primarily the fear of their burdening the town which caused him to refuse admission to them; nor could it have been episcopal pique at the unfortunate oversight they had made in not obtaining beforehand his permission to settle there.

The Teignmouth Annals, which are taken from Lady Mary Knatchbull's MS. account of the whole proceedings, and which were placed at my disposal by the Lady Abbess, give a different version from that of the Annals of Ghent where it is stated that no application was made to the Bishop for this new foundation. Mgr. François de Perrschel was a most wise and learned prelate, and a man of great sanctity like his cousin, M. Olier, the founder of St. Sulpice. Nevertheless, he was opposed to their entrance into the city, and "had they been excessively wicked and furnished with power as well as with design to ruin him and his whole diocese, he could not have thundered out more terrible menaces against them." He even refused Fr. Dalton, who accompanied them from Ghent, permission to say Mass, and ordered the whole party to leave the town the next morning. The truth is that the Abbess of Ghent is not to be blamed for this misunderstanding. She sent two messengers to the Bishop. The first, Father Richard Fitzwilliam, S.J., seems to have bungled the affair. She then sent a kinsman of hers, William Roper, who was prevented from approaching the Bishop by an English resident of Boulogne, Sir William Hastings, who considered the moment unpropitious for the design, and promised to arrange matters himself at the first

favourable opportunity. This he failed to do, but the nuns felt bound in honour now to begin the foundation on account of the collections which had been made for the purpose. The Bishop of Ghent had given his permission, the necessary money had been collected from the English exiles in Ghent and Antwerp, and so they started out, hoping that Hastings would arrange matters before their arrival. In the Bishop's letter to Abbess Knatchbull, his Lordship explained that he was prevented from giving his consent by the canonical law of the Church, which insisted upon the nuns having sufficient resources to endow the new Convent. He drew up a statement of the whole case and sent it to Father Vincent de Paul for judgment. The decision the future Saint gave was that "considering the persecution of the Catholic Church in England, the Canons ought not to be interpreted with rigour when it might import any danger in destroying or lessening the end by which the Catholic Religion might be confirmed or propagated in that nation, and that therefore His Lordship might do well to condescend to the good desires of those religious women." It is singular that the Abbess Neville, who is one of the most remarkable annalists of her time, gives no account whatever of this affair. The question must be left to the future historian of the English Benedictine nuns. The researches at Rome yielded no explanation of the difficulty. When the financial status of the new convent was assured, the Bishop then found fault with the Rule and insisted on the approbation of the Constitution of the Convent by Rome. This was done by the Congregation of Regulars, May 18, 1655, and the Confirmation was given by Pope Alexander VII., June 8, 1658.[1] These unpleasant misunderstandings with the Bishop,

[1] *Ghent Annals*, pp. 161–162. The Bishop of Ghent, after receiving the *Désir de M. l'évêque de Boulogne et résolution dernière et inébranlable* (*Ghent Annals*, pp. 160–161), wrote a letter to Cardinal Barberini in favour of the new foundation, recommending the nuns to his protection in the question of their constitutions (*Bibl. Barb.*, t. 6794, f. 13):—"Eminentissime domine, Moniales Anglae ordinis Sancti Benedicti in hac civitate Gandaven. commorantes mihi significarunt, quod constitutiones suas, alias anno 1612 per Illustrissimum dominum Matthiam Hovium archiepiscopum Mechlinien. vigore specialis brevis apostolici approbatas et confirmatas, ad Sanctam Sedem miserint nova approbatione et confirmatione corroborandas, idque requirente episcopo Bononiensi in Gallijs, ubi simile monasterium erectum est: rem vero hanc examini et iudicio Eminentissimae Vestrae Granditudinis et aliorum nonnullorum Sacrae Romanae Ecclesiae cardinales esse commissam: cumque triginta et amplius annorum, quibus dictum monasterium mihi subfuit, experientia mihi constet quo fructu moniales prae-

added to the fact that the town of Dunkirk had fallen into Cromwell's hands (1657), decided the Abbess Forster to move the community farther away from the sea-coast. This was effected through the generosity of the father of the Abbess, who had been Treasurer to Queen Henrietta Maria, and that of Abbot Walter Montague, O.S.B., who at the time of the change from Boulogne to Pontoise, was the ex-Queen of England's Lord-Almoner. Few men of his time were more given to practical charity than Montague. Catholics and Protestants alike shared in his generosity ; but his chief interest was always the success of the English religious establishments in France. He it was who induced Abbess Forster to bring her community from Boulogne to Pontoise, where he became their ecclesiastical superior (1658–1670).[2] When Abbot Montague lost his revenues in 1670, the Cardinal de Bouillon, who succeeded Abbot Montague at St. Martin's, became their superior ; but in spite of the annual grant he procured for them from the Royal Treasury, the community in Pontoise began to decline. An unfortunate series of debts, occasioned partly by their disappointed hopes in Queen Mary Beatrice, should James II. win his throne back again, and the failure of a bank in which all their securities were, brought the convent well-nigh to ruin. In 1671 the community numbered sixty-nine persons. The fourth Abbess of Pontoise, Anne Neville (1688–1689), is authoress of the *Annals of Five Communities of English Benedictine Nuns in Flanders*, 1598–1687, which is one of the

dictae sub constitutionibus illis vixerint : muneris mei esse duxi Eminentiam Vestram debite super ijs informare, et testari quod toto illo tempore compererim constitutiones praedictas pie, solide et prudenter praescriptas esse et ad perfectam religiosae disciplinae observantiam, bonum superiorum regimen, debitam inferiorum subordinationem, saecularium aedificationem, et prae omnibus ad arctissimae charitatis et unionis animorum conversationem plurimum contulisse. Proinde Eminentissimam Vestram Granditudinem enixe rogo, ut pro ea qua pollet authoritate efficere non gravetur, ut praefatae moniales earumdem constitutionum petitam novam confirmationem a Sancta Sede obtinere valeant, et ea qua fieri poterit brevitate expediatur Deus Optimus Maximus Eminentissimam Vestram Granditudinem ecclesiae suae, diu servet incolumem, ut vovet Eminentissimae Vestrae Granditudinis humillimus Servus Episcopus Gandaven." Ghent, September 5, 1655.

[2] *Publ. Cath. Rec. Soc.* vol. 6 (1909), pp. 1–73 (*Abbess Neville's Annals of Five Communities of English Benedictine Nuns in Flanders*, 1598–1687). There is also in MS. (compiled from original documents at Teignmouth) a work in three volumes by Dame Justina Rumsey, entitled: *History of the English Benedictine Nuns at Boulogne and Pontoise, founded* 1652, *dispersed in* 1786 ; but no distinct history of the establishments in France has yet been written.

principal sources that exist for their history. The fifth Abbess, Elizabeth d'Abridgecourt, was solemnly blessed, February 3, 1689, at St. Germain-en-Laye, by Mgr. de Harlay, in the presence of James II. and the whole of the exiled English Court. Dame Barbara Fitzroy, the natural daughter of Charles II. and the Duchess of Cleveland, made her profession in the convent at Pontoise in 1691.[1] In 1700 the community, owing to the poverty and want of the convent, had dwindled down to forty-three members. Their financial affairs had been lamentably organized from the beginning, for despite charitable help from the exiled English King and from Louis XIV., they were unable to keep out of debt. The school they began in 1659 fell off, for the Convent was so intimately connected with the Stuart Risings of 1715 and 1745 that parents feared to send their daughters to Pontoise. Finally their circumstances became so straitened that Lady Abbess Widdrington sent a memorial to the Duke of Orleans in 1723, appealing to him to use his influence with the King of France in order to obtain help. They had lost in 1715, the annual grant of 3000 livres Louis XIV. had given them. The English Queen's death also reduced their revenues by 1500 livres, and they asked the Duke of Orleans to intercede with Louis XV. to continue the royal subsidy. Their number at this time was twenty-seven in all. A similar request was made to Cardinal de Noailles, but whether their appeal met with a generous answer or no, we cannot say. The history of the French establishments, except Douay and Saint Omer, is outside the geographical limits of the present thesis, but this inner history of the Boulogne-Pontoise community is told with such graphic details in the Teignmouth MS. that it may well be taken as a type for all the other English convents

[1] *Dict. Nat. Biog.* (vol. XX, p. 316, VILLIERS, *Barbara, Countess of Castlemaine and Duchess of Cleveland*, 1641–1709), repeats the falsehood from DOUGLASS (*Peerage of Scotland*, ed. Wood, 1813, vol. I, p. 720, note) to the effect that this young lady became the mother by the Earl of Arran of Charles Hamilton (1698–1754), and died Prioress of Pontoise on May 6, 1737. The real facts, as shown in the letters of Dame Elizabeth D'Abridgecourt, Abbess of Pontoise at this time (1684–1710), are that Barbara Fitzroy entered the school at Pontoise on April 11, 1682, at the age of ten. She was clothed on November 22, 1689, at the age of seventeen, and professed on April 2, 1691, before completing her eighteenth year. She remained in the English convent until 1721, when she was elected Prioress of the Royal Priory of St. Nicholas at Pontoise, where she died May 6, 1737.

during the eighteenth century. In 1754, two sisters, Rachel and Mary Semmes, came from Maryland to join the community.[1] Rachel was professed (Dame Mary Xaveria) in 1758. Mary did not persevere with the Benedictines, but joined the Canonesses of the Holy Sepulchre at Liége, where she was professed in 1766. Another sister, Clare, entered Pontoise in 1764, but was not professed. Less than fifty ladies joined the community between 1700 and 1786, when the nuns met in a final chapter to decide whether they could hold together as a corporate body or whether they should ask the ecclesiastical authorities to suppress them. "The frightful list of our enormous debts on one hand and the hopeless sight of our scanty income, so inadequate to meet our expenses on the other, seem not to leave us any option," the Abbess Clavering told her subjects. The final parting came, June 11, 1786. Six of the nuns with the Abbess went to the English Benedictine Convent at Dunkirk ;[2] one went to the Visitation nuns at the Convent of St. Denis in Pontoise ; three went to a Benedictine Abbey at Rouen ; two to the English Benedictines at Cambrai ; two to the English Benedictines at Paris ; and two more joined the Ursulines of Pontoise. Dame Mary Xaveria Semmes, the American, asked permission to join her sister at Liége, but later joined the English Benedictine nuns at Paris. From 1786 to the French Revolution, the few who went to Dunkirk shared the sufferings of the sister community.

The Convent at Dunkirk,[3] the second filiation from Ghent, was founded in 1662, with the consent of Charles II., in whose possession the town was at the time. Shortly before that date, May 31, 1660, Charles II. had sent from The Hague a gift of 400 English gold pieces to Abbess Mary Knatchbull, and as

[1] The Semmes family, of Charles County, Maryland, gave several daughters to the religious life : Rachel, who joined the Benedictines of Pontoise ; Mary, Martha, and Teresa, who joined the Sepulchrines at Liége ; and Clare, who was a novice at Pontoise (*Publ. Cath. Rec. Soc.*, vol. 9 (1911), p. 398, note).

[2] D. MAURUS ESTIENNOT, O.S.B., Prieur de St. Martin, Pontoise, *Histoire des monastères de la Congrégation des Dames Bénédictines angloises*. MS. at Teignmouth ; MS. *Virgines anglicanae apud Dunkerque*, in Archives at Newton Abbot (St. Augustine's Priory) ; *The English Benedictine Nuns at Dunkirk*, article in the *Poor Souls' Friend*, vol. VI (1898), pp. 522–748 ; vol. VII (1899), pp. 202–306 ; vol. VIII (1900), pp. 27–208 ; *L'Abbaye des Dames nobles Bénédictines anglaises de Dunkerque*, in the *Annales du Comité flamand de France*, t. XXXIV. Dunkirk, 1889.

[3] *Gallia Christiana*, t. 1, p. 347 ss.

the "debts and wants of the Ghent community still cried aloud," it was decided to use the money in beginning another foundation. In 1661, the Abbess and Dame Mary Caryll,[1] a niece of Lord Petre, went to England to obtain funds for the new convent. The King gave them £3000, other friends gave donations, and after some delay the foundation was begun at Dunkirk, the architect of the new convent being Dom Alexius Caryll, O.S.B., a monk of St. Gregory's, Douay. The MSS.: *Chronological Events as related in the Annals of the Benedictine Nuns at Dunkirk*, and the *Annals of Dunkirk*, both of which are now in the Archives of Teignmouth, contain very valuable information about the ascetical life of these English communities. Some of the noteworthy facts are the sale of Dunkirk by Charles II. to the French Government; the profession of the two daughters of Sir John and Lady Warner; the projects which arose at various epochs in the life of the community to transfer their community to Paris (1678) or to Ypres (1699), when their economic condition was at its worst; the clothings and professions of English ladies whose family names are famous ones in English political and Church history; the formal closing of their school in 1791 by the municipal authorities; the seizure of the church and Convent in 1793 by the Jacobins; the ejection of the nuns, October 13, 1793, and their imprisonment in the Convent of the Poor Clares, Gravelines, with their final escape to Calais and England, where they arrived May 3, 1795,—these are some of the elements in a history which deserves the fullest possible treatment from a biographical standpoint. On arriving in England, the nuns went to Hammersmith, which had always remained the most Catholic part of London,[2] and afterwards the community went to Teignmouth, where they now reside.

The foundation of Ypres in 1665 has been so amply treated by Dom Patrick Nolan, O.S.B., that scarcely anything remains to be said about it.[3] Its distinctly Irish character

[1] DE TRENQUALEON, *West-Grinstead et les Caryll*, vol. I, 429; vol. II, 99 (Mary Caryll, foundress of Dunkirk Convent). 2 vols., Paris, 1893.

[2] J. H. HARTING, *Catholic London Missions from the Reformation to the year* 1850, pp. 182-208. London, 1903.

[3] DOM PATRICK NOLAN, O.S.B., *The Irish Dames of Ypres, being a history of the Royal Irish Abbey of Ypres, founded* A.D. 1665, *and still flourishing; and some account*

dates from 1682,[1] and consequently its history from that time until to-day is bound up with the story of the Church in Ireland. The Irish Convent of Ypres shares with the English Convent of Bruges the honour of being still in existence in Belgium. The intimate relationships between the Abbesses and nuns and the history of conventual life in Ireland are described by Dom Nolan, to whom we owe what is so far the first general history of any of the exiled communities.

These filiations from the mother-house at Ghent relieved to a great extent the strain it was under financially. In 1655, Abbess Mary Knatchbull sent in a report to the Bishop of Ghent, which gives a fair idea of the assets and liabilities of the community. There were seventy-nine persons in the Convent, and the yearly expenses amounted to 4000 florins. The capital of nearly 100,000 florins in English securities they considered quite lost, and the debts still owing amounted to 30,000 florins.[2] The poverty of the Convent increased yearly, but it was thought that the Restoration of the Stuarts would place the nuns on a substantial footing, since all of them belonged to families well known in Royalist circles. They seem to have been disappointed, however, for in 1669, the Bishop of Ghent found it necessary to make a special appeal throughout his diocese for their support. Three of the nuns went to England in 1670, to collect alms from their relatives and friends, but the lack of funds to carry on the religious life of the Convent still continued.[3] From 1670 onwards, vocations in all the Benedictine houses gradually grew less and less—scarcely averaging more than one profession every two years.

of Irish Jacobitism, with a Portrait of James II. and Stuart letters hitherto unpublished. Dublin, 1908.

[1] *Arch. Dioc. West.*, vol. XXXIII, f. 45.

[2] *Ghent Annals*, pp. 162–164 (Statement of the temporals and spirituals of the Monastery made to the Bishop of Ghent by the Lady Mary Knatchbull, Abbess, A.D. 1635. *Episcopal Archives*, Ghent).

[3] On March 28, 1673, they wrote to Cardinal Barberini giving him an account of their poverty (*Vat. Libr., Bibl. Barb.*, t. 8621, f. 69) and begging help from the Holy See. The Internuncio's List of 1676 (*Vat. Arch., Nunz. di Fiandra*, t. 66) states that the Convent at Ghent contained fifty religious. They had always had a large number of nuns in the community, and as they depended solely upon the generosity of their families, they were then suffering greatly from want of the ordinary necessities (*ibid.*, t. 71). In the final distribution of 1682, they received 1200 florins. The Procurator's receipt for this is in t. 12, September 18, 1700, of the *Nunz. di Fiandra.*

The accession of James II. to the throne in 1685 seemed to promise better things for the Ghent Monastery; the King intended to have it transferred entirely to England, but this never became practicable, and after his flight in 1688, the community settled down in the necessitous condition which prevailed in most of the English Colleges and Convents down to the French Revolution. The only thing which relieved the sad monotony of their state was their share in the papal subsidy of 1682. After that, it was a general decline until the French Revolution. "The years passed without any very stirring events, and the quiet life of our sisters in their peaceful abode on the banks of the Scheldt was diversified chiefly by the usual little community interests of clothing, professions, and Jubilees."[1] In 1725, the community numbered only twenty-three choir-nuns, and the continued poverty not only kept ladies from joining the Convent, but also had much to do with the early deaths of many of the religious; the food was often inferior and insufficient, and this contributed to weaken constitutions which were already delicate by birth and education. The only American who joined the community was Dame Xaveria Boone; she was the daughter of Francis Boone of "Maryland, North America," and was professed at Ghent in 1760. "She was a very exact and good religious woman, and performed the offices of Mistress of Novices, Chantress, Infirmarian, and Cellerere, in which last she died," January 5, 1798, at Preston, after the return of the community to England. The visit of the Duke of Gloucester, the brother of George III., in 1782, caused mutual satisfaction and delight in this last stronghold of the Jacobite cause. The politico-religious disturbances of 1781–1790, which arose out of the arbitrary reform measures of the Emperor Joseph II., caused serious outbreaks at Brussels, Louvain and Ghent, and war broke out between the Low Countries and Austria. The success of the operations against the Emperor resulted in the formation of an independent commonwealth, "The United Belgian States," in 1790. This short-lived State was brought again under Austrian subjection towards the end of the same year (1790), and the country had hardly time to forget the dishonourable and sacrilegious conduct of the Irish General D'Alton, who

[1] *Ghent Annals*, p. 61.

had charge of the Austrian plan of campaign, when the fury of the French Revolution swept away homes and churches, schools and convents, colleges and seminaries, into the vortex of disaster. In 1794 the school at Ghent was broken up and the young girls, then about thirty in number, were sent home to their parents. The Benedictine nuns soon realized that the abandonment of their old home in Ghent was only a question of time. The recent Act of Toleration for Catholics in England, and the generous welcome the English Government and people had given the French religious, determined them to seek a refuge in their native country. In June, 1794, the Duke of York requested the Abbess to give up the Convent for military purposes, and he came to their rescue, transporting them by waggon to Antwerp. On June 26, 1794, the first half of the community arrived at London, and the Lady Abbess with the other half remained at Antwerp for a later boat. While there, they sold the Convent to a manufacturer of white lead, Mr. Fryson. The price promised was 1,400 French louis (about £1295). It was an unfortunate bargain, foolishly entered into, for they eventually lost the property. The community numbered twenty-two in all, when it began life in common again at Preston, in Lancashire. The school was reopened, and flourished both at Preston (1795–1811) and at Caverswall Castle (1811–1853), when the community was transferred to St. Mary's Abbey, Oulton, where it still remains. Up to 1794, twelve Abbesses had ruled over the community, and one hundred and fifty-five choir-nuns and fifty-four lay-sisters had been professed at Ghent. The Ghent Annals from which we have taken these facts are a model of the kind of history English Catholics deserve to possess of these old communities, and it is eminently to be hoped that the other communities will soon give to the Catholic public, through the Catholic Record Society, or by separate publications, a complete account of the political, religious and economic activity of their old houses in Belgium and France during the two centuries of their exile for the Faith.

In treating the history of the Brussels community with its subsequent filiations to Ghent (1624), and the foundations made from Ghent—Boulogne (1652), Pontoise (1658), Dunkirk (1662), and Ypres (1665), in all of which the mother-house of

Brussels had a share—we have not lost sight of the Benedictine foundation at Cambrai by the Fathers of the Order in 1623.[1] The two must be kept quite distinct, and it is misleading to give the house at Cambrai, with its filiation at Paris in 1650, as the work of the Brussels community. It is characteristic of the attitude of conciliation the English Benedictines maintained throughout the whole of the Exile, when the rivalry between Seculars and Regulars, as well as between Jesuits and Benedictines, was causing so many heart-burnings, that they did not attempt any design of amalgamating the Brussels Convent with their Congregation, because this would have brought them into conflict with the Society, which was strongly represented through family connections with so many of the nuns at Brussels and Ghent. Attempts had been made by the Anglo-Benedictines to erect a Convent for nuns of the Order under their jurisdiction at Lambspring (1608), at Paris (1612), and at Fontevrault (1613), but they were not successful, owing partly to the lack of subjects, and partly, as was the case in Paris, to the opposition shown by the English Ambassador.[2] At Paris a Convent had been built by some English ladies for the purpose, but the troubles which arose over the Union took up the attention of the Fathers, and the plan fell into abeyance until 1623, when two of the monks, Dom Rudesind Barlow, the President-General of the English Congregation (1621–1629), and Dom Benedict Jones, *alias* Price, who was then Superior of the Order in the London District, gathered around him nine young ladies, two of whom were descendants of Blessed Thomas More, and formed them into a community under the Rule of St. Benedict. Dom Jones accompanied them to

[1] *Publ. Cath. Rec. Soc.*, vol. 13 (1913), *Records of the English Benedictine Nuns at Cambrai (now Stanbrook)*, 1620–1793, pp. 1–86. The valuable archives of the community were seized by the French Government in 1793. Many documents of importance for the ascetical aspect of the English Continental conventual life were lost; others exist in the Archives of Lille (two cartons marked *Bénédictines de Cambrai*); in the Municipal Archives and Public Library of Cambrai; in the Archives of the *Mairie* of Compiègne; and at Stonyhurst. Cf. LE GLAY, *Cameracum Christianum ou Histoire Ecclésiastique du diocèse de Cambrai, extraite du Gallia Christiana et d'autres ouvrages avec des additions considérables et une continuation jusqu'à nos jours*, p. 258 (Note on the MSS. of ascetical works by Dame Catherine Brent, Abbess of Cambrai (1641–1645), now in the *Archives Générales du Nord à Lille*). Lille, 1849; *The Benedictine Convents in England, Abbey of Our Lady of Consolation, Stanbrook*, article by J. S. CODY, O.S.B., in the *Ampleforth Journal*, vol. II (April, 1897), pp. 22–26.

[2] TAUNTON, *op. cit.*, vol. II, 302–306; *Spicilegium Benedictinum*, no. 1, p. 16.

Douay, where they were lodged in a refuge belonging to the Abbey of St. Vedast. In September, 1623, a place was found for them at Cambrai, and before the year was out they had taken possession of the Abbey of Femy, in the outskirts of the town. At first the Abbey, which was in a ruinous condition, was only lent to them; but in 1638, it was made over to the English nuns in perpetuity—a grant which was confirmed by Pope Urban VIII., June 18, 1638. The price paid, according to Weldon, was 3500 florins. Mass was said for the first time in the new abbey of Our Lady of Consolation, as it was called, by the Archbishop of Cambrai, Van der Burgh, on Christmas Eve, 1623. To instruct them in the Rule, Dom Barlow obtained permission from the Nuncio for three of the Brussels nuns to come to Cambrai for a year. One of these three became first abbess of the new community, which was placed by the Archbishop under the jurisdiction of the English Congregation. In 1629 they elected their own Abbess from among the original nine postulants of 1623. The fame of the Cambrai Convent rests largely upon the fact that it was here for nine years that the great English ascetical writer, Dom Augustine Baker, directed the nuns and wrote for their guidance the numerous treatises on the spiritual life, which were embodied by Dom Serenus Cressy in the work, *Sancta Sophia*.[1] Father Baker's *Life of Dame Gertrude More*, the first professed religious of the Cambrai Convent, which has lately been edited by Dom Benedict Weld-Blundell, O.S.B., gives us an insight into the spiritual teaching of this foremost English master of the mystical life.[2] It is owing to Father Baker's wonderful direction that, whereas all the English foundations of contemplative nuns in the Low Countries sought to safeguard themselves from dangerous teachers of false spirituality, and from the dangers of Jansenism and Quietism, by taking English Jesuits for their confessors and directors, and made the doing

[1] *Sancta Sophia, or Directions for the Prayer of Contemplation, extracted out of more than XL Treatises writ by the late Ven. Fr. Augustin Baker, O.S.B., and methodically digested by the R. Fr. Serenus Cressy, O.S.B., and printed at the charges of his convent of S. Gregories in Doway.* Doway, 1657, 8vo, 2 vols. Republished by Dom Norbert Sweeney, London, 1876. A modernized synopsis of this celebrated work has been published by Dom Benedict Weld-Blundell, O.S.B., under the title *Contemplative Prayer.* London, 1909.

[2] *The Inner Life and Writings of Dame Gertrude More*, edited by Dom Benedict Weld-Blundell, O.S.B., 2 vols. London, 1910.

so a part of their constitutions,—the Benedictine nuns of Cambrai alone never had recourse to the Society for guidance, and yet were always remarkably preserved from the least shadow of error by the English Benedictine monks, who all through supplied them with confessors from their own Monasteries.[1] During his chaplaincy at Cambrai, Fr. Baker's system of spirituality excited some opposition, not only among his own brethren, but among others as well. A rigorous inquiry was made into the system; and in the Chapter of the Congregation in 1633, a solemn confirmation of it was passed. Shortly afterwards he was brought to St. Gregory's, Douay, where he remained for five years, and was then sent on the Mission (1638).[2] Dr. Kellison, the President of the English College, Douay, made every effort to have him kept at St. Gregory's, where he was of untold help to his own students, as well as to those under the care of the monks.

In 1640 the nuns at Cambrai asked that the Convent be raised to the dignity of a full Abbey of the Order, with all the rights and privileges as such.[3] This was granted the following year. Eighteen Abbesses had ruled the community, and about one hundred and sixty nuns had been professed in the Abbey of Our Lady of Consolation, when their long and peaceful retirement was disturbed by the advancing armies of the French Revolutionists, in 1793. The President-General of the Anglo-Benedictines, Dom Augustine Walker (1777–1794), was then living at the Convent in the capacity of chaplain, and at the outbreak of hostilities, he was arrested, together with Fr. Higginson, O.S.B., and the Hon. Thomas Roper, who was on a visit to one of his relatives in the Convent, and all three were imprisoned. On October 18, 1793, the community, numbering twenty-one nuns, was arrested and taken in carts to Compiègne. It was a journey of five days, and here they remained in prison for eighteen months. The President-General, Dom Walker, was brought to the same prison. During their stay at Compiègne he died, and was followed by

[1] *Publ. Cath. Rec. Soc.*, vol. 6 (1909), pp. 29–46.

[2] TAUNTON, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 202 ss.

[3] *Vat. Libr.*, *Bibl. Barb.*, t. 8620, f. 58; *Publ. Cath. Rec. Soc.*, vol. IV, Misc. IV, p. 299. London, 1907; Cf. *The Cambrai Nuns*, article by DOM C. ALSTON, O.S.B., in the *Downside Review*, January, 1907, pp. 17–26.

four of the older nuns, who were not strong enough to withstand the terrible privations to which they were subjected. In June, 1794, the sixteen martyred Carmelite nuns of Compiègne were put into the same prison, and it was from the arms of their English sisters in religion that they went to mount the tumbrils which carried them to Paris, and later to the guillotine.[1] Robespierre's death, ten days later, probably saved the English nuns from a similar fate. In April, 1795, they were released and given passports for England. In May of that year they arrived at London. The community numbered only seventeen at the time. They went first to Woolton, where they opened a ladies' boarding-school. Twelve years later (1807) they went to Abbot's Salford, whence they were transferred to Stanbrook, their present home, in 1838. The original archives of the community were lost during the French Revolution, and found their way into public and private archives. A complete set of copies from the Archives of Lille and Cambrai are in the possession of the nuns at Stanbrook. From these we learn that the only American who joined the community was Dame Louisa Hagan, born at Bryantown, Maryland, in 1740. She was professed in 1763 at Cambrai, and was one of the nuns imprisoned at Compiègne. She died in England in 1811. During their long residence at Cambrai the school contained twelve to fifteen pupils, who were supported by the Anglo-Benedictine Congregation.[2]

Weldon explains "the settlement of the pious swarm of our Cambrai bees at Paris in 1652," [3] by the reduced financial condition of the house at Cambrai, owing to the Rebellion in England and the losses most of the Royalist families suffered at that time. Paris was then the chief centre in France for the English Catholic exiles. Many noble English families had followed Queen Henrietta Maria into exile after the execution of Charles I. in 1649. One of the Cambrai nuns,

[1] E. A. WILSON, *The Martyrs of Compiègne*. London, 1907; *The French Carmelite Martyrs and English Benedictine Nuns*, article by COMTESSE DE COURSON, in the *Month*, vol. XCVI (1902), pp. 461–474.

[2] *Prop. Arch., Misc. dei Collegi*, vol. I, *Collegio Inglese, etc., di Duaco*, f. 370.

[3] WELDON, *Chronological Notes containing the Rise, Growth, and Present State of the English Congregation of St. Benedict, drawn from the Archives of the Houses of the said Congregation at Douay in Flanders, Dieulwart in Lorraine, Paris in France, and Lambspring in Germany, where are preserved the authentic acts and original deeds, etc.*, p. 199. Paris, 1709. London, 1881.

Dame Clementina Cary,[1] the daughter of Viscount Falkland, who had been Viceroy in Ireland under Charles I., had gone to Paris in 1651 for the cure of an illness, and the following year, through the generosity of the ex-Queen and of Abbot Montague, she arranged that a filiation should be begun under the jurisdiction of the English Benedictine Fathers who had founded St. Edmund's Monastery there, in 1618. Five nuns from Cambrai were sent, Dame Bridget More, another member of the family of Blessed Thomas More, being installed as Abbess. After occupying several houses in different parts of Paris,[2] they obtained possession (1664) of a Convent in the *rue du Champ-de-l'Alouette*, through the generosity of M. de Touché. This seems to be the generally received account of the foundation at Paris, but there is another account of equal authority which says that Dame Cary wrote to the Abbot Montague in 1651 describing to him their extreme poverty at Cambrai, and the necessity of relieving the burden there by another foundation. The life of the nuns under Benedictine rule and Benedictine direction was attracting a good number of vocations, and the Abbot was asked to assist them in settling at Paris. Montague replied that Paris was not the place just then for their Monastery and that no hopes could be held out to them for support. The President of the English Congregation saw no other way open, however, and insisted on the new foundation. It would be interesting to know why Abbot Montague withheld his consent in the beginning. He had no doubt a more profound reason than the state of Paris at the time, and it is unfortunate that the *Notes* published by the Colwich nuns do not clear up this question.[3] Weldon adds a word to his account which may give the clue: "Also the honourable dames of the great Parisian convent of Mount Carmel and those of Port Royal with their directors were very charitable

[1] She was the eldest of the four daughters of Lady Falkland, all four of whom became Benedictine nuns at Cambrai. Cf. FULLERTON, *Life of Lady Falkland*, 1585-1639. London, 1883 (*Quarterly Series*, vol. XLIII).

[2] Cf. *Vat. Libr., Bibl. Barb.*, t. 8624, no. 35—Abbess More to Barberini, asking for his protection against the encroachments of the diocesan authorities.

[3] *A sketch of the history of the Benedictine Community now residing at St. Benedict's Priory, Colwich, Stafford.* Colwich, 1835; *The English Benedictine Nuns of Our Blessed Lady of Good Hope in Paris, now at St. Benedict's Priory, Colwich, Staffordshire*, in the *Publ. Cath. Rec. Soc.*, vol. IX, Misc. VII, pp. 334-432. London, 1911.

to them."[1] The intimacy of the new English Benedictine Convent with *Messieurs de Port Royal*, who had been their first benefactors, some of whom while in hiding, said Mass in their chapel, may explain Montague's fears. The numerous pious foundations the Convent had received brought it more particularly under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Paris, without whose consent these benefices would have no value; and this fact, added to other causes which are merely hinted at in the Annals, caused the nuns to send a petition to the Anglo-Benedictine Congregation, asking to be separated from the same. The principal reason seems to have been, however, that the Archbishop had refused to allow them the rights of a founded Abbey, unless they were under his jurisdiction. This petition was granted in the General Chapter in 1657.[2] The sources at our command for the century and a half which followed this separation, are meagre, unbalanced and carefully shriven of anything that would show what part their Convent played in the Jansenistic troubles of Paris at the time. In 1793, when suppression came, and when the Convent was turned into a prison, the community numbered twenty-two in all.[3] Ten Abbesses had ruled over the community from 1652 until 1795, when they came to England. About one hundred nuns had made their profession in the Convent. Among these were several of the Semmes from Maryland. The first confessor of the house at Paris was the brilliant historian, Dom Hugh Paulin Serenus Cressy, D.D., O.S.B. (ob. 1674). After spending some years seeking a permanent home in England, the community settled at Colwich (1836), where it still continues to reside.

The Foundation Movement owes more to the Order of St. Benedict than to any other religious community of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. To have established five Monasteries for men (1605–1618), and eight Convents for

[1] WELDON, *op. cit.*, pp. 199–201; *Publ. Cath. Rec. Soc.*, vol. VI, Misc. V, pp. 29–43. London, 1909.

[2] For the relations between Port Royal and the Paris Convent, cf. *Publ. Cath. Rec. Soc.*, vol. 9 (*The English Benedictine Nuns of the Convent of Our Blessed Lady of Good Hope in Paris, now St. Benedict's Priory, Colwich, Staffordshire. Notes and Obituaries.* Edited by J. S. HANSOM), p. 358 et passim. London, 1911.

[3] Cf. GASTON, *Une prison parisienne sous la Terreur.* Paris, 1905; GASTON, *Les images des confrères parisiennes avant la Révolution: Saint Hippolyte, le couvent des bénédictines anglaises du Champ-de-l'Alouette.* Paris, 1911.

nuns (1598–1665), in days when English Catholics at home were impoverished by the penal laws, and when the exiles were living on charity in countries which had suffered irreparable losses from the religious and civil wars of the period, is a record that deserves a place among the great successes of the Order in the past, when it was the pioneer among the missionary bodies, and the standard-bearer of the sweetness and light of Christian civilization and culture. It is not what these monks and nuns suffered from want and the necessaries of life, for theirs was the vow of poverty, nor what they did in the varied activities which fell to the exiles' lot—political, religious and intellectual—which merits a high place in the history of the *diaspora*; it is the silent witness of their courage and patience during two centuries of an Exile which should never have been necessary if English men and English women who were leaders in the policies of the times, had but learnt a tithe of the toleration shown towards religious dissidents in other lands. In that subtle factor which cannot be seen but which can always be strongly felt, namely, the supernatual value of all this sacrifice and suffering for the Faith their brethren had died for, and for which they too were ready, at a moment's notice, to give up their lives, the English historian must realize a force for the betterment of the nation, for the defence of the right, and for the nourishing of that patriotism, which, hand-in-hand with Christian religious ideals, makes for all that is best and noblest in a land such as his.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE ENGLISH FRANCISCANS, 1618–1794.

1. *The Monastery of St. Bonaventure at Douay.*

THE anger of Henry VIII. fell with direst effect upon the Franciscan friars. As they were the most active of all the religious Orders in England at that time in upholding the lawfulness of his marriage with Catherine of Aragon, they were the first to suffer when the King and his licentious Court decided on her repudiation. Their very fearlessness in guarding the honour of their Queen made them the most dangerous opponents of Henry's designs, and the imprisonment of the Provincial, Blessed John Forest, in 1533, was the first warning to the friars that the King would not brook any interference.[1] Friar Peto's sermon at Greenwich in May, 1533, in which he publicly likened Henry to Ahab and in which he uttered the terrible prophecy of Henry's death, precipitated the suppression of the Franciscans. Before the end of August, 1534, all the Observants in the Kingdom were driven out of their homes. Some two hundred were cast into prison under sentence of death, which, however, was not carried out, owing to the influence of Sir Thomas Wriothesley.[2] A few were released and sent into exile, part into the Low Countries and part into Scotland and Ireland; but, with the exception of those who survived Edward VI.'s reign and those who suffered martyrdom, we know nothing about them except that some were starved to death in gaol, others tortured till they expired, and others again were chained two by two and died confessors of the Faith in the different county prisons.

[1] GASQUET, *Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries*, vol. I, pp. 167 note 192–200.

[2] GAIRDNER, *The English Church in the Sixteenth Century from the accession of Henry VIII. to the Death of Mary*, pp. 118–119. London, 1904.

To the glory of the Order Cardinal Pole has given testimony that not one of its members fell away during the time of trial.[1] Such loyalty to the Holy See was but a fitting climax to a religious and intellectual activity which was unrivalled by any other Order in England.[2]

On Mary's accession in 1553, the friars who survived were reassembled by Cardinal Pole in the Monastery at Greenwich, where he himself was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury the following year. Peto became Bishop of Salisbury and Cardinal Legate of the Holy See. Among those who received the habit after the solemn reopening of the Monastery was Thomas Bourchier, the gifted author of *De Martyrio Fratrum Minorum in Anglia*.[3] When the hour of Satan came, the day Mary Tudor died, and the powers of darkness took possession of the whole of England,[4] Elizabeth lost no time in renewing the Anglican schism begun under her father. Her purpose of exterminating Catholicism in the land was soon made manifest. The Observants were again the first to suffer in the suppression of 1559, for she had not forgotten that but for them the people might have acknowledged Anne Boleyn as their Queen. After their expulsion from Greenwich, June 12, 1559, the Superior, Father Stephen Fox, and several of his brethren, sought a refuge in the Low Countries;[5] the majority of the

[1] STONE, *Faithful unto Death: an Account of the Sufferings of the English Franciscans during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, from contemporary records*, pp. 38–40. London, 1892.

[2] T. ECCLESTON, *De Adventu Fratrum Minorum in Angliam*, edited by BREWER in the *Monumenta Franciscana*, t. I. London, 1858; supplement in the *Mon. Franc.*, t. II. London, 1882; complete edition in the *Analecta Franciscana*, t. I, pp. 217–257; abridged edition in the *Mon. Germ. Hist. Script.*, t. XVIII, pp. 560–569; English version: CUTHBERT, *The Friars and how they came to England*. London, 1903. Cf. LITTLE, *The Grey Friars in Oxford*. Oxford, 1892. *Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London*, edited by J. G. NICHOLS. Printed for the Camden Society, p. xv. London, 1852.

[3] *Historia Ecclesiastica de Martyrio Fratrum Ordinis Minorum Divi Francisci, de observantia, qui partim in Anglia sub Henrico VIII. Rege, partim in Belgio, sub Principe Auriaco, partim et in Hybernia tempore Elisabethae regnantis Reginae, passi sunt*, 1536–1582. Auctore Fr. THOMA BOURCHIER, *Anglo Ordinis D. Francisci de Observantia*. Paris, 1582.

[4] SANDER, *Rise of the Anglican Schism*, Lewis' Translation, p. 237. London, 1877.

[5] "To the Franciscans, in going over the sea, this remarkable chance befell, that whereas the journey from London to Antwerp usually takes three days, or at least two, they accomplished it in twenty-four hours, even though they were delayed on the way." *Publ. Cath. Rec. Soc.*, vol. I (*Miscellanea*), p. 43 (*Sander's Report to Moroni*); SANDER, *Rise of the Anglican Schism*, pp. 111 note, 114 note.

friars, however, remained in concealment in England and kept up in a remarkable way a hidden Province[1] which, though lacking organization, existed until 1614, when John Gennings, the Founder of the Second English Franciscan Province, received the habit from the Superior of the English friars, Father William Stanney.[2] Gennings is the link between the old Province and the new. After his admission into the Order by Father Stanney, he entered the Franciscan monastery at Ypres to make his novitiate, and it was during his stay there that he was able to influence some of the English College students at Douay to help in the restoration of the Order in England.[3] These same students had witnessed the foundation of the Second Order of Poor Clares at Gravelines a few years before, and the enthusiasm shown for the Order by these young Englishwomen had a salutary effect upon the young men as well. At the end of his period of noviceship, Gennings obtained permission from Fr. Andrew a Soto, Commissary General of the Order in Western Europe, to begin a temporary English residence at Gravelines with the young men who had joined him at Ypres.[4] There is no mention in

[1] STONE, *op. cit.*, pp. 106–120.

[2] THADDEUS, *The Franciscans in England* 1600–1850, *being an authentic account of the Second English Province of Friars Minor*, p. 27. London, 1898.

[3] If John Gennings, or Jennings, who entered the English College, Douay, on June 25, 1600, at the age of twenty-three, is to be identified with John Gennings, the Franciscan, then his education at that time was very scanty, for he had not even passed the "Rudiments" (BURTON, *Douay Diaries*, vol. I, p. 26); the following August, "literis parum initiatus, et facultatibus etiam modicus cum nec in alumnum admitti, nec propriis sumptibus sustentari posset," he was sent to live with Dr. Sanderson at Cambrai, who undertook to coach him in the elementary branches (*ibid.*, p. 29). This is not surprising, when one realizes how far learning had fallen from her high estate in Elizabeth's reign. At the time of his brother's martyrdom (cf. *The Life and Death of Mr. Edmund Geninges, Priest, crowned with martyrdome at London, the* 10 *day of November*, 1591, by JOHN GENINGES. St. Omer, 1614), John had been separated from his family for eight or nine years, and only met his saintly brother by accident shortly before his death at Grays-Inn-Fields (GILLOW, vol. II, pp. 417–418); up to his conversion he seems to have led an idle life about town. Whether Sanderson took him to Rome or not is uncertain, but the *Douay Diaries* speak of him as returning from Rome on September 29, 1601, with letters of recommendation from Father Robert Persons, who requested that he be admitted to the English College as a convictor "quindecim solummodo asses singulis septimanis a Collegio quibus se alat accipit, per modum pensionis" (*ibid.*, p. 35). Accepted as an alumnus in October, 1602 (*ibid.*, p. 44), he took the College oath, September 12, 1604 (*ibid.*, p. 61), and received minor orders, sub-deaconship, deaconship and priesthood in 1607 (*ibid.*, pp. 82, 86, 87), leaving for the English Mission on October 14, 1608 (*ibid.*, p. 94).

[4] BURTON, *Douay Diaries*, vol. I, pp. 136–137.

the *Douay Diaries* of this exodus to the Franciscans, though mention is made of Christopher Davenport, who left the College on August 10, 1617, to enter the Ypres novitiate. Englishmen who had become Franciscans in other Houses of the Order in Belgium, Spain, and Italy, began to join the residence at Gravelines, and when the little community was sufficiently large, Father Gennings appealed to the General Chapter of 1618, held at Salamanca, for the necessary permission to found an English Monastery at Douay, which was then the chief refuge of the English exiles on the Continent. This permission was given by the Chapter and was ratified by Philip III. Later, after some difficulty, consent was given by the Archduchess Isabella and by the magistrates of Douay who contributed a large piece of ground in the town upon which to build a friary and a College.[1] At the same time, the English Poor Clares of Gravelines were placed under the jurisdiction of the English friars. The new English Monastery of Saint Bonaventure gained a world-wide renown through the writings of Father Francis a Santa Clara (Christopher Davenport). Davenport had joined the Franciscans in August, 1616, after his conversion at Oxford. On completing his religious profession at Ypres, he entered the English Monastery at Douay, October 18, 1618. His superiors realized the exceptional gifts he possessed, and he was sent to the University of Salamanca, where he soon obtained the reputation of being one of the foremost divines of his time. He returned to Douay, when the Monastery school was opened, and later went on the English Mission, acting as chaplain to

[1] *Documents relatifs a l'établissement à Douai des récollets anglais*, in the *Analectes pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de la Belgique*, 1875, t. XII, p. 264 ss. The English Agent at Brussels usually became quite flurried at the news of a new English foundation, and his letter on this occasion is a characteristic one: "Gesualdi, the newe Nuntio to showe his dilligence towardes the Romishe See hath obtained of the Archdukes lycence to erect in their countryes a newe Monastery of Englishe Recollects, or Reformed franciscans fryers. But where these Hornets will make their Neste, it is yet undetermined; some thinke it shall be at Gravellinge, and others at some other Porte Towne of Flanders." Turnbull to Winwood, Brussels, January 31, 1615–1616, *P.R.O., Flanders Correspondence*, vol. XII. Sometimes the Government descended to inquiry concerning individual persons who entered the cloister, as, for example, Salisbury's letter to Edmondes, London, August 12, 1605: "Here is a bruit that Mrs. Southwell, sometymes mayde of honor to the late Queen, . . . should now be professt nunne of the order of Sta Clara, at Brussells." *P.R.O., Flanders Correspondence*, vol. 7, ff. 213–214; *Vat. Arch., Nunz. d'Inghilterra*, t. 5, f. 194 (Panzani on Goodman).

Queen Henrietta Maria. His friendship with Archbishop Laud and the part he played in the attempt at Reunion are well-known facts of English history. He was one of the leading English theologians of the period, and among his numerous works is the celebrated *Deus, Natura, Gratia*, with its appendix on the Thirty-nine Articles which later on aroused much interest at the time that Newman wrote his epoch-making Tract XC, which resembles it.[1]

Douay was at this time (1618) the most flourishing English educational centre of the world.[2] The English College was the oldest of all the establishments connected with the University, and the Scotch and Irish Secular Colleges vied with one another in learning and piety. The English Benedictine College was fast becoming a rival to Saint Omer, and the streets of the little town were so filled with English students that it resembled Oxford in pre-Reformation days rather than the home of sturdy Flemings. If there was any friction growing out of the rivalry between the three British nations, the annalists of the different houses make no mention of it. With men of such broad-minded charity as Matthew Kellison, Dom Rudesind Barlow, O.S.B., and Christopher Cusack,[3] each

[1] *Deus, Natura, Gratia. Sive tractatus de praedestinatione, de meritis et peccatorum remissione seu de justificatione, et denique de Sanctorum invocatione; ubi ad frutinam fidei catholicae examinatur Confessio Anglicana.* Lyons, 1634. "This work," says GILLOW (vol. II, p. 26), "caused much unpleasantness, and led to some ill-feeling." Davenport's relations with the King and with Archbishop Laud, together with his conversion of Godfrey Goodman, Protestant Bishop of Gloucester, and of Anne, Duchess of York, are evidences of the esteem in which he was generally held. At the time he wrote this first attempt to conciliate the XXXIX Articles with Catholic belief, a notion was prevalent that Charles wished to unite the Anglican communion with the Catholic Church. His Appendix, therefore, was written under this inspiration, and in it the Articles are viewed very favourably from a Catholic standpoint. The book at once became the bone of contention between the Puritans and the King, as well as between the factions which had arisen among the Catholics over the advisability of recalling Bishop Smith to England. So much discussion was aroused that it was placed on the Index of the Spanish Inquisition, and would have shared the same fate at Rome, had not Panzani, who was then in London as the official representative of the Holy See, advised strongly against the prosecution as liable to cause ill-feeling between Charles I. and Rome. The Appendix (pp. 278–340) is entitled: *Paraphrastica Expositio Articulorum Confessionis Anglicanae*, and was translated in 1865: *The Articles of the Anglican Church paraphrastically considered and explained* by F. A. SANCTA CLARA. London, 1865. Cf. *A letter to the Rev. E. B. Pusey, D.D., on his recent Eirenicon*, by JOHN HENRY NEWMAN, D.D., p. 16. London, 1866; ZIMMERMAN, *Carmel in England*, p. 49. London, 1899.

[2] *Vat. Libr., Bibl. Barb.*, t. 3047, ad annum 1622 (*Status Academiae Duacenae*).

[3] TREACY, *Irish Scholars of the Penal Days*, p. 75. New York, 1875.

of whom represented a different aspect of English-speaking religious activity, the petty spites and jealousies of former days were forgotten. The hearts of the exiles had learned by sad experience how subtly their enemies had fomented discord in the ranks of the faithful children of Christ. Although we shall have to chronicle dissensions here and there along the high-road of the two hundred years which yet remain to be explained in the history of the English College of Douay which were always re-echoed in the quarrels and troubles of the Mission, nevertheless, there will be a difference in the story, and that difference will be due in great part to the presence of the humble followers of Saint Francis of Assisi at this centre of English Catholic action.

From the beginning, as we see from Dr. Kellison's Report, the Monastery of St. Bonaventure existed in poverty.[1] The friars' situation improved every day, however, and they built at this time the beautiful church of Saint James, which is one of the landmarks of Douay to-day. They were few in number, even in 1622, when Dr. Kellison wrote, and they had no endowment of any kind, as the English College at St. Gregory's had; their only revenues being the alms collected in England for their upkeep. It is unfortunate that the Latin text of this part of Kellison's Report is so badly copied by a later scribe that it is only possible to conjecture the meaning of the words "at present not necessary" in the paragraph: "The object of the College (of St. Bonaventura) is to educate learned and pious friars for the English Mission. Hence they say they will open schools especially for Sacred Theology, though it is not yet clear how they can, from poverty; meanwhile their students attend the schools of the Benedictine Fathers. So far, there has not been any great result from the house, as this is only the fifth year from their beginning in a very small way. But they have sent some friars into England, men not unlearned, not discontented, but united, and at present not necessary. They lead, however, pious and modest lives, and set a good example."[2]

Gennings spent considerable time in England collecting alms for the new house, leaving Bonaventure Jackson, who

[1] BURTON, *Douay Diaries*, vol. I, pp. 395–396.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 396.

was called for that purpose from the Franciscan Monastery at Mechlin, in charge as Guardian.[1] Some time after 1622, they opened up their own school in the new Monastery, and in 1625 the community had increased so well that the General Chapter of that year gave the friars the rights and privileges of a separate Province. About this time the Scotch Franciscans also attempted to erect a friary at Douay. This unsuccessful project was repeated in 1632 by the Venerable Arthur Bell, who went to Scotland to collect funds for the purpose, but nothing came of it. A similar attempt in 1687 met with the same fate. The complete restoration of the English Province took place in 1629; Gennings was named First Provincial, Davenport was elected Warden, and Jackson, Day, Bell, and Pickford—all leading exponents of the English Counter-Reformation—were named Definitors.[2] "The formation of the second English Province was contemporaneous with the accession of Charles I., and during the whole of his reign (1625–1649), the fortunes of the Catholics rose and fell with his. James, by his weakness and incapacity for governing, had sown the wind, and Charles, by the utter vacillation of his policy and the want of integrity in his character, was indeed to reap the whirlwind. . . . Although for some years the Catholics enjoyed comparative peace, a reaction having set in among the higher classes and those about the Court in favour of the Catholic Church, it was as if this breathing-space were given to them in order that they might prepare for the coming storm."[3] The English Franciscans suffered heavily in the opposition which began against the King and Laud, and five of them were put to death for their Faith, among whom was the Venerable Arthur Bell.[4] Four others died in prison, while others suffered long terms of imprisonment, and were only released at the Restoration. The Mission, however, was not neglected in the midst of the tumults which were to

[1] Fr. Angelus Mason, *Certamen Seraphicum Provinciae Angliae pro Sancta Dei Ecclesia, in quo breviter declaratur, quomodo FF. Minores Angli calamo et sanguine pro fide Christi Sanctaque ejus Ecclesia certarunt* (Douay, 1649), p. 21. Second Edition, Quaracchi, 1885.

[2] Dodd-Tierney, vol. IV, p. 117 note.

[3] Stone, *op. cit.*, pp. 126–127.

[4] *Autobiographical and Genealogical Note-book of the Ven. Arthur Bell, O.S.F.*, 1638. Communicated by H. D. Grissell, M.A., *Publ. Cath. Rec. Soc.*, vol. I (*Miscellanea* I), pp. 117–123.

end in the execution of the King (1649). In 1632 two districts were created, and other districts were added so quickly that in 1647 there were eight such divisions in England, each ruled by a Guardian. The English Franciscans followed the Rule of the Strict Observance, and this naturally created difficulty in a country where it was impossible to carry out the counsels of Holy Poverty to the letter; but it is to their credit that in Chapter after Chapter they so regulated the mutual relations of the friars with their scattered flocks that their community remained free from encroachments upon the spirit of the Rule as promulgated by their Seraphic Founder. Two wise regulations were made. The first was that no Franciscan should be allowed to go on the English Mission unless he were judged competent for the work, while those who were not strong enough were employed as chaplains in the various English establishments of the Order at Douay, Aire, Gravelines, and Brussels. At each of these Convents there was a residence which accommodated two priests and three lay-brothers. The other regulation was, that if at any time one of the friars should cease to give satisfaction on the Mission he could be recalled immediately. Every Franciscan signed an oath to this effect, before being allowed to enter England. The greatest difficulty was the use of the alms given them to carry on their work in such a way that there should be no violation of the Rule of Poverty. In 1637, a decree was enacted forbidding any friar to have money or personal property in his own name or in that of a third person, without the written permission of the Provincial.[1] No alms might be accepted for personal use, and no alms might be disposed of without the cognisance of the Provincial or local Superior. That this was a great safeguard to the religious spirit of the priests on the Mission and at the same time a secure means of support for the Franciscan houses, is evident from the lives of the friars and the growth and prosperity of their Order.[2]

[1] THADDEUS, *op. cit.*, pp. 58–62.

[2] *Prop. Arch., Lettere della S. Congr.*, t. 38, f. 9, October 6, 1662. Six years later the boast was made to the Cardinals of Propaganda that they were doing more for religion in one day "que les autres missionaires ne peuvent faire en un mois," (*Prop. Arch., Scritture Riferite nei Congressi, Anglia*, t. I, f. 12). The Papal Nuncio, d'Adda, wrote from London, March 22, 1686, to Cardinal Cibo, that the friars were more favourably received by the Government than other religious "perche non

Between 1637 and 1685 considerable property in and about London was bequeathed to them, and the rent of these houses formed a constant revenue for the educational and literary work done at Douay.[1]

They suffered in the general storm of 1678 on the occasion of the Titus Oates Plot, three of their members being among the eighteen Catholic priests and laymen executed at this time. Afterwards, however, they recovered the greater part of their property, and their missionary activity was resumed with such energy that they were obliged to beg the assistance of ten Belgian Recollects in their work.[2] At the outbreak of the Revolution (1688), the Belgian fathers returned to their

hanno il governo e Superiori in Londra, come li PP. Benedettini e Giesuiti, questi sono quelli che nomino S.M., e corrono pericolo più tosto di fare del male, che altra cosa, dicendomi che gl'era stato fatto ricorso sopra l'emergenza di certi PP. Cappucini, sopra di che era bene vedere con Monsignore Vicario Apostolico di applicare il remedio, che era conveniente." (*Vat. Arch.*, *Nunz. d'Inghilterra*, t. II, ff. 42–45). The exigencies of their Rule hampered them very much, but no privilege or exception seems to have been asked from the Holy See before 1726, when their Superior wrote to Propaganda asking for permission for his subjects to carry money without the aid of a third party. (*Prop. Arch.*, *Scritture Riferite nei Congressi*, *Anglia*, t. II (1708–1727), f. 440.)

[1] Cf. A List of Benefactions and Obligations of Masses (1629–1794), THADDEUS, *op. cit.*, pp. 85–99. In the list of 1676 (*Vat. Arch.*, *Nunz. di Fiandra*, t. 66), the Franciscan friars at Douay are numbered as forty; the Convent at Gravelines had fifty nuns; that at Aire fifteen, and the one at Dunkirk also had fifteen. The Bruges Convent is curiously enough put down as being also an establishment of Poor Clares, with twenty members. The Internuncio reports that the Franciscans at Douay were suffering untold privations from want of funds. A great many of the religious on the Mission in England had been imprisoned, and all sources of help for St. Bonaventure's were cut off; the Third Order nuns of Bruges had enjoyed an annual revenue of 700 crowns, but since 1679, only half of this had been paid, and they realized that the whole of their capital in England would be lost, for the papers concerning their property had been confiscated, and they had no hope of recovering them; they were also in considerable debt to merchants in Bruges. The Poor Clares of Gravelines had always been one of the largest English communities abroad, and their expenses amounted to 2000 crowns a year. They were also obliged to pay heavy taxes to the French Government. At Aire things were no better. They were in great misery because their only support was the alms from England. At Dunkirk it was the same story (*Vat. Arch.*, *Nunz. di Fiandra*, t. 72). The amount given to them from the grant of 20,000 florins could not have helped much to relieve this situation:—the English Franciscans at Douay received 360 florins; the nuns at Bruges, 552 florins; the Poor Clares at Gravelines, 1920 florins; at Aire, 336 florins, and at Dunkirk, 480 florins (*ibid.*, t. 71). At the beginning of the eighteenth century the condition of the Poor Clares at Dunkirk was so deplorable that the Vicars-Apostolic of England petitioned the Holy See for further assistance for them (*ibid.*, t. 12; *Prop. Arch.*, *Misc. dei Collegi*, t. I, f. 120 (*Status Collegii Fratrum Minorum nationis anglicanae Duaci*, 1694).

[2] THADDEUS, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

Monasteries, and practically the whole of the eight districts were abandoned for a time. Many of the English friars took refuge at their home in Douay, until the storm subsided. In 1706, the new Church and Monastery of St. Bonaventure were begun at the expense of a convert, Sir Henry Fletcher, and six years later, the solemn consecration of the Church, was performed by the Archbishop of Cologne. Of their numbers at this time, certain statistics have come down to us:—in 1708, there were forty-two English Franciscans in Belgium;[1] in 1758 there were about forty on the Mission

[1] Only a slight reference to the difficulty between the English Franciscans and the Bishop of Arras at this time was found in the contemporary documents; but the Bishop must have gone very far in his opposition to them on the question of Gallicanism, if one may judge rightly by the documents for the year 1719. Difficulties were made to hinder them from hearing confessions, and the Bishop refused to ordain their students (*Prop. Arch.*, *Atti*, 1719, Cong. 7, f. 419). On the same day, November 13, 1719, the Nuncio at Brussels wrote to the Cardinal Secretary of State that the English Franciscans were being persecuted by the Bishop of Arras, who had not accepted the Constitution *Unigenitus*. The Nuncio asks for them the privilege of presenting their candidates for holy orders to any Bishop in order that their missions might not suffer. This privilege had been asked by Father Jerome Pickford, when Provincial (1647–1650), in a letter to Propaganda (*Vat. Libr.*, *Bibl. Barb.*, t. 6795, f. 74):—"Eminentissimi et Reverendissimi Signori: Fra Girolamo a S. Bonaventura et frati principali di monasteri osservanti riformati della provincia d'Inghilterra trovandosi hora parte par la persecutione grande nella patria, parte per servitio di detta loro provincia a Duay nel Collegio e seminario loro instituito per far missionarij di detto suo ordine humilmente espongono come per non essere a Duay alcuno ordinario, patiscono gran pregiudicio nel mandare lontano li loro frati per ordinarsi da vescovi, che non sanno la consuetudine loro di esser sempre liberamente ammessi a tutti l'ordini extra tempora, et non servatis interstitijs solitis. Più espongono come trovandosi in detto luogo a continuare le loro fatiche di rifutare e scrivere contra gl'eretici, hanno un certo scrupolo di servirsi fuori d'Inghilterra della faccoltà ch'hanno pratticato nella patria, alcuni 26, altri 19 anni con stampare libri delle controversie, e con frutto dell' anime. L'oratori humilmente supplicano V.E. degnarsi dell' autorità concessele dalla Santa Sede Apostolica, come protettore di dette nationi, e prefetto di quella missione, concedere al detto collegio e superiore di esso pro tempore, faccoltà di presentar li loro religiosi a qualsivoglia vescovo legittimo, per essere ammessi a tutti l'ordini, anco al presbiterato sine litteris dimissarijs ordinarij etiam extra tempora, et non servatis interstitijs solitis, come V.E. ha fatto a persone private in virtù di detta sua autorità, et anco per levare agli oratori il suddetto scrupolo di concedere al detto provinciale, et altri provinciali pro tempore che possino leggere libri prohibiti fuori, come dentro al paese, et che il medesimo provinciale possa concedere simile faccoltà ad altri lettori in detto collegio, e frati suoi impiegati nello studio delle controversie, secondo che giudichera espediente per la propagatione della Santa Fede Cattolica. Finalmente perchè detta provincia ha molto occasioni e negotij importanti per la Santa Fede Cattolica et bene di detta provincia di trattare con V.E. et nella corte di Roma dove non vi è alcuno di detto loro ordine inglese ne scozzese per agiutarli in simili bisogni, humilmente supplicano V.E. come protettore di detto ordine e di dette nationi a farli la gratia che loro provinciale possa adesso, et per il futuro mandare un suo religioso essemplare et capace per detto fine di esser collocato in Roma, dove più piacera a V.E., et ancò per consolatione di quei cattolici paesani, che trovandosi in

in England, twenty in the London district, nine in the Midland district, four in the Northern and four in the Western district, besides others who were not living in fixed localities. All told, the Franciscan Province numbered over one hundred friars and about eighty nuns.[1] Between 1758 and the outbreak of the French Revolution, the worst stages of the decline set in. Vocations grew scarce. Donations from rich Catholics fell off, and soon the Superiors at Douay found themselves forced to sell some of the articles of value left them by Sir Henry Fletcher, in order to meet current expenses. The law of 1790 prohibiting religious from making vows virtually closed St. Bonaventure's; and realizing the near approach of the disaster which was eventually to overtake all the exiled houses, the English Franciscans transferred their residence to Bruges, where they opened a College for Flemish and English students. The Governmental list of 1790 gives only eighteen names for the Monastery at Douay, two at Bruges and four at Aire.[2] In December, 1791, the ten who remained at Douay were placed under arrest, and on August 8, 1793, these were given orders to leave the city before five o'clock in the afternoon of the following day. Father Columban Ferrers, O.D.C., then Superior of the English Carmelite Monastery in Tongres, invited the Franciscans to take refuge with his little community, and here they lived in the hope that the Revolution would soon be over; but the following year the approach of the victorious French army drove them out of Tongres, and they fled to London.[3] The community numbered sixteen in all at this time, and one by one they died, only nine fathers remaining in 1838.[4] Shortly afterwards, the Province, canoni-

Roma vorrebbono fini volentieri servirsi di detti religiosi che d'altri per la confessione, et ancò alle volte per la conversione alla santa fede cattolica et il tutto in gratiam quos Deus etc."

[1] *Vat. Arch., Nunz. di Fiandra*, t. 135 f., April 5, 1748.

[2] In 1768 the monks numbered forty-three, but their revenues are not known. Cf. PEIGNE-DELACOURT, *Tableau des Abbayes et des Monastères d'hommes en France, à l'époque de l'édit de* 1768 *relatif a l'assemblée générale du Clergé*, p. 8. Arras, 1875.

[3] DECHRISTE, *Douai pendant la Révolution*, pp. 1–4. Douai, 1901.

[4] In the Public Library at Douay there is a catalogue of the Franciscan library which was confiscated at the time of the Revolution. Cf. H. R. DUTHILLOEUL, *Catalogue descriptif et raisonné des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Douai, suivi d'une notice sur les manuscrits de cette bibliothèque, relatifs à la législation et à la jurisprudence*, by M. TAILLIAR, p. 403 (*Inventaire et catalogue des livres qui existaient au couvent des récollets wallons et anglais de Douai*). Douay, 1846.

cally speaking, was broken up; but those who lingered on witnessed the restoration of the English Province in 1858, when Belgian Franciscans went to England to continue the work the generosity of their countrymen had helped to found over two centuries before.

2. *English Conventuals and Capuchins.*

No distinctly English community of either Conventuals or Capuchins was founded during the long period of English Catholic exile on the Continent. The Conventuals had existed in England before the Reformation, and, though not very numerous, they had been re-organized into a solid body by Leo X. (1517),[1] but no record of their fate has found its way into print, and likewise no record exists of any serious attempt to revive this branch of the First Order. No doubt many Englishmen entered Conventual houses on the Continent during these two centuries and a half of which we are treating; as, for example, Fr. William Thompson, the Conventual whom Gennings sent to Spain as his agent and procurator at the General Chapter of 1618, when permission was given to found the house at Douay.

As the Capuchin reform of the Order dates only from 1525, and its growth beyond the Alps from 1574, no members of this autonomous branch of the Friars Minor are to be found in England before the close of the sixteenth century, when two Capuchins, Father Benedict Canfield, an Englishman, and Father Chrysostom, a Scotchman, came to England in 1599.[2] In 1602, Canfield was expelled from the country. Among other Capuchins who came about this time were the well-known Scotch friars, Father Archangel Gordon, who became the subject of a popular Italian biography written by the Papal Legate Rinuccini, and Epiphanius Lindsay, described in the Memoir of Cyprien le Gamache as the "son of the Count of Maine." Queen Henrietta Maria, the wife of Charles I., brought over from France twelve French Capuchins as

[1] *Ite et vos in vineam*, May 29, 1517.

[2] *Lives of the Saints and Blessed of the Three Orders of Saint Francis, translated from the "Auréole Séraphique," of the Very Rev. Father Léon (de Clary)*, vol. IV, pp. 261–272. 4 vols., Taunton, 1887; KNOX, *Douay Diaries*, p. 35.

royal chaplains;[1] and under the protection of the Court these friars celebrated Mass publicly, preached and held controversial meetings with the Protestants, and as a consequence made many conversions. Other continental houses sent Capuchins to England in the same way as they send missionaries to pagan countries to-day, but their work was swallowed up in the fearful trial the Church was undergoing.[2] Their mission, however, did not induce the heads of the Order to begin an English novitiate, and it came to an end when the Queen left England for the Continent.[3] At the Restoration they returned to fulfil the same post under Queen Catherine of Braganza, but they remained only a few years. From this time we hear very little of the Capuchins in England until 1789, when the

[1] CYPRIANI DE GAMASCHE, O. CAP. *De missione Capucinorum in Angliam.* Paris, 1659; *Un capucin à la cour de Charles I.* Paris, 1889.

[2] *Vat. Arch., Nunz. di Fiandra*, t. 135 f., September 12, 1749; *ibid.*, t. 11, p. 49. The French Capuchins seem to have been determined to keep the English and Scotch members of their Order out of England (cf. TAUNTON, *English Black Monks*, vol. II, p. 131). This interesting episode began in 1626, when some French Capuchins from Normandy, hoping to be able to found a house in London under the Queen's protection, begged Propaganda to allow them to go to England for that purpose. The reasons contained in the refusal of the Congregation show a striking grasp upon the politico-religious circumstances of the time: (1) it would be superfluous to send strangers among the heretics in England when there are enough English, Irish and Scottish Capuchins in the Order to form such a mission; (2) the Institution of a new mission might arouse a fresh persecution; (3) they did not know the language, and harm might be done if they heard confessions in English; (4) they would have to violate some of their main rules, such as poverty, the wearing of the religious habit, the wearing of shoes, and possibly riding on horseback; (5) there was plenty of scope for their missionary activity in America and Canada; and (6) the new mission would be repugnant to a race as loyal to their language and customs as the English (*Prop. Arch., Scritture Antiche*, t. 311 (1626), ff. 143–154; *ibid., Scritture riferite nei Congressi, Anglia*, t. II, f. 440). Despite these disadvantages, however, the Capuchins who accompanied the Queen to London were doing splendid missionary work. In a letter to Mgr. Ingoli, Secretary of Propaganda, from John Mary de Treslon, Superior of the Capuchins in England, dated London, October 6, 1636, we learn that confessions were heard in the Royal Chapel in Italian, French, English, Spanish, Latin and Greek; ordinarily they had eight hundred communions a week, and seven hundred converts had already been received into the Church; the leading Catholics were kept together by a Confraternity of the Holy Rosary (*ibid.*, t. 106 (1637), f. 54; *ibid.*, t. 139, ff. 187–189).

[3] Nevertheless, vocations to the Capuchins from the English College at Douay are registered from time to time. In 1612, three students left to become Capuchins; in 1613, one more left (KNOX, *Douay Diaries*, pp. 34–35); in 1611, one more left; between 1578 and 1596, ten students of the English College, Rome, had joined the Order of St. Francis (FOLEY, *Records*, vol. VI, p. xxii); while the number between 1623 and 1633 is equally as many (*English College Archives, Index Chronologicus*, vol. II, p. 20). Cf. *Relazioni delle cose succedute ai Padri Cappuccini et alla loro Capella di Somerset in Londra al giovedi santo* 1643, *Vat. Libr., Bibl. Barb.*, t. 8673, no. 20; *ibid.*, t. 8672, ff. 9–14.

brilliant Irish friar, Arthur O'Leary, settled in London, ostensibly as chaplain to the Spanish Embassy, but in reality to minister to the Irish Catholics, for whom he built St. Patrick's Church in Soho Square. He died in 1802. The present Province dates from 1850.[1]

3. *The English Poor Clares, or Nuns of the Second Order of St. Francis.*

Some few years before Fr. Gennings restored the English Province of the Friars Minor at Douay, an Englishwoman, Mary Ward, founded out of her dowry a house of English Poor Clares at Gravelines. That there were Englishwomen in Poor Clare Convents before this time (1609) is evident from the fact that of the first five nuns who began religious life at Gravelines, three were English from the Walloon Convent of Saint Omer.[2] Mary Ward's connection with the Order was of short duration, for that same year she left the Poor Clares to begin her celebrated Institute which has been described in a separate chapter. Between 1609, and the birth of the Second Province (1629), this first Convent of the restored Order enjoyed a marvellous growth. Sixty-five nuns lived in the house in 1625, and the enthusiasm shown by the best English families for the contemplative life was frequently the subject of the English Ambassador's dispatches; for the Convent at Gravelines was considered a refuge for the daughters of the Gunpowder Plotters. An increase in the number of nuns in any of the foundations usually meant a filiation to another town; and, lured on by the false hopes

[1] *Cath. Encycl.*, art. *Capuchins*, vol. III, pp. 320–327 [F. CUTHBERT].

[2] CHAMBERS, *Life of Mary Ward*, vol. I, p. 172. London, 1882; *Collectanea Anglo-Minoritica; or a Collection of the Antiquities of the English Franciscans, or Friers Minor, commonly called Gray Friers. In two parts. With an Appendix concerning the English Nuns of the Order of St. Clare. Compiled and Collected by* A. P[ARKINSON, O.S.F.], p. 126 ss. London, 1726. Gasquet gives the names of four Franciscan Convents of women in England at the epoch of the Suppression; it is supposed that the English Poor Clares went to France after they were driven from their homes. No record, however, of their subsequent history has been preserved. We do not know how many religious accompanied Father Fox. One account says that after arriving at Antwerp, he went with twenty English Poor Clares to Rouen, and then to Lisbon where he was favourably received by Philip II. who built a church and Monastery for the religious. Father Fox was buried there in 1580. It has been supposed that these ladies were the exiled nuns, but, as there were several convents of English Poor Clares on the Continent at this time, it is impossible to decide the question. Cf. *Saint Clare, Saint Colette, and the Poor Clares*, p. 350. Dublin, 1864.

the Catholics as a body had placed in Charles' marriage, the Gravelines nuns founded a house at Dublin in 1625 to relieve them from their over-crowded state. Cromwell's entry into Ireland scattered this community, and many of the nuns returned to the Continent, where they entered different Convents of their Order; those who remained, however, succeeded later in re-establishing themselves in Dublin, and it is from this foundation that most of the present houses of Poor Clares in Ireland have sprung.

At Gravelines,[1] a school for young girls was begun shortly

[1] The off-hand way vocations were treated might seem somewhat odd to present-day followers of the religious life. When Mary Knatchbull, the niece of the first Abbess of English Benedictine Convent at Ghent, wished to join the community there, she was refused because three of the family were already nuns in the house. Being advised to join the Poor Clares at Gravelines, she went there, but "before she had been there long, a division arose in that community, 'which certainly,' says Sir Toby Matthews, 'was fomented from abroade. Some of them had been inclined to subject themselves to the visits of the Order, though some other of them desired still to remaine under the Ordinary, as they alwayes had done till then. The settlinge this question cost some time, but afterward was decided, and they parted into two convents, and so the Religious were all disposed off accordinge to their severall affections, with contentment to them all.' All this was too much for our poor novice, who left Gravelines as soon as possible" (*Ghent Annals*, pp. 11–12). That is the only printed notice we have seen of this difficulty. There is no doubt that the faction-spirit at Brussels had a corresponding effect on the Poor Clares. On January 18, 1627, the Nuncio Consa wrote to the Cardinal Secretary of State that the nuns of Gravelines were still divided; eight months before, some of the discontented ones had left for Dunkirk. Those who still remained in the convent refused to be governed by the Fathers of the Order. The Fathers themselves were to blame, Consa says, for the Commissary General used violent methods towards the nuns in order to reduce the Convent to his jurisdiction, and even called in the secular arm to aid him in this design. To avoid further scandal and to prevent the ruin of the Convent, the Nuncio promised to go himself to Gravelines to settle the matter (*Vat. Libr., Bibl. Barb.*, t. 6140, ff. 44–45). The Convent was divided into two factions: one, consisting of twelve nuns, wished to be under the spiritual direction of the Order, the other, the remaining forty nuns, wished to be under the Ordinary (*ibid.*, t. 8619, f. 108: *Moniales ex monasterio anglicano quod erat Gravelingae*, 8 *Junii*, 1627, *ad Barberini*). Barberini himself reports having received word from the Nuncio, August 28, 1627, that peace had not yet been made and that the nuns would have to separate. Later the Nuncio succeeded in settling the difficulty with honour to both sides. The filiation at Aire in 1629 was the outcome. Cf. *Vat. Libr., Bibl. Barb.*, t. 6207, ff. 25, 42: "Di commissione di Nostro Signore sono state qui esaminate diligentemente le scritture inviate da V.S. intorno agli affari del monasterio di Gravelingo, et essendosi poi di tutto dato parte a Sua Beatitudine ella è venuto in risolutione, che le dodici monache, che vogliono vivere sotto il governo de' frati osservanti di san Francesco conforme al temperamento proposto da V.S. medesima, si trasferischino dal monasterio, in cui si trovano a quello, ove hora vivono l'altre dodici, che vennero da Doncherche, e già che ancor esse intendono esser sottoposte a medesimi frati, si dichiari che questo monasterio col ricovero delle 24 monache sia sottoposto alla giurisditione, e cura loro, riservatamente solamente all' ordinario l'autorità concessa a vescovi diocesani dal sacro concilio di Trento, e constitutioni apostoliche ne' monasterij di monache soggette a

after its foundation, and this brought so many postulants into the Convent that the older sisters saw no way of accommodating them except by founding houses in other towns.[1] The first of these filiations was made at Aire, in 1629, under the direction of Father Davenport, who was then President of St. Bonaventure's College in Douay. Twenty-three nuns were sent to the new colony, but the vacant places at Gravelines were filled so quickly that a second house was founded in 1644, at Rouen, through the generosity of Queen Henrietta Maria.[2] A third filiation took place eight years afterwards (1652) at Dunkirk,[3] where the English Poor Clares were well known

regolari. E le altre 40 che ricusano la soggettione de' frati, si dichiarino rimanere sotto la giurisditione e governo dell' ordinario medesmo. La qual risolutione volendo Sua Beatudine che si effettui puntualmente già che in questa forma si spera, che l'uno, e l'altro sieno par vivere in pace; ne commette in virtù di questa a V.S. totale esecutione, dandoli perciò autorità di far tutti quegl'ordini, ch'ella stimera necessarij, et opportuni, anco intorno alla restitutione delle doti, o altro che occorresse, con facoltà di procedere contro i medesimi regolari, o altri, che in qualunque modo l'impedissero, o ricusassero d'ubidirla. Desidera bene la Santità Sua che'l tutto si tratti in modo che non habbia a riceversi impedimento da qualche indebito ricorso, e che la translatione segua con quelle decenti cautele che si convengono alle spose di Christo. Ma in cio'io stimo superfluo il ricordare alcuna cosa al zelo et accorto avvedimento di V.S. alla quale prego ogni bene da Dio. Roma 6 Novembre 1627."—"Fin dal mese di Decembre passato V.S. mi significo d'haver eseguito l'ordine che le fu dato intorno alle monarche di Gravelingo, e che'l tutto era passato non solo con molta quiete, ma ancora con gusto del governatore e cittadini di quella città, ma perchè tuttavia si sentono nuovi clamori, desidero che di nuovo m'avvisi lo stato presente del negotio, e che dovendosi venire all attual translatione d'alcune di quelle monache ad altro luogo proveda anticipatamente di casa con clausura ove devino ricoverari e d'alimenti per la loro sostentatione e se bene suppongo che al tutto ell'havrebbe provisto per se medesima nondimeno facendo quest'istanza la serenissima infanta nelle lettere che mi ha scritto ultimamente in questa materia, et essendo questa provisione non solo ragionevole ma necessaria per ogni rispetto, non ho potuto pretermettere il ricordarlo a V.S. alla quale di cuore mi raccomando. Roma 22 Aprile 1628."

[1] A fire at the convent in 1626 destroyed a good part of the building, and the nuns sent a petition to the Pope asking for help. Cf. *Arch. Dioc. West.*, vol. XX, f. 179.

[2] "For a long time they had looked for a place to which they could send some of their number, either to Rouen in France, or Antwerp; and I hear they are still working at this project."—Kellison's Report to the Nuncio of Brussels, BURTON, *Douay Diaries*, vol. I, p. 397.

[3] The papal subsidy of 1682 was intended only for the English Colleges and Convents in Belgium. Whether the English Poor Clares of Rouen succeeded in obtaining relief for their distressed condition it is impossible to say. A quantity of letters from the Abbess of Rouen to Cardinal Barberini describe pathetic scenes at their Convent to make ends meet (Cf. *Vat. Libr.*, *Bibl. Barb.*, t. 8621, ff. 70–76, 82 ss); ALBAN BUTLER, *A Short Account of the Life and Virtues of the Venerable and Religious Mother, Mary of the Holy Cross* (*Mary Howard*), *Abbess of the English Poor Clares at Rouen, who died there in the Sweet Odour of Sanctity, March* 21, *anno* 1735. London, 1767.

among the English residents of the town and among the merchants who thronged this busy port. A school for English girls was also opened at Dunkirk. At the mother-house the number of vocations was little short of marvellous.[1] Even with the depletion caused by the maintenance of the three daughter-communities,[2] the Convent at Gravelines numbered more than sixty nuns when the famous powder explosion, in which practically the whole town was demolished, occurred in 1654.[3] It was at this time that Lady Jane Warner (Sister Clare of Jesus) became a Poor Clare at Gravelines.[4] The decline which manifested itself in all the communities at the accession of the Hanoverian dynasty (1714) soon showed its effects, for in 1745 the four English Poor Clare Convents contained about half their former numbers,[5] though they compare favourably with the other English communities for women at the time of their imprisonment during the French invasion of Belgium. Of the seventy-seven nuns from the Benedictine Convent of Dunkirk and the Poor Clare Convent

[1] *A Brief Sketch of the two religious Communities mentioned in the Account of the destruction of Gravelines Convent of the Poor Clares at Gravelines*, in the *Poor Souls' Friend*, vol. VI (1898), p. 522 ss; *An Account of the Blowing up and Destruction of the Town of Gravelines* (MS. at Teignmouth, published in the *Poor Souls' Friend*, vol. V (1897) pp. 176–179). The community never fully recovered from the disaster of 1654. In 1672 they were compelled to appeal to Rome for help on account of the terrible state of their monastery (Cf. *Vat. Libr., Bibl. Barb.*, t. 8621, f. 64 (*Monache Inglese di S. Chiara rifugiatesi nel Belgio*); *ibid.*, f. 77). The Nuncio's report in 1681 (*Nunz. di Fiandra*, t. 71, f. 41) states that they were in dire necessity at that time, and it was for this reason that they received such a large share of the papal subsidy of 1682. The Abbess affirmed that had it not been for the alms of the Holy See they would have had to close the monastery. The community consisted of fifty nuns, and during the last few years they had received only 130 scudi from England (*ibid.*, t. 71, ff. 66–68); DE BERTRAND *L'Histoire des pauvres clarisses anglaises de Dunkirk*. Dunkirk, 1857.

[2] *Vat. Arch., Nunz. di Fiandra*, t. 71, f. 70: the Internuncio reports to Rome (March 1, 1681) that every possible hindrance which could legitimately be made was placed in the way of the young English women who wished to become religious, but still they came; neither the dangers of the times nor the appalling poverty of the Convents would deter them.

[3] *La ruine entière du beau monastère des réligieuses angloises de Gravelines, par l'accident du feu qui prit aux poudres, le 28 de May*, 1654: a printed announcement of the explosion, in *Vat. Arch., Nunz. di Fiandra*, t. 38, under date of June 10, 1654. Later the Internuncio appealed to Rome for help in re-building their Convent (*ibid.*, t. 38, September 26, 1654).

[4] *The Life of the Lady Warner*, p. 280. London, 1858. For a graphic description of the Convent at Gravelines at this time, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 106–107.

[5] ALBAN BUTLER, *Travels through France and Italy, and part of the Austrian, French, and Dutch Netherlands, during the years* 1745 *and* 1746, p. 109. Edinburgh, 1803.

of the same town who were imprisoned at Gravelines in 1793, thirty-four were Poor Clares.[1] The nuns at Aire and Rouen were imprisoned in their own houses at this time. After the fall of Robespierre, all the English Poor Clares took refuge in England, where, after living in separate communities for a time, the remaining members were united to form St Clare's Abbey, Darlington, which now represents all four of the exiled Convents. The Gravelines Register now in the Archives at Darlington contains a list of two hundred and nine names of English women professed there from 1609 to 1790;[2] the Dunkirk Register, in the Archives at Ushaw College, gives a list of eighty-eight nuns from 1652 to 1790. These ancient Registers show how intimate the connection was between the Convents and the old Royalist and Jacobite families in England. There were as many as fourteen of the Clifton family, five were Radcliffes, seven were Rookwoods, and seven Blundells; while members of other noted families made their profession in these houses—Howards, Petres, Langdales, Gerards, Andertons, Giffards, Shaftos, Talbots, Jerninghams, Arundells, Tempests, Throckmortons, Vavasours, etc., etc.[3] It is also noteworthy to add, as an example of the affection the community showed for their old homes in Flanders, where the piety and the hospitality of a generous-hearted race had enhanced the charm of the religious life, that in 1834, some of the Poor Clares returned to Gravelines with the intention of restoring the Monastery there; but, failing through want of means, they returned and joined their sisters at Scorton, which community later went to Darlington.

[1] Cf. *Nunz. di Fiandra*, t. 12. Despite the flattering description of the "English Nuns' Cloister," in an account of the town written in 1712 (Cf. *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. II., pp. 329–337), the English Poor Clares suffered from extreme necessity during the last quarter of the seventeenth century. They numbered fifty at this time, and though the town was always full of English they were not allowed to beg. Their petition to the Pope, dated October 12, 1700, asking for help in their distress, explains the precarious state of the Convent at this time. Cf. *Arch. Dioc. West.*, vol. XXXVII, f. 19.

[2] *Publ. Cath. Rec. Soc.*, vol. XIV (Misc. IX), no. 2 (*The English Poor Clares of Gravelines*, 1608–1837). London, 1914; *Obituaries of Relatives of Abbess Newsham of St. Clare's Abbey, Darlington*, 1759–1858. Edited by J. S. HANSOM, *Publ. Cath. Rec. Soc.*, vol. VII, Misc. VI, pp. 255–257. London, 1909.

[3] Cf. CHAMBERS, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 198–204 (*The English and Irish Poor Clares, filiations from Gravelines*).

4. *The English Convent of St. Elizabeth of the Third Order of St. Francis.*

We see Father Gennings more intimately at work in the restoration of the English Province of the Franciscan Order in the foundation of the Convent at Brussels for what is known as the Third Order enclosed. In 1619, two English ladies, both widows, and members of old Catholic families, took the habit of the Third Order under his direction at Brussels. Within the next two years, seven young ladies joined them, and in 1621 the new English Convent, dedicated to St. Elizabeth, was established and placed under the jurisdiction of the English Franciscan Superior of Douay. Two Franciscan nuns from the Convents of Ghent and Valenciennes were brought to Brussels, and made Abbess and Vicaress respectively of the new community. Fr. Francis a Sancta Clara (Christopher Davenport) was their first spiritual director. This arrangement not proving wholly satisfactory, the two Belgian nuns returned to their Convents, and two English Poor Clares from Gravelines were sent to instruct the young community in the spirit of the Franciscan Rule—an arrangement which may perhaps be called unique in the Annals of the Order.[1] In

[1] About a year after the foundation at Brussels, the nuns made an attempt to have a certain Clara Williams, who was a member of another branch of the Second Order, the Annonciades, appointed abbess over the new community (cf. *Vat. Libr., Bibl. Barb.*, t. 8619, f. 218 (*Supplex libellus ut instituatur Clara Williams abbatissa dicti monasterii*, 5 *Augusti*, 1622): "Sanctissime Pater: Sacra Sedis Apostolicae benignitate inexausta nixi, ad pedes Vestrae Sanctitatis humillime provoluimur, obnixe rogantes quatenus Sua Sanctitas necessitati nostrae opportune succurrere dignetur. Inchoata est Bruxellis ante annum domus pro sororibus Anglis tertij ordinis sanctissimi patris nostri Francisci quo convenerunt 17 domicillae ibidemque publica serenissimorum principum authoritate ac eiusdem civitatis ac superiorum licentia iam stabilitae sunt, empta [suis proprijs sumptibus domo eademque ad religiosi formam redacta, cum clausura et capella publica ubi reservatur Sanctissimum Sacramentum, ubi etiam noctu dieque, dictae Sorores divinum celebrant officium, tantumque hactenus in pietate ac religiosa regulae et statutorum suorum observantia Dei gratia profecerint, ut non solum ipsae iam paratae sint ad emittenda publice tria vota religionis essentialia, cum quarto etiam de perpetua clausura, verum etiam multae aliae virgines in Anglia harum exemplo permotae idem vitae subire institutum quam maxime anhelant, sunt etiam nonnullae hic Bruxellis ad ingrediendum paratae. Verum cum tanto bono quod hinc oriri poterit et speratur hoc unum obstat incommodum quod nullam habeant sui idiomatis matrem sui statui idoneam ac necessariam tum pro professione jamjam emittenda tum pro regimine domus in posterum. Huc usque tantum habuerant unam alienigenam linguae anglicanae ignaram quae propter defectum linguae non potest satisfacere officio matris: venerunt tamen hae filiae ex Anglia intentione fundandi

1626, the community numbered thirty-four nuns; and in this same year, they selected their own abbess, and the two Poor Clares returned to Gravelines. The Venerable Arthur Bell, who succeeded Father Davenport in 1623 as Confessor of the nuns, did much to place the Convent on a solid religious basis. His translation of the Rule of St. Francis, published at Brussels, in 1624, speaks of the nuns at Brussels as the first of their nation to make profession of the Third Order. Heimbucher, however, states that the Third Order possessed nearly thirty houses in England before Henry VIII.'s reign.[1] Another of Bell's works is dedicated to the two Poor Clares who helped to found the Convent of St. Elizabeth.[2] In 1630 he was recalled to Douay and appointed Guardian of St. Bonaventure's and Professor of Hebrew. Later he went on the English Mission and was captured in 1643 by the pursuivants and executed at Tyburn, December 11, in the same year. He taught the nuns how to keep their annals, and the first pages of the MS. history of the community, now in the Archives at Taunton, are in his handwriting. The ravages of the pest of 1635 at Brussels caused the community

monasterium ex spe habendi unam matrem suae nationis, quae tamen et debilis et iuvenis et ob alias rationes incapax indicetur. His difficultatibus dictae novitiae nisi huic tanto opportune occurretur malo statuerunt secum praecipue eiusdem domus virgines, a quibus totius domus stabilimentum pendet et fundatio, se nullatenus professionem emissuras, sed statim ad seculum redituras, unde dissolvenda prorsus et ad nihilum redigenda est dicta domus, quod cum fieri nequeat sine evidenti earumdem animarum periculo, sine summo franciscanorum ordinis dedecore necnon sine maximo christianae etiam religionis scandalo tum hic tum in Anglia. Hinc humiliter rogamus Vestram Sanctitatem his Sororibus idonea pronunc reperiri queat praeter unam suae nationis inter Annuntiatas a multis annis professam, quae quidem tunc superiorum iudicio tum omnium calculo aptissima iudicatur, etiam cum tam parum aut nihil alicuius momenti intersit inter professionem et obligationes Annuntiatarum et sororum tertij ordinis quod dignetur dispensare in quantum opus est cum dicta Annuntiata sorore scilicet Clara Williams ut relinquat suum monasterium et ordinem, et inter dictas sorores tertij ordinis mater instituatur praesertim cum omnes dictae sorores sunt novitiae nec aetatem habent ad officium matris. Hoc instantius rogamus quia periculum est in mora ne scilicet disolvatur domus et fiat iactura animarum discessu novitiarum, si Sua Sanctitas non tempestive pro sua clementia provisum videat. Deus Optimus Maximus Sanctitatem Vestram diutissime incolumem conservet. 5° Augusti anno reparationis 1622."

[1] HEIMBUCHER, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 497.

[2] *The Historie, Life and Miracles, Extacies and Revelations of the Blessed Virgin, Sister Joane of the Crosse, of the Third Order of Our Holy Father, S. Francis. Composed by the Rev. Father, brother* ANTHONIE OF ACA. *Translated out of Spanish into English by* FR. FRANCIS BELL *of the same order, and dedicated to Sisters Margaret and Elizabeth Radcliffe, professed poore dames of St. Clare.* St. Omers, 1625.

to seek another home, and two years later they went to Nieuport, where every kindness was shown them by the magistrates of the town and by the Bishop of Ypres, the celebrated Jansenius.[1] It is interesting to note, in view of the suppression of Mary Ward's Institute about this time, that Father Gennings, then acting as Provincial in England, sent to Nieuport for some of the religious, whom he placed in Catholic families as catechists. By their presence in England the nuns were thus enabled to collect alms for their community as well as to foster vocations among the young ladies whom they met. Unfortunately the climate at Nieuport proved disastrous to the health of the Franciscans, most of whom were members of rich and influential families, who had been brought up in the delicate way which prevailed at that period, and in a short time the death-roll contained the names of thirty-seven of the nuns. The stoppage of all intercourse between their families and themselves during the Parliamentary Wars lessened their revenues and diminished the number of vocations. It became the custom in moments of financial crisis for the English communities to send out small bodies of nuns to the chief cities in the Low Countries and in France to beg for alms for their establishments. As a consequence of the heavy losses the Franciscans at Nieuport were suffering during the civil war in England, five of the sisters were sent in June, 1658, to their homes in England, while others were sent to Paris, where the English Queen was living in exile, to collect alms from the English residents, and also to endeavour to found a house there, so as to relieve the mother-house of its very heavy burden. An attempt was made to begin a Convent at Orleans, but that proved unsuccessful, and they appealed to the Archbishop of Paris for permission to erect a Convent in his diocese. This permission was granted on condition that they were to be under his jurisdiction. The English Provincial of the Franciscans, knowing the difficult straits of the Convent at Nieuport, readily granted this exception to the general rule. Later, in 1661, they changed their Rule for that of the Conceptionists, a branch of the Second Order, and hence they were known in

[1] SANDERUS, *Flandria illustrata sive descriptio comitatus istius*, t. II, p. 639. Cologne, 1641.

Paris as the English Conceptionists, or the *Blue Nuns of Paris*.[1] This filiation attempted to found a house in Dublin in 1688, but it proved impossible, owing to the political troubles of the Orange Revolution. The school which was opened at Paris in connection with the Convent in 1660 soon became the chief educational establishment for English girls in France, and retained its high reputation for scholarship down to the Revolution. In 1793, the Convent and school were confiscated and the nuns and pupils imprisoned. They returned to England in 1800, and the community soon ceased to exist. The Diary of the Blue Nuns is a model one in many ways; but, considering the part the Convent played in them, it is unfortunate that no records were made of the activities of English ecclesiastics and laymen in Paris during the Jansenistic controversies.

Meanwhile, things were going badly at Nieuport. The town was constantly exposed to the dangers of invasion by reason of the war between France and Spain, and it was decided that the community should return to one of the larger cities of Belgium. Through the influence of Henry Howard, afterwards Duke of Norfolk, whose family was always very generous to the Third Order, they purchased a part of the abandoned palace of the Counts of Flanders, called the Prinsenhof, at Bruges, and took possession of it in 1662, dedicating the Convent to Our Lady of Dolours.[2] Here they lived during the hundred and twenty-five years which remained of the Exile, leading a life of prayer and contemplation, though gradually diminishing in number owing to the adverse conditions of the eighteenth century, which made the French Revolution a blessing in disguise to their community as well as to all the others. Several financial crises were met with,

[1] *The Diary of the "Blue Nuns," or Order of the Immaculate Conception of Our Lady, at Paris*, 1658–1810 (which constitutes the whole of volume VIII (1910) of the *Publ. Cath. Rec. Soc.*), edited by JOSEPH GILLOW and RICHARD TRAPPES-LOMAX. London, 1910. Cf. DAUMET, *Un Couvent franciscain anglais à Paris*, in the *Études Franciscaines*, t. xxvii (1912), pp. 251–264; 367–379; *Brief History of the English Convent at Paris of Blue Nuns*, in *Archeologia*, t. XIII (1839), p. 203.

[2] WILFRID C. ROBINSON, *Notice sur le Couvent des Franciscaines Anglaises à Bruges*. Bruges, 1891; *History of the English Convent of St. Elizabeth*, anonymous, published in *Dolman's Magazine*, April, 1847. Cf. OLIVER'S *Collections*, etc., p. 461; SCHOUTENS, *Eene Engelsche kloostergemeente in België*, pp. ii–iv. Bruges, 1892; VAN DONINCK, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

and for a time it seemed as if the community would not survive. Especially was this so in 1679–1682, and it is not surprising, therefore, to find the nuns receiving one of the largest shares of the papal subsidy given at this time.

The Reform of Joseph II. brought them into conflict with the Government. An Irish Franciscan from Louvain, who had been appointed Visitor to the Convent, endeavoured to force their submission to the Austrian Government, but the nuns refused to obey him, and were upheld in their course by the Bishop of Bruges. These disturbances naturally caused parents to prevent their daughters from entering either the school or the Convent,[1] and when Jemappes fell into the hands of the French, on November 2, 1792, arrangements were at once begun for the return to England. It is characteristic of their English phlegmatic disposition to note how, in spite of all the political events which pointed unmistakeably to the French conquest of Belgium, the nuns of most of the communities waited till the French armies were almost at their doors before giving up their homes. The general exodus began about May, 1794, and that same month the Franciscan Nuns set out for Holland, for all thought of going to England seemed impracticable in the face of the laws against Catholics which were still in vigour. When they did return to England in June, 1794, it was with the express consent of the King, George III., whose generous spirit prompted him to have all their luggage, which contained many articles against the law, brought through the custom-house without examination. They went first to Winchester,[2] and in 1808 moved to their present home in Taunton, where, it is claimed, traces of their long sojourn in Belgium are still visible in certain Flemish phrases and words that have survived all these years.

[1] ROBINSON, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

[2] *From Bruges to Winchester: the migration of a Religious Community in* 1794 (MS. at Taunton), published in the *Month*, vol. XIV (XXXIII), 1878, pp. 430–447.

CHAPTER IX.

THE ENGLISH COLLEGE AT DOUAY. PART II., 1613–1795.

THERE is one disadvantage in resuming the story of this great College, and it is the number of intervals in the one hundred and eighty-two years which follow Dr. Kellison's appointment as Rector down to the French Revolution, for which we have no official record. The Third Diary covers the period from 1598–1633. After an interval of eight years the Fourth Diary begins (1641); and in 1647 the story is carried on by the Fifth Diary which comes to an end in 1654. Then follows a second interval, 1654–1676, for which no record exists. The Sixth Diary (1676–1692) was probably lost during the confiscation of the College by the French (1793), and has never since been found. To add to this misfortune an interval of twenty-three years (1692–1715) occurs before the Seventh Diary (1715–1778) resumes the narrative. The years (1778–1793) are also a blank.[1] There is therefore a *lacuna* of eighty-four years in the period we are about to study; and the pity of it is that some of these years cover aspects of the College life which are of great importance to English Catholic history. This is especially true of the relations which may have existed between the Jansenistic leaders in Belgium and France and the Rectors and Professors of the University of Douay. The Roman archives make up this loss to some extent; in fact, it may be said that the research-worker among these archives, judging from the number and value of the documents still preserved, gains the impression as he reads day-by-day through the vast amount of material

[1] The *Prefect of Studies' Book*, which covers nearly the whole of the eighteenth century, gives a list of students and of class-books during this interval (1778–1793). It is one of the valuable documents in the archives at Old Hall, and is being prepared for publication for the *Catholic Record Society*, by Dr. Burton, the Vice-President of St. Edmund's.

which exists there, that the conditions in England, and in the other Colleges, Convents, and Seminaries established abroad for the English exiles, were never given more than a secondary place in English affairs in comparison to Douay. The English College at Douay is the history of the Church in England. Around it and in its growth and development, the authorities at Rome saw the whole progress of the Faith in England. It may not be too much to hope, perhaps, that the researches made so far will help somewhat to bridge these intervals and give an indication to future students of Douay history of the location of materials for a complete account of this celebrated Seminary.

Three Rectors had already preceded Dr. Kellison when he took up the reins of government in 1613. The chief events of his administration (1613–1641) are: the withdrawal of the College boys from the Jesuit school at Douay; the appointment of the first Vicar Apostolic, Dr. Bishop; the erection of Propaganda and its jurisdiction over the College; the new laws and regulations issued by the Holy See for all the Pontifical Colleges; and the Visitation of 1627. On November 5, 1612, while Worthington was still Rector, the Visitors called the collegiate body before them, and in the name of the Cardinal Protector, read the ordinances which they commanded all to observe. These embraced the duties of the President regarding the rules for admission of students for which stringent laws were laid down; the duties of the students; the respect due to their superiors, lecturers, prefects of studies, and prefects of dormitories; the question of taking degrees at the University of Douay, in which matter the students were ordered to wait till the end of their studies, and preferably, after some time spent on the English Mission; and other regulations respecting the discipline of the College, such as living within the College limits, communications with outsiders, and the sending of letters. The financial condition of the College, which had been so defective under Dr. Worthington, was now put on a better basis.[1] No further loans were to be contracted by the President without leave from the

[1] BURTON, *The Douay College Diaries, Third, Fourth and Fifth* (1598–1654), *with the Rheims Report* (1579–1580), vol. I, pp. 360–362. Publications of the *Catholic Record Society*, vols. 10 and 11). London, 1911.

Nuncio, and no money was to be borrowed which could not be paid within six months' time. The Papal pension, which, as we learn, was paid quarterly, was to be spent on provisions only; and in order to strengthen the position of the College it was decided to accept a smaller number of alumni. Moreover, every year, in the month of December, the President was obliged to draw up in conjunction with the officers of the College a complete and faithful account of the state of the College. Copies of this were to be sent to the Nuncio at Brussels and to the Cardinal Protector at Rome. A common council, consisting of the President and his assistants, was to meet once a week to treat of the difficulties which might arise, and the President was obliged to decide no important matter without the advice of his assistants. "For the first few months of the year (1613)," says Dr. Burton, "nothing more was heard of the Visitation, but the findings of the Visitors were being carefully considered at Rome."[1] The Report they made to the Cardinal Protector, although "it is evidently written under the influence of strong party feeling, and abounds with contradictions and misrepresentations,"[2] showed nevertheless, that the College was in a very unsatisfactory condition under Worthington. "The buildings were ruinous, the furniture insufficient, the students were insufficiently clad, the household arrangements were inadequate and unclean. The discipline of the house was relaxed and the studies were neglected."[3] It was evident that Dr. Worthington's removal alone would change the state of affairs, for not only were the missionaries he had sent to England less competent than formerly, but he himself "had sacrificed the discipline of the house to his love of popularity, and the affection of those who were associated with him in the government to the empty satisfaction of ruling with absolute and undivided authority."[4] A worse charge brought against him was that of compacting with certain students in opposing the above-mentioned regulations of the Visitors. Thirty-three of the students and six of the masters had written a memorial to the Cardinal Protector

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 363.
[2] DODD-TIERNEY, vol. V, p. 35 note.
[3] BURTON, *Douay Diaries*, vol. I, p. 363.
[4] *Ibid.*, l.c.

appealing against the introduction of the laws laid down by Drs. Clement and Chambers. In the course of the investigation which followed, it became evident that the Vice-President, Dr. Norton, had gone as far as discussing with the President the advisability of making over the College to the Society of Jesus. The situation this *dénouement* caused in England and in the College brought about a renewal of the quarrel between the Seculars and Jesuits. At last the English Secular Clergy felt they had always been right in declaring that the Jesuits were intriguing for the control of this their last stronghold, and the outcry against the Society grew more insistent. Worthington was summoned to Rome, and was obliged to resign his post.[1] On November 11, 1613,

[1] Dr. Worthington returned to England in 1616, and was reconciled with the Archpriest and his brethren. The biographical sketches we possess of him (DODD-TIERNEY, vol. III, pp. 156–158; vol. IV. p. 88; GILLOW, *Dict. Eng. Cath. Biog.*, vol. V, pp. 594–596) make no mention of the Society of Priests which he organized between 1616 and 1621 for the mutual support and encouragement of his brethren. This Society or Fraternity gave offence to the Archpriest Harrison, who looked upon it as neutralizing to some extent his authority over the Clergy, and Bennett, the Clergy Agent at Rome, was instructed to petition the Holy See to suppress the Fraternity. Whether this Society was merely the continuance of the Fraternity projected by Mush and Colleton in 1597, or a new organization, it is difficult to say, since very little was found concerning it (Cf. *Vat. Libr.*, *Biblioteca Vaticana*, MS. Latin 6696, no. 6). The Fraternity was probably not suppressed at this time for, in 1626, Bennett again petitioned the Congregation of the Propaganda to order its dissolution. "Illustrissimi et Reverendissimi domini, Joannes Benedettus, cleri anglicani agens Illustrissimarum Dominationum Vestrarum orator humillimus exponit, quod Thomas quidam Worthingtonus, sacerdos anglus, et sacrae theologiae doctor, ante aliquot annos congregationem quandam sacerdotum in Angliae sub se capite, certisque regulis erigere moliebat, et persuasionibus effecit, ut aliqui dictae Congregationi nomina darent. Haec capitum corporum, et institutorum diversitas in ipsa cleri viscera invecta, aemulationum semina iacere studia fovere, sacerdotes inter se committere, et periculoso exemplo levibus ingeniis (ut est mens humana, et nominis et novitatis avida) ad varias, novasque excogitandas congregationes viam munituram videbatur qua cum nullibi tutamen in Anglia ob vigentem haeresim perniciosa esse deprehenduntur. His, alijsque rationibus inductus reverendissimus dominus Harrisonus bonae memoriae archi-presbyter, consultis assistentibus, et rem improbavit, totamque coitionem sua auctoritate dissolvit. Interim vero praedictus Worthingtonus se ex Anglia subduxit et aliquot annos Lutetiae Parisiorum haesit. Cum eo ibi invento coram, et serio egit orator vester, ut perniciosas has cogitationes exueret, ne ad alia remedia confugere cogeremur. Annuit ille quidem: eaque ex causa nullas de eo sacrosanctae huic curiae (quod a clero demandatum habebat) Orator vester exhibuit querelas. Nuper autem resumpto antiquo spiritu, regulisque suae congregatonis Duaci impressis, in Angliam subito avolavit diruta duae structurae fundamenta denuo locaturus; speciosam sibi oblatam occasionem ratus, quod modo cum sumus sine superiore, homines omni lege solutos in factiones, et studia facile putet impellendos, et cum in ea sit sententia neminem nobis brevi praeficiendum fore superiorem, eas hoc interregno congregationi suae fixurum radices quas futurus noster praesul, si maxime velit, evellere non queat.

Dr. Matthew Kellison, who had been appointed acting-

His inconsulti hominis consilijs, et assistentes, et graviores alij e clero sacerdotes indubie repugnabunt : unde novae lites, dissidia, et scandala certissimo sunt consequuturа. Ut igitur imminentibus hisce periculis tempestive occurratur praedictis illustrissimarum Dominationum Vestrarum orator humillime supplicat ut Sacra Congregatio hos Worthingtoni conatus Isua autoritate cohibere dignetur, et vel ex hoc uno reputare, quibus incommodis quamque exitialibus clerus iste, quod ordinariae disciplinae praesidijs tamdiu caruerit exponatur." (*Vat. Arch.*, *Bibl. Barb.*, t. 8619, ff. 103–104). He sent with this petition the history of the Society's origin and the rules which governed it : " Ratio et modus constituendi sodalitatem sacerdotum anglorum, qui se invicem in spiritualibus et temporalibus adiuvabunt. Consueverunt ab initio seminarium sacerdotes in Anglia iuxta adhortationem (piae memoriae) cardinalis Alani, alij alijs opitulando locis ubi singuli residerent (nimirum in quibus vel edibus vel regionibus potissimum remanerent) providentes, aliaque subsidia procurantes. Verum nunc mutua haec alterutrorum cura fere desijt. Unde nonnulli de necessaria sustentatione anxij praesertim in futurum solliciti (si vel in infirmitatem inciderint corporalem, vel in carcerem conijciantur vel in exilium emittantur) ita sibimet solis student, ut et minus edificent, et minor facta sit ipsorum in populo existimatio, quam olim fuit. Ad huius igitur male remedium, cogitarunt aliqui sacerdotes, sodalitatem quandam inire eorum, qui mutuis caris, consilijs, et auxilijs se invicem tam in spiritualibus, quam in temporalibus, adiuvabunt et sancta sacramenta aliaque munera sacerdotalia, quam fieri possit, minori cum populi onere, administrabunt ad instar s. ordinis oratorij. Iamque ad hoc aliqui sacerdotes sese mutuo promisso, sed absque veto durante in Anglia publico schismate, obligarunt, sub hac quae subsequitur verborum formula. Ego N.N. sacerdos Anglus considerans praesentem patriae nostrae statum haeresi et schismate laborantis ; pro unius ad veram fidem, et ecclesiae unionem reductione, vano iam pridem instituta sunt gentis nostrae seminaria, atque sacerdotum in patriam missiones tum ex iisdem seminarijs tum ex varijs religiosorum ordinibus vidensque spiritum nostrum primaevum, non nihil remissum quo prior ille fervor, divina adjuvante gratia, denuo in nobis accendatur ad Dei omnipotentis honorem ac Deiparae Virginis Mariae Beatae, Beatorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, omniumque sanctorum, et ad commune animarum bonum, promitto, quod deinceps durante in Anglia publico schismate, quibus commode potero modis, etiam ex bonis meis temporalibus, alios eiusdem sodalitatis socios indigentes adiuvabo ; et totius vitae meae cursum pro virili dirigam, iuxta regulas ab eadem congregatione, communibus suffragijs statutas, sive statuendas.

Regulae sodalitatis (quae ad imitationem s. ordinis oratorij instituitur) communi omnium consensu constitutae anno Domini 1626.

1. Nullus sub hoc praetextu liberatum se putet ab obedientia archipresbyteri : sed eo magis obligatum, ut aliis exemplum praebeat debiti praestandi officij, cum omnibus etiam cuiuscumque ordinis pacem habeat unusquisque et concordiam. Omnes autem audiant libenter fraternas aliorum admonitiones, ac emendent errores.

2. Eligantur communibus sociorum suffragijs unus superior, et tres quatuorve asistentes. Munus vero superioris erit, cum consensu unius saltem assistentis, et aliorum quatuor vel plurium sacerdotum eiusdem sodalitatis, alios admittere ; atque alia congregationis negotia decernere. Eligantur praeterea aliquot procuratores pro numero sociorum, quasi pro illis unus qui cognoscendis moribus, et indigentijs singulorum incumbant, et ad superiorem, vel aliquem assistentem referant, et eorum decreta executioni mandent.

3. Sint omnes specialiter devoti Beatissimae Deiparae Virginis (sic) Mariae et Beatis apostolis Petro et Paulo, et sanctis angelis, proprijs custodibus, tanquam congregationis huius selectis patronis. Ad quorum honorem atque invocationem quotidie (iusto cessante impedimento) singuli recitent, vel coronam domini, vel litanias Beatae Virginis Laurentanae, vel rosarium, et sedulo instruant atque exhortentur populum ad pietatem.

President in his absence, was appointed Rector of the College.[1]

For two years Kellison was satisfied with allowing the studies to go on as they were, and contented himself with strengthening the piety and discipline of the College.[2] Of

4. Omnes in sacrosanctis sacrificijs memores sint totius sodalitatis. Unum vero sacrum faciat unusquisque singulis mensibus, pro benefactoribus vivis et defunctis. Tria autem sacra faciat unusquisque pro singulis defunctis nostrae Congregationis. Si quis voluerit recedere a sodalitate hac, id ei licebit ex consensu superioris, et unius assistentis, aliorum quatuor eiusdem congregationis. Si quis vero in quodvis crimen enorme (quod absit) inciderit, maxime si fuerit scandalosum sodalitate excludi debebit, indicio superioris, et unius assistentis, ac aliorum quatuor sacerdotum eiusdem congregationis. Laici quoque admitti possunt in hanc confraternitatem a praeposito vel ab aliquo assistente vel procuratore in participatione spiritualium gratiarum eiusdem sodalitatis, modo recitent vel litanias Laurentanas, vel rosarium Beatae Virginis pro se et aliis eiusdem confraternitatis socijs ut in regula tertia." (*Ibid.*, ff. 105-107). For the attempt made in 1697, to introduce the Institute of Holzhauser into England, cf. *Constitutiones Clericorum Saecularium in communi Viventium Sanctiss. D. N. Innocentio XI. Stabilitae usui Cleri Saecularis Anglicani: pro temporum circumstantiis accommodatae et a Reverendiss: D. D. Episcopis approbatae*, 1697. HEIMBUCHER, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 452 ss.

[1] An example of the correspondence this fear caused can be seen in the letter of the leaders of the House of Writers at Paris (Arras College), Bishop, Smith, and Champney, to Barberini, dated Paris, January 15, 1613. (*Vat. Libr., Bibl. Barb.*, t. 8623, f. 3) "Illustrissime ac Reverendissime Domine. Humilioris conditionis et tenuioris fortunae hominibus semper licitum fuit, ad eorum praesidium, qui in sublimiori constituerentur loco, confugere; unde etiam opem et auxilium (modo illud debite quaerant) invenire solent. Quod animus nobis dedit humillimam hanc Illustrissimae Vestrae Dominationis porrigendi petiunculam; quam et pro eximia (qua diurna providentia fulget) auctoritate potest; et pro singulari sua pietate, humanitate et religionis zelo (uti speramus) concedere velit. Haec igitur voti nostri summa est, ut nos sacerdotes, et S. theologiae doctores anglos a Reverendissimo Angliae Archipresbytero, et ejus assistentibus, ad fidem catholicam, apostolicam, romanam contra haereticos, libris scriptis propugnandam destinatos, et Lutetiae Parisiorum ad hunc finem congregatos, protegere, et ab haereticorum impugnationibus tueri dignetur: nostras scilicet personas, et causam, Illustrissimo Sedis Apostolicae in Gallijs nuncio eatenus commendando, quatenus ipse apud regem christianissimum et eius ministros, contra orationis regij Angliae (qui nos molestare imo et loco nostro dimovere non minimo studio conatur) impetus, apostolica auctoritate munitus defendere queat. Quo tam, nos ab iniqua oppressione liberabit, quam Sedem Apostolicam ab eorum calumnijs vindicabit, qui eam suorum cultorum et subditorum indemnitatem parum curare, dicere non verentur. Simili quoque submissione et instantia rogamur, uti collegium nostrum duacenum (quod semper sub cleri saecularis regimine fuit) sub eodem contra immoderatos quorumdam conatus conservare dignetur, neque quippiam contra vel praeter mentem reverendissimi Angliae archipresbyteri et praefati collegij praesidis in eo innovari, pro sua auctoritate permittat: quo et nos et totam Angliam nostram perpetuo gratitudinis vinculo sibi obstringet, qui propterea Deum optimum maximum supplicibus et assiduis votis pro donorum suorum in vobis incremento orare non cessabimus. Datum Parisijs 15 Januarij 1613, Celsitudinis Vestrae servi obsequentissimi, Guilelmus Bishope, Richardus Smith, Antonius Champneus."

[2] *Vat. Arch., Letters dei Vescovi e Prelati*, t. 20, f. 250: Kellison to the Pope, Douay, November 14, 1613. After explaining to the Holy Father the heavy burden of the Rectorship, he promised to raise the fallen discipline, to promote the piety of the

one thing he was determined from the beginning. The Jesuit influence in the College should be eliminated. In 1616, he began teaching scholastic theology himself, using as a text-book the Pars Tertia of the Summa of St. Thomas Aquinas. Shortly afterwards, certain charges were bruited abroad against his teaching on the Oath of Allegiance, and the College was accused of upholding the doctrines of the Benedictine Widdrington on the deposing power of the Pope. The source of these allegations was believed to be the English Jesuit College of Saint Omer, and when they came to his knowledge on April 24, 1616, Kellison called his assistants, the seniors, the priests and students of theology before him, and asked each one in virtue of his obedience to him to make known his opinion about the Oath, and to state candidly whether the doctrines of Widdrington were being favoured by anyone in the College. All, except Drs. Singleton and Weston, who were thought to belong to the faction opposed to the Secular Clergy and who still remained in the College despite the Nuncio's formal order for them to leave, signed a protestation in which they indignantly repelled the suggestion of their unorthodoxy.[1] This storm passed over without doing any harm in Rome to the College, and the next year all were too busy preparing themselves to withstand the plague which was then spreading over Flanders to continue the quarrel with their opponents. On July 21, 1617, as a precaution against the plague, the students were withdrawn from the Jesuit College of the town, and classes were set up within the English College itself, for it was deemed unwise to allow the collegians to venture outside the College grounds. The following October, at the opening of the academic year, the plague had reached its height, and Kellison, fearing that it would continue a long time, organized the classes of humanities on a new scale, appointing masters over each section. Among these masters was Mr. White, alias Blacklow. The unsatisfactory government of the former Rector had proved detrimental to the financial status of the College, and on October 27, 1617,

students, to enflame them with an ardent attachment to the Apostolic See, and to conciliate as far as he could the opponents of the College and of the Secular Clergy.

[1] BURTON, *Douay Diaries*, vol. I, p. 365.

Kellison was so hard pressed for money to buy food and medicine for the collegians that he sent a circular letter to the English Catholics imploring their help in the crisis.[1] The Spanish pension had not been paid for some time, and his only hope lay in the generosity of the Archpriest and Seculars in England whom he asked to distribute these letters.

It was hard to combat all these obstacles, but harder still, when we realize that all this time the College was harbouring against its will and against the express order of the Cardinal Protector and of the Nuncio, some of those whom they believed inimical to the progress of the College. Dr. Singleton, although a Secular himself, seems to have let no opportunity pass without attacking something or somebody in the College. On June 10, 1618, the Diary makes mention of his attack on Blacklow, the first no doubt in the life of that eminent though somewhat erratic scholar. A Pontifical Visitation in 1618 placed the College on a firmer basis than before. The Bishop of Arras who conducted it, vindicated the professors and students from Singleton's attack, as well as that of the English priests of Saint Omer. In consequence of this vindication, Dr. Singleton left the College, and his mischief-making schemes departed with him. The plague continued all through the year 1618, and Dr. Kellison kept up the classes he had begun the year previous; in November, however, it was deemed sufficiently abated to allow them to return to the College of the Flemish Jesuits. It was regretted in English Secular circles that the Rector did not see his way clear at this juncture to break off

[1] Rome never lost sight of the Colleges. The Pontifical Colleges naturally were nearer to her than those supported by the Orders or by the Jesuits, and foremost among the Pontifical Colleges came Douay. In the Instructions given to Morra, the Nuncio at Brussels (1617–1619), he was ordered to watch with special care over the English College, as it had lately been necessary to send Pontifical visitors to it, to change the President and to lessen the number of students. "Due sono i collegi che vi hanno gli Inglesi, uno in Sant Omero, di giovani di minor età, mantenuti a spese de' loro parenti et parte con assegnamento del Rè Catholico et di quelle Altezze, et è governato da padri giesuite, l'altro in Douay di giovani più provetti, che si mantiene con pensioni annue della Sede Apostolica et del Rè Catholico, et ha per presidente uno del clero secolare. In questo di Duay questi anni a dietro, si è havuto che fare assai, et bisogno farlo visitare, mutarvi presidente, diminuire il numero degli alumni, et fare altro provisione." Cf. CAUCHIE-MAERE, *Récueil des Instructions Générales aux Nonces de Flandre* (1596–1635), p. 69. Brussels, 1904.

the relationship with the Society which Worthington had found necessary to begin, but Dr. Kellison's extreme prudence proved the wisest course in the end. In April, 1619, Dr. Champney came to the College to assume the duties of Vice-President. The College now possessed in its President, a former Chancellor of the University of Rheims, and in its Vice-President, a Doctor of the Sorbonne, whose virtue and learning had already made his name a familiar one in English and French theological circles.

The English Secular Clergy were still uneasy about the College, for they felt that the Society had a strong hold over the students by reason of the Jesuit Confessor who still remained in the College. It was claimed to be an open secret that the Flemish Fathers of the Society were embittered against the President from the moment they realized his design of removing their influence from the College.[1] The opportunity Kellison had long waited for had come at last. The cause was trivial in itself—an altercation occurred between an English boy who had been insulted by one of the Flemish boys, and the next day the Prefect of studies at the Flemish College ordered the English collegian to be publicly flogged. "Consequently our students, who were there at the time, unwilling that such a disgrace should be suffered by their comrade at the pleasure of an angry master, coming up to the spot, intervened and freed him from further violence. When the Prefect saw this he ordered them to leave the school."[2] The whole affair was then explained to Kellison, who sent two of the seniors to the Jesuit Rector to place the truth of the incident before him; but the Rector refused to readmit the boys, unless the professors should be at liberty

[1] In a letter from Kellison to Cardinal Borghese dated June 6, 1618, this charge is clearly put: "Nam ex quo collegium hoc confessarium habuit Jesuitam (cujus praesentia et domi gravis et fortis toto clero et quamplurimis catholicis Anglis ingrata est) perpetuis quidam dissensionum fomes extitit . . . ipse semper solitus est per delatores secretos de omnibus se informare et omnibus nostris negotiis sese clanculum insinuare, quae res, cum illum redat odiosum, tum confessiones reddit non adeo gratas, liberas et apertas." *Vat. Arch., Archivio Borghese I*, vol. 691, f. 91. Cf. MEYER, *op. cit.* p. 89, who does not quote the document fully, for Kellison states emphatically that, although he considers the presence of a Jesuit Confessor a detriment to the spiritual welfare of the College, what he says about the Society does not come "ex ullo odio, passione vel anima in Societatis Jesu patres alienato, quos honore et amore, debeo, semper prosequor, profecta esse."

[2] BURTON, *Douay Diaries*, vol. I, p. 373.

to administer public correction for past as well as for future offences. Dr. Kellison then paid him a personal visit, but obtained no change in this decision. "And so, seeing that all this was a deliberate plan against the students, and being thoroughly weary of the daily quarrels of several years, he was at length compelled reluctantly to apply this remedy."[1]

This remedy was the permanent establishment of classes of humanities within the English College itself. All the studies, namely, the classics, philosophy, and theology, were now in the hands of the English College authorities, and the consequence of this change in the status of the College is a very important one. But it was only definitely established after a long and bitter quarrel with the Flemish Jesuits. "The Fathers of the Society objected to our boys being recalled from their classes to those at the College, and being taught within the walls of their home. They left no stone unturned to urge on and enforce the return of our students to their schools, even before the above-mentioned unjust terms."[2] The "childish business" was exaggerated into such a serious offence that when the Flemish Jesuits referred the matter to the Holy See, Dr. Kellison was peremptorily ordered by the Cardinal Protector, through the Nuncio at Brussels, to send the students back at once, and new laws were imposed upon him and the students which placed them more than ever, as they thought, under the tutelage of the Society. Dr. Champney, who was acting-President in Kellison's absence at the time, prudently refused to obey these injunctions until the Holy See had heard his side of the story,[3] and the result was that Kellison's action was judged a just one, and Father Burton, S.J., the Confessor in the College, was relieved from a post which must have been somewhat disagreeable to him. There was more than distrust for the Society in Champney's bold action, for what was most feared by the Secular Clergy was that the same stagnation which was manifest in the English Colleges in Spain would be the case also at Douay. Harrison,

[1] BURTON, *Douay Diaries*, vol. I, p. 374.

[2] BURTON, *Douay Diaries*, vol. I, p. 379.

[3] Kellison was at Rheims at the time, where he had gone to take possession of a benefice; and on his return he wrote to Cardinal Borghese, stating that he had read the letter from Cardinal Farnese, the Protector, and that he quite agreed with Champney's action in the matter. (*Vat. Arch., Archivio Borghese III*, 126 a, 163).

the Archpriest, wrote about this time to the Nuncio at Brussels, that the Seminaries in Spain had ceased to be nurseries for the clergy and were becoming little novitiates for the Society. The Secular Clergy recognized very willingly that the Jesuits had accomplished much useful work for the English Church, and were daily doing so, but they did not think "that Christian effort had been reduced to such a point that neither piety, learning, nor method in rightly regulating life could be found outside the Society's schools." [1] Fortunately, after this painful disturbance, a period of tranquillity and success ensued, during which time, under Kellison's able rule, the College regained much of its old-time honour and prestige. From the year 1619 on to the abandonment of the College at the French Revolution, the situation remained the same. The classes were taught by Seculars, the professors and rectors were all chosen from the clergy, and the confessors as well; and it must be admitted that the subsequent history of the College proved the wisdom of this arrangement. The classes consisted of Theology, Philosophy, Logic, Rhetoric and Poetry, Syntax, Grammar, Rudiments and Greek.

In a complete history of the English College of Douay, it would be necessary to follow the growth of the number of students from year to year and the effect of the College in its constant supply for the English Missions. We are obliged to pass over these items in order to give the broader influences and currents of the Foundation Movement in which the College always took a leading part. One of the first of these influences was the newly-erected Sacred Congregation of *Propaganda Fide*. Though not instituted with the express purpose of furnishing missionaries in the countries which had been lost through the Protestant revolt of the sixteenth century, its generous arms soon embraced all lands not bound to the Holy See by political and religious ties. Its paramount influence in the safeguarding of the remnant of the Church in England is one of the best evidences of its providential origin at the time when Counter-Reformation was beginning to wane. A short time after the erection of the new Congregation, Propaganda asked Dr. Kellison through the Nuncio at Brussels, for an account of the state of all the English,

[1] BURTON, *Douay Diaries*, vol. I, p. 383.

Scottish, and Irish Colleges and Convents existing at that time in Belgium. How valuable this Report has been for the story of the English is shown us from the use made of it in other chapters of this thesis ; and in it we see how closely joined all the English houses were, in spite of what must have been very long journeys in those days, for Kellison finished the Report in less than ten days, and it is the most accurate account of the Colleges and Convents we possess for the period.[1]

In the struggle which the English Secular Clergy were engaged for the appointment of a Bishop over their unhappy and distracted Church, Douay held a foremost place. Dr. Bishop's consecration as Bishop of Chalcedon *in partibus* and Ordinary of England, crowned the position of the Douay College in the English ecclesiastical world. Kellison's letter of congratulation to his old comrade of Allen's day is a splendid insight into the character of the College Rector. It would be vain, one account from England tells us, to attempt to describe the joy with which Dr. Bishop was received. Suffice it to say that Peter was not more joyfully received by the centurion, nor Paul by the Corinthians, while many looked upon it as a miracle that they should actually behold what they had never seen before, a Catholic bishop. Not since Campion's day had the English Catholics experienced such happiness, and none had more buoyant hopes for the progress of the faith than the students at Douay, his future priests, at the presence of a bishop in their country which had been bereft so many long years of all trace of the old Hierarchy. Dr. Kellison took prudent advantage of the enthusiasm of the Catholics and went to England in November, 1623, to take up a collection for the College.[2] From Calais he wrote to the priests and students of the College, informing them of his journey and naming Dr. Champney acting-President till he should return. "Praie for mee (as I daily praie

[1] BURTON, *Douay Diaries*, vol. I, pp. 390–399; vol. II, p. 571 ss.

[2] Cf. Letter of Kellison to Pope Gregory XV., dated Douay, May 25, 1621, in which he speaks of his projects for the good of the College. Almost 1000 priests had passed from its halls since 1568, and 110 of its alumni were martyrs. Gregory XIII. had founded the College over fifty years before "eo fructu, ut nondum sicut Sodoma et Ghomorra perierimus, sed reliquae salvae factae sint." *Vat. Libr., Bibl. Barb.*, t. 8623, ff. 16–17.

for you), that I may dispatch your buisness happely, and returne to you safely and speedily." [1]

The new year of 1624 opened out with the very bright prospects for the English Clergy and for this their cherished Alma Mater.[2] On April 3, 1624, Kellison returned with sufficient funds to relieve the pressing necessities of the College,[3] and though Chalcedon's death two weeks later cast a gloom over the College, still they all rejoiced that in the short time Dr. Bishop was in England he had succeeded in instituting a substantial form of government in the Church and had brought about a quasi-peace between the factions which had so long disturbed it. Dr. Richard Smith, one of the original founders of the College of Writers in Paris, was appointed Bishop of Chalcedon on January 2, 1625, and the awakened ardour of the English Catholics is evidenced by the large number of students for that year,—125.[4] On April 25, 1625,

[1] BURTON, *Douay Diaries*, vol. I, p. 220.

[2] The Diary makes no mention of a Visitation this year, although the Nuncio writes to Ludovisi from Brussels, May 27, 1623, announcing that he has given orders for the Visitation of all Pontifical Colleges in his Nunciature. (Cf. *Prop. Arch.*, *Scritture Antiche*, t. 205, f. 252.)

[3] Later, the Nuncio at Brussels, found the College struggling with such heavy debts that he wrote a very urgent letter to Propaganda for their assistance. (Cf. *Vat. Arch.*, *Nunz. di Fiandra*, t. 140, f. 82, Brussels, April 26, May 14, 1625.) Kellison wrote to Pope Urban VIII., from Douay, November 27, 1625, telling him that the College needed help badly, and begging him to intercede through the Nuncio with the Archdukes for assistance (Cf. *Vat. Libr.*, *Bibl. Barb.*, t. 8623, f. 23). This petition he repeated July 16, 1626 (Cf. *Prop. Arch.*, *Scritture Antiche*, t. 129, f. 36). The Archduchess Isabella, October 19, 1626, gave the College a share in the stock of the Admiralty of Dunkirk (Cf. *ibid.*, f. 247), but what help accrued from this is unknown, since the *Diary* does not mention it. For over four years the College received nothing from Spain. (Cf. *ibid.*, t. 101, f. 182).

[4] The ordination, on September 24, 1625, of Peter Fitton (*alias* for Biddulph), closed a painful episode in the mutual relations between the English Colleges of Douay and Rome. The Third Diary passes over the incident with the remark that he had been admitted to the College, November 21, 1624, by order of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide. (BURTON, *Douay Diaries*, vol. I, p. 232). Five theologians of the English College, Rome, led by Fitton, were removed from the College there in 1624, for what amounted to insubordination. (Cf. *Prop. Arch.*, *Scritture Antiche*, t. 384 (*Memoriali* 1623–1624), ff. 142–152.) Three of them were sent to Douay on June 25, 1624, with a letter from Propaganda which had examined into the case, and had declared them innocent of the graver charges made against them (*ibid.*, f. 157). Later on, July 16, another of the five was sent, and Peter Fitton, the leader of the disturbance, arrived November 21. The quarrel with their superiors at Rome did not end with their expulsion, for they accused the Rector of refusing to give them the *viaticum*, or travelling expenses to Douay, which Propaganda had ordered. Forty-five gold scudi was the lowest sum needed for the journey to Brussels (*ibid.*, f. 212), and in the *Schedula omnium pecuniarum quas quinque infrascriptis alumnis dimissis a Collegio Anglicano a Patribus Societatis Collegii Superioribusque pro viatico receperunt, die*

with the permission of the Bishop of Arras, the Forty Hours Devotion was begun in the College for the conversion of England. The following year (1626), the plague broke out again, and the students were removed to the castle of Lallaigne, which the Countess de Barlamont lent to the Rector for this purpose. This year, the two important decrees of 1624, which had serious consequences in the future life of the College, were reissued by Propaganda.[1] The first decree required the Rectors of all Pontifical Colleges, *i.e.* those assisted by an annual papal pension, to send to their respective Nuncios a complete report on all the students who entered or left the College during the year. The second decree—the so-called pontifical, or student oath—required each alumnus, on reaching his fourteenth year, to subscribe to the oath not to enter any Religious Order, Society, or Congregation, without special permission from the Holy See.[2] The purpose of the second decree was to prevent the disadvantage all such institutions have ever experienced, namely, that of giving young men board and lodging and tuition free for a certain number of years only to find them joining an Order which was not obliged in justice to recompense the College for its expenditures. It was not to hinder religious vocations, but merely to protect the College from what was considered unnecessary expense. The effect of the decree was twofold: it frightened many students away; for, once the oath was taken, a period of three years had to intervene after leaving the College, before the student could be accepted in any Order, Society, or Congregation; in consequence the decree had a second effect, namely, that of increasing such schools as that of Saint Omer, which, not being a Pontifical College, did not fall under this legislation. In the ultimate

25 *octobris*, 1623, they claim that they received in all 30 scudi only. Fitton adds "et tamen non verentur Patres Suam Sanctitatem informare quod alumni receperant nonaginta aureos." This incident serves in a way to explain the strong influence Fitton brought to bear later against the Society, when he became Clergy Agent (1631) and Dean of the Chapter (1638–1657). Fitton died as Librarian to the Duke of Florence in 1657.

[1] *Prop. Arch.*, *Miscellance Varie*, t. VI (1621–1654), f. 161.

[2] DODD-TIERNEY, vol. V, pp. cclxxix–xxx. Cf. *Prop. Arch.*, *Scripta varia*, *Decreta*, ff. 9, 349; *Vat. Arch.*, *Bibl. Barb.*, t. 3047 (*Status Academiae Duacenae*); *Prop. Arch.*, *Scritture Riferite nei Congressi*, *Miscellance dei Collegi*, t. I (*Collegio Inglese di Duaco, etc.*), f. 25.

analysis, the student oath proved beneficial to the English College of Douay, but that it caused some confusion is evident in the letters from students and professors which still exist in the archives of the Propaganda.[1] This same year (1626) a Visitation took place. To the Rector and professors, as well as to the English Secular Clergy, these visitations were somewhat unwelcome. Instead of lightening the difficulties of the College, they cost money and caused disturbances, not the least of which was the bad effect the very name "Visitation" had on the Catholics at home, who always associated it with the presence of disorders in the College.[2] But to the

[1] *Prop. Arch.*, *Visite Collegi*, t. 5, f. 20; *ibid.*, *Congregatione Particolari*, t. I (*Missioni*), ff. 263, 273.

[2] In order to escape the Visitations, some of the Colleges at Douay, notably the Irish and Scotch, claimed that they were not Pontifical establishments; and no doubt there were some in the English College of Douay who would have been willing to give up the papal pension in order to avoid these periodical visits. (Cf. *Prop. Arch.*, *Scritture Antiche*, t. 101, f. 124.) The opposition to the Visitation continued during 1627. On August 29, 1627, the Archdeacon of Arras, Richard Paul Stravius, was sent by the Nuncio to Douay to confer with the President as to whether the decrees of 1625-1626 on the College oath of not entering any Religious Order, Society, or Congregation, without the permission of the Holy See, were being imposed on the students. The Archdeacon of Arras acted with such manifest hostility that the President and seniors sent a memorial to Propaganda to make sure that the answers they had given Stravius should not be misunderstood. In this memorial (Cf. BURTON, *Douay Diaries*, vol. I, pp. 411-415), they state emphatically that they did not decline the Visitation, but that "under this head there was a double difficulty. First, that visitations of this sort cannot be carried out without great expense to the College, already too heavily burdened from other sources; secondly, the Catholics in England, by whose alms the College is mainly supported, will be easily led by the suggestions of our enemies, who abuse the very name of visitation, to believe that our life is not what it should be, and that grave scandals exist, on account of which these frequent visits by the Apostolic See are necessary. Hence the College will suffer disgrace quite undeservedly, and if the alms of the charitable are withdrawn, will quickly be ruined. It would, therefore, be better for the College if such a visitation were allowed at the will of the Sacred Congregation; but let it take place quietly, and let an English Priest from the Secular Clergy be sent from England for it. In this way His Holiness and the Sacred Congregation will be fully informed of the progress of the College, and the visitation will be far more useful to us, since it will be carried out by men who know clearly the present state of England, and can therefore give us better direction for the good of the English Church, and might also relieve the necessities of the College as opportunity offers in England after their return." BURTON, *Douay Diaries*, vol. I, pp. 413-414. Propaganda was fully aware of the unpleasant side of these Visitations (Cf. *Prop. Arch.*, *Atti*, 1627, cong. 3, f. 315), but the decrees of the Council of Trent were too stringent to allow any exception. In a subsequent volume on the discipline of the College, this question will be treated at length; and the visitation of the English College of Douay 1626-1627, and that of the English College at Rome 1739, will be used as models to explain the system Propaganda followed in this difficult matter. The attempt to have an English Priest as Visitor failed (Cf. *Prop. Arch.*, *Scritture Antiche*, t. 102, f. 31; t. 131, ff. 311-314). But the way in which future Visitations were conducted

future historian of the English College the results of these Visitations will prove a mine of information for the internal management of the institution. From this time forward (1627) there is mention in the Diary of students being sent to the new College at Lisbon.[1] The regular College life now continues down to the last entry in the Third Diary (June 26, 1633) undisturbed by outside events, though still struggling with debts. Several collections were made in England at the time. From 1633–1641 we have no records. Those in the Propaganda Archives are of too summary a character to fill in this *lacuna* of eight years.[2]

seems to point to some change in the matter. (Cf. BURTON, *Douay Diaries*, vol. II, pp. 481–483.)

[1] BURTON, *Douay Diaries*, vol. I, pp. 252, 418; CROFT, *Historical Account of Lisbon College*, p. 7. London, 1902; DODD, *Secret Policy, etc., Appendix* (*An Extract out of Original Letters concerning the English College at Lisbon, and the Jesuits Intrigue to make themselves Masters of it*); DODD-TIERNEY, vol. IV, pp. cclviii–cclxiv.

[2] *Prop. Arch., Visite e Collegi*, t. 8 (1631–1633); t. 11 (1633); t. 12 (1634); t. 13 (1635); t. 14 (1636); t. 15 (1637); t. 16 (1638); t. 17 (1639); t. 18 (1640); t. 19 (1641). The documents concerning Douay in these volumes are of minor importance. In 1634, the Internuncio notified Propaganda of the Visitation of Douay he meant to carry out that year (Cf. *Prop. Arch., Scritture Antiche*, t. 134, f. 114, Brussels, March 28, 1634); and later on he informs the Congregation of his inability to induce Champney to return to the College (*ibid.*, ff. 113–115). In the Chapter on the English Benedictines we saw the part taken by the ex-Vice-President in the quarrel at the English Benedictine Convent of Brussels. There is one curious incident in 1635, which merits the mentioning. A converted Anglican minister, Thomas Brown, wanted to enter the College, and Kellison opposed it, on the score that they could not support him, but in reality, because of the disturbance it might cause among the young students to have a man so much older among them. However, Kellison says, if the Nuncio, who was keen on Brown's acceptance, pays his pension, he would be taken. (Cf. *Prop. Arch., Scritture Antiche*, t. 105, ff. 210–230.) The regulations laid down by Propaganda after the Visitation of 1627, regarding the report the President was obliged to make every year about all the students living at the College caused much anxiety at Douay, and Kellison sent a list of doubts (1635) to be solved (Cf. *Prop. Arch., Scritture Antiche*, t. 105, f. 152, *Dubie del Presidente del Collegio Inglese di Duaco*). These *dubia* show how upset the state of the Mission was without a recognized head or authority. The Constitutions of the College gave the Rector full charge over the students, but the student oath took that authority away from the Rector, who was not even allowed the privilege of presenting candidates for ordination, except with the express permission of the Internuncio of Brussels. In former times, the Rector exercised authority over the students even after they became priests in the Mission, but the Dean of the Chapter had assumed that authority, and the Holy See had not decided where the real authority lay. The old title the Rector held of Prefect of the English Mission was no longer in use. Some of the young priests were in America, others had entered religion; others again had been lost sight of completely for years, and all these difficulties, added to the danger of corresponding with them in England, owing to the persecution, left Kellison in doubt as to what the Sacred Congregation really expected of him. He expressed the opinion also in this letter that it would be better if the Catholics of England and especially the

The Fourth Diary (1641–1647) begins with a short preface, from which we conclude that, after Kellison's death (January 21, 1641), "the praiseworthy custom of daily recording our history in brief" had been neglected. Dr. George Muscott, his successor (1641–1645), was in prison in London at the time of his appointment, and under sentence of death. His release was obtained through the influence of Queen Henrietta Maria. Even before arriving at Douay, Muscott found himself in circumstances of exceptional difficulty. The Vice-President, the two professors of Theology, the Procurator and the Prefect

Priests did not know how many had entered religion. Also, he adds, the Rector had little or no authority from the Holy See over those who never took the Mission oath (convictores). In 1638 Kellison felt the burden growing too heavy for him and wrote to Propaganda recommending George Leyburne for the post of Rector (Cf. *Vat. Libr., Bibl. Barb.*, t. 8627, f. 28). Muscott's appointment came somewhat as a surprise (Cf. *ibid.*, t. 8623, ff. 37–38).

The absence of any official account for these years (1633–1641) is regrettable, on account of the part taken by some English ecclesiastics in the Gallican discussions at the time. Kellison himself seems to have started "the whole war of pamphlets and books" by his *Treatise of the Hierarchie and Divers Orders of the Church against the anarchie of Calvin* (Douay, 1624), which he wrote presumably against the doctrines of Calvin, but in reality as a defence of Bishop Smith in the Secular-Regular Controversy (Cf. *Vat. Arch., Nunz. di Fiandra*, t. 16, f. 107). Dr. Smith had gone into voluntary exile in 1629, as the result of his tactless and arbitrary attempt to govern the Church in England on an ambitious scale which offended all parties, especially the Regulars and Jesuits, to whom he was more a master than father (Cf. BRADY, *Episcopal Succession*, vol. III, p. 79). The controversy was taken up abroad, and Kellison's book gave great offence, because in it he defended the thesis, that if the Regulars were allowed any influence in the Hierarchy, the Church would be in anarchy. Two attacks were made on the book, one by Father Edward Knott, S.J., and the other by Father John Floyd, S.J., under the pseudonym Daniel à Jesu. The former was written in the Clink, and was entitled: *A modest briefe Discussion of some points taught by M. Docteur Kellison*. Rouen, 1630; the latter was *An Apology of the Holy See Apostolicks Proceedings for the Government of the Catholicks of England during the tyme of persecution*, published also at Rouen, 1630. Both these works were translated into Latin the following year (1631): DANIEL À JESU, *Apologia Sanctae Sedis Apostolicae quoad modum procedendi circa regimen Catholicorum Angliae tempore persecutionis, etc.*; this volume was condemned by de Gondi, the Archbishop of Paris, January 30, 1631, and by the Sorbonne, February 15, 1631. Hallier, the leading Gallican of the time, now took up the defence of Dr. Smith and Kellison, in his *Defensio Ecclesiasticae Hierarchiae contra Loemelii Spongiam* (Floyd), and was answered by the Abbé de St. Cyran and his nephew, M. de Barios, under the *nom de plume* "Petrus Aurelius." The battle of books was given up by the English ecclesiastics, who obeyed the decree of Urban VIII., dated March 19, 1633, in which silence was imposed on both sides. The English Jesuits disavowed the works of their two brethren and expressed a strong wish that they had never been written. Cf. LAFERRIERE, *Étude sur Jean Duvergier de Hauranne, Abbé de Saint Cyran* (1581–1643), pp. 74–86. Louvain, 1912; GILLOW, *Dict. Eng. Cath. Biog.*, vol. II, pp. 303–305; vol. III, pp. 683–685; HUGHES, *History of the Society of Jesus, etc., Text*, vol. I, p. 216.

of discipline, all of whom were worn out and wearied with the long struggle to keep the College from succumbing to the debts which hung over it, sent their resignations to him.[1] They believed that the financial status of the College was well-nigh hopeless. The new Rector immediately appointed others in their places, and on his arrival began a complete inventory of the College assets and liabilities, so much so that the Fourth Diary, which was written by his Procurator, Edmund Ireland (*verè* Dutton), resembles a book of accounts and deposits rather than the historical annals we have for the years previous to his Rectorship. The financial condition seemed indeed irremediable. "There was a crushing debt amounting to nine times the annual revenues, while the yearly expenses themselves exceeded the income, and there were many bad debts. There were scarcely any provisions or stores in the house, and the tradesmen were pressing for settlement of their accounts. Of the twenty students [convictors], only eight were paying for their support, the rest being maintained on the foundation, which was inadequate for such a number."[2] The remarkable thing is that Muscott, with the aid of his Vice-President, William Hyde, and the Procurator, Edmund Ireland, succeeded within the short space of four years in reducing the capital debt by one half, in discharging the ordinary debts and in increasing the value of the College property. To do this demanded not only the strictest economy but required a lessening of the number of students; and when this number

[1] One of the first difficulties Muscott experienced was the application of the regulation of Clement VIII. (September 19, 1597), by which the students of Douay were forbidden to take degrees at any University until four years after the completion of the ordinary course of study (cf. DODD-TIERNEY, vol. III, p. cii). In his Report to Cardinal Barberini, the Protector, on the state of the College, January 9, 1642, he complained bitterly against the disadvantage his students were under owing to this Decree: "Mirum sane matrem non gaudere iisdem praerogativis et privilegiis quibus proles gaudent et fruuntur. Seminarium nostrum Hispalense, Valesoletanum, imo et Ulisopense non ita pridem ab Illmo. Coutino fundatum suos professores post immensa studiorum curricula, et post sudores et exercitationes in theologia palestra, ex privilegiis Sedis Apostolicae ad Doctoratus lauream promovere solent; hoc tamen Seminarium caeterorum omnium mater et a Sede Apostolica fundatum, ac si alterius stematis esset, hoc privilegium necdum gaudet, quo tamen maxime indiget; in caeterum enim maximum foret nostris professoribus qui sine stipendio militant in castris nostris, et sine salario per multos annos desudant in theologiae studia, et studia, si tandem in patriam reverterentur meritis honoribus decorati, et laurea doctoratus insigniti." (Cf. *Vat. Libr., Bibl. Barb.*, t. 8623, ff. 43–51.)

[2] BURTON, *Douay Diaries*, vol. I, p. xxii; KNOX, *Douay Diaries*, pp. 39–43.

(twenty) is compared with that of one hundred who were supported on the papal pension in 1600, the resultant effects on the English Mission can be understood. It was however the only prudent policy to pursue at the time. Muscott died December 24, 1645. This "flower of the English Clergy," as the Cardinal Protector called him, was worthy in every sense of the encomiums heaped upon him at his death. The discipline of the College was perfect.[1] The financial condition was so much ameliorated that he left the College richer by twenty-five thousand florins. He was succeeded by William Hyde,[2] the Vice-President, with whose term of office (1646–1651) the Fifth Diary (1647–1654) is mostly concerned.[3] French was added to the list of studies in 1648, and the following year Hyde was elected Regius Professor of History at the University of Douay. The long delays which usually occurred between the death of one Rector and the appointment of another always had a sinister effect on the discipline of the College, and this was especially true when Dr. Hyde died in December 1651.[4]

The following July, 1652, Dr. George Leyburne was elected President (1652–1670), and arrived at the College on December 30, of that year.[5] The delay had caused complications with the University authorities,[6] and had postponed the regular

[1] BURTON, *Douay Diaries*, vol. II, p. 484.

[2] *Vat. Arch.*, *Lettere dei Vescovi e Prelati*, vol. 22 (1634–1652), f. 246.

[3] *Vat. Arch.*, *Lettere dei Vescovi e Prelati*, vol. 22, f. 330; *Prop. Arch.*, *Scritture Antiche*, t. 208, f. 225.

[4] Cf. A valuable paper from Hyde undated and unsigned on the state of the Church in England at this time in the *Vat. Libr.*, *Bibl. Barb.*, t. 8620, ff. 111–114.

[5] *Prop. Arch.*, *Scritture Antiche*, t. 365 (*Collegii*, t. 3), f. 60: Dr. Smith, Bishop of Chalcedon to Propaganda, Paris, June 28, 1652, recommended Edward Pickford for the Rectorship of Douay. The names of the candidates he sent are William Clifford, George Leyburne, Mark Harrington, and Pickford. The four leading professors of the College had written to the Pope, on April 5, 1652, asking for the immediate appointment of a new President, owing to the disorder the absence of one was causing (cf. *Vat. Libr. Bibl. Barb.*, t. 2184, f. 141). The English Secular Clergy also wrote to the Pope to the same effect. A sort of panic seemed to strike the ranks of the Secular Clergy every time a Rector died at Douay, Elaborate plans, amounting almost to a campaign, in order to circumvent their supposed enemy, the Society of Jesus (which seems to have been unaware of the anxiety it created), were set on foot, and in every letter from England during these intervals, there is a monotonous reiteration of the same old story, which must have proved tiresome to the authorities in Rome. It was a useless expenditure of energy, and only kept alive the dying embers of the great quarrel of the previous century. (Cf. *Vat. Libr. Bibl. Barb.*, t. 8623, ff. 54–73.)

[6] Cf. Letter from the seniors at Douay to the Pope, Douay, April 5, 1652, against

ordinations for the year. The financial condition of the College was much better at this time, the College capital having increased in value to 42,279 florins.

We have no official records[1] for George Leyburne's Rectorship nor for that of his nephew, John Leyburne, who succeeded him (1670–1676), and this absence of documentary evidence, together with the loss of the Sixth Diary, which is known to cover the period 1676–1692, and which is followed by another break in the records (1692–1715), leaves us with little definite information about the College for the latter half of the seventeenth century.[2] This is all the more deplorable because these years (1654–1715) are of special importance in

the enactment of the University requiring matriculation and attendance at the University lectures. The letter is signed by Daniel, Gennings, Johnson, Singleton, Thirkil, and Morgan. (Cf. *Vat. Arch., Nunz. di Fiandra*, t. 12, f. 214.)

[1] There is a memorandum of alms to the Pontifical Colleges in 1657, which runs "into the thousands of scudi," in t. 362, of the *Scritture Antiche, Prop. Arch.*, f. 5, but no definite amount is accorded to Douay. The same year, Leyburne wrote to Barberini, Douay, July 7, 1657, asking that a vacant Canonry at St. Peter's Collegiate Church, Douay, be conferred upon Thomas Roper, the Professor of Theology; the College needed help especially at the moment, owing to the wars in England (*Vat. Libr., Bibl. Barb.*, t. 2184, pp. 88–90), and the revenues from this Canonry would lighten the burden somewhat. The *Brevis Informatio de Fundatione et statu Anglo-Duaceni Collegii* of 1661 (*Prop. Arch., Scritt. Ant.*, t. 373, f. 27) gives the annual expenses for the maintenance of the College as 4681 roman scudi; besides these are the ordinary expenses which amounted to 1713 roman scudi: "Quoad expensas quae facit Collegium ultra expensas pro victu et vestitu singulis communiter annis ascendunt ad summam mille septengentorum et tredecim scutorum monetae romanae, v.g.:

1. Annue pro vestitu Praesidis et salario ejus servi centum scuta mon. rom.,
2. Pro victu et vestitu duorum magistrorum qui tradunt Theologiam ducenta et quindecim scuta,
3. Pro victu et vestitu quinque magistrorum qui docent literas humaniores quadraginta scuta,
4. Pro salario medici et medicamentis singulis annis sexaginta scuta,
5. Pro salario tonsoris octo scuta,
6. Pro lavatricibus Collegii centum et quindecim scuta,
7. Pro literis scriptis et receptis singulis communiter annis ducenta scuta,
8. Pro reparatione Collegii, pro cereis in Ecclesia, proque aliis divino cultui provehendo necessariis, singulis communiter annis ducenta et quindecim scuta,
9. Pro salario septem famulorum centum scuta annue,
10. Pro salario organistae quindecim scuta annue,
11. Pro salario servitiarii et pistoris centum scuta,
12. Pro gabellis quas collegium annue solvit magistratui ducenta scuta."

[2] The documentary evidence in the Roman Archives for George Leyburne's Rectorship (1652–1670) shows how careful he was to keep the standard of the College up to the highest perfection. In the list of names of the collegians which he sent to Propaganda, April 10, 1663, each name has attached to it his opinion of the students in question. They are *magnae spei*, *summae spei*, *mediocris spei*, *insignis morum*, *bonus et modestus*, *bonae indolis*, *summae indolis*, *summae modestiae*, *ingeniosus*, *promptae indolis*, *pius*, etc. (Cf. *Prop. Arch., Scritt. Antiche*, t. 373, f. 38.)

English theological controversy, the University of Douay and its College being at the time in the thick of the discussions which prevailed throughout Belgium and France during the Jansenistic troubles.[1] The only information we possess is that contained in Dodd's Church History[2] and in the numerous pamphlets and treatises which were published by the exiles at this period. But even these contemporary sources were written from such a strong partisan spirit that it is hazardous to follow them. Dodd's *History of the English College at Doway*, which he published in 1713, and which he followed up (1715) by a volume on the *Secret History of the English Society of Jesus*, are so biassed that they must be left to be dealt with in a complete history of the College. We know that the logical candidate for Hyde's place was Dr. Daniel, the Vice-President; but his incautious, or rather, too cautious, reply to the question on Jansenism lost him the honour.[3]

A circumstance which militated against him was that he had formerly been a student of Blacklow, who was then considered Jansenistic in tendency. Certain events occurred in Dr. George Leyburne's Rectorship which merit a larger knowledge. Such, for instance, the attempt on the part of the University to force the English College authorities to send the students to the University lectures;[4] the interference of

[1] The Internuncio at Brussels to the Pope, April 4, 1652, asserted that the professors and students were "ferventissimi" for the Apostolic See, amid all the Jansenistic trouble in Belgium, and that they were most ready to prove their orthodoxy. (Cf. *Vat. Arch., Nunz. di Fiandra*, t. 12, f. 215; *Prop. Arch., Scritture Antiche*, p. 365 (*Collegii*, t. 3), ff. 60–81.)

[2] DODD, *Church History*, vol. III, pp. 377–381.

[3] Cf. *Vat. Arch. Nunz. di Fiandra*, t. 38, Internuncio to Propaganda, January 20–24, 1654.

[4] Cf. Leyburne's letter to Barberini, Douay, March 25, 1655, on the pretensions of the University to force the English students to attend the lectures in Philosophy and Theology in the University: "Reverendissime ac Eminentissime Domine, Etsi sciam Eminentiam Vestram gravissimis occupatam esse negotijs, mei tamen muneris ratio requirit, ut eam, in rebus ad hoc vestrum pontificium collegium spectantibus, interpellem; et praesertim hoc tempore quo veluti de summa salutis nostrae agitur. Haec enim Duacena universitas diu sopitam controversiam a paucis diebus suscitavit, et amicorum auctoritate, (uti pro comperto) habeo aliquid magnae nobis molitur calamitatis. Nimirum supplicatum est serenissimo huius Belgij principi, ut communitas nostra dictae universitatis jurisdictioni et legibus penitus subjiciatur, nobisque adimatur facultas classes domi docendi, qua huiusque quiete gavisi sumus, quaque gaudent omnia huius civitatis collegia et monasteria, quae ut nos, privatim domi docere consueverunt. Quam indigna foret Suae Sanctitatis collegio illiusmodi subjectio, nemo est qui non videat: deinde ultimam nobis offerret ruinam. Nam exactiones, quas

the diocesan authorities in the matter of promotion to sacred orders;[1] the controversy between himself and his old master, Blacklow; his conflict with the Chapter of the English Secular

universitas quotidie, et qualibet de causa, pro arbitratu imponeret essent omnino intolerabiles: et certe mortuo domino Hydaeo praedecessore meo, intrarunt statim officiales huius universitatis ad bonorum eius inventarium conficiendum, sub praetextu quod eiusmodi universitatis doctor fuerat, et proinde subditus; pro quo inventario, quod quinque horarum spatio absolverunt, collegium octoginta aureorum taxaverunt, atque adeo ad summum collegii dedecus satellites suos pro dictae pecuniae exactione statim in domum nostram immiserunt. Ex quo dilucide patet quam esset acerbum et grave iugum si integrum collegium dictae universitatis iurisdictioni submitteretur, in quo nimirum sunt centum vel circiter scholares: et profecto res esset valde deploranda, si collegium hoc apostolicum nullo iam prorsus aere alieno oppressu, perpetuis universitatis taxationibus in maximum suum damnum, ad debita contrahenda cogeretur. In his angustiis, nescio quo me convertar si non ad Eminentiam Vestram a cuius fide et tutela pendet hoc apostolicum collegium, quodque ei semper curae et cordi fuit, proindeque eam enixe rogo ut pro sua charitate et auctoritate suas litteras mittere dignetur, quibus eximamur a dictae universitatis iurisdictione sicut omnia hic collegia, et monasteria, quae' domi privatim docent, reipsa eximuntur, et ut maxime decet et necessarium est hoc apostolico collegio. Coeterum Eminentiam Vestram Deus Optimus Maximus incolumem omnibus nobisque custodiat eique semper prospera concedat. Ita precatur Reverendissimae Eminentissimae Dominationis Vestrae famulus obedientissimus, Georgius Leyburnus, Duaci die 25 martij 1655." (*Vat. Libr.*, *Bibl. Barb.*, t. 2184, ff. 44–45.)

[1] The English Clergy made several ineffectual attempts (1655–1660) to have a successor appointed to Bishop Smith, who died March 18, 1655. On September 19, 1655, Mark Harrington the Dean of the English Chapter wrote to Barberini asking that the Clergy Agent at Rome, Laurence Plantin, be appointed Bishop. About the same time the English Clergy proposed Henry Taylor for the dignity (cf. *Vat. Libr.*, *Bibl. Barb.*, t. 8620, ff. 115, 117, 118–130, 131–137, 138). Both Leyburne and Harrington wrote to Nipho, the intermediary administrator of the Nunciature of Brussels on behalf of Taylor (cf. *Vat. Arch.*, *Nunz. di Fiandra*, t. 40), and in January 1656, Nipho referred the matter to the Holy See (cf. *ibid.*, t. 40, January 16, 1656). Correspondence continued up to the appointment of John Leyburne as Vicar-Apostolic in 1685 (cf. *Vat. Libr.*, *Bibl. Barb.*, t. 2184, ff. 98–99, 100–114, 114–120). The clamour for a Bishop grew loudest at the Restoration in 1660, and the Internuncio sent a long account to Propaganda (the original of which is in the Archives of the Holy Office) on the state of the English Church at the time. The chief arguments are: (1) the Catholics cannot be represented as a corporate body before the government because there is no head; (2) the discipline of the Clergy and the spiritual organization of the people are sadly defective; (3) the King's interest in Catholicism; (4) it would be the best way to bring about peace between the Regulars and Seculars. A list of candidates follows, with opinions on each one by the Internuncio. Cf. *Vat. Arch.*, *Nunz. di Fiandra*, t. 44, August 28, 1660. (*Discorso sopra l'istanza del Clero d'Inghilterra di concederseli un vescovo per capo.*) One of the best accounts of the condition of English Catholicism at this period is the long report sent by Leyburne to Barberini, Douay, January 8, 1661 (Cf. *Vat. Arch.*, *Nunz. di Fiandra*, t. 45). There are thirteen sections: "Quoad regem; quoad praesentem regis conditionem; quoad regis consiliarios; quoad factiones quae sunt in aula regis; quoad generalem Synodum; quoad sacerdotes saeculares; quoad Capitulum anglicanum; quoad laicos catholicos apud quos Capitulum authoritate pollet; quoad idoneos dignosque qui ad episcopalem dignitatem promoveantur; quoad Catholicos hibernos; quoad agentes Capituli; quoad infelicem Rookwood, Carthusianum."

Clergy, in which the old charge was revived that he contemplated handing over the government of Douay to the Jesuits, a conflict, which finally caused the authorities at Rome to ask for his resignation, which he gave, only too gladly, in 1670.[1]

John Leyburne, his nephew and successor in 1670, was chaplain to the Montagu family at Cowdray in Sussex, when he received the post. He was a member of the Chapter, and had been proposed by the English Secular Clergy for the vacant bishopric of Chalcedon in 1667. His short rectorship of six years is remarkable for the number of efforts he made to be relieved of the charge.[2] In 1676, he was permitted by the Holy See to resign his post, in order to become Cardinal Howard's secretary. His subsequent career shows him in a better light. Appointed Vicar-Apostolic of England in

[1] DODD, *History of the English College at Doway*, p. 285. London, 1713. Leyburne practically forced Propaganda to ask for his resignation. He found himself out of sympathy with the many laws and regulations for the College, which, in his opinion, bound the President hand and foot. From 1663, correspondence passed between the Internuncio at Brussels, Leyburne and Cardinal Chigi on the subject. Leyburne suggested his nephew, John Leyburne, for the post in a letter to the Internuncio, Douay, October 6, 1663 (cf. *Prop. Arch.*, *Scritt. Antiche.*, t. 373, ff. 39–44). Again, on November 14, he writes to the Internuncio regretting that he finds it imperative to resign: "Vestrum Anglo-Duacenum Seminarium loco matris habeo et colo," and adds that he is willing to continue on condition that Propaganda give him the rights and privileges of his predecessors (*ibid.*, f. 49). Finally, on September 22, 1667, John Leyburne was appointed assistant to the President. John was in London at the time, and when he learnt of the appointment, he wrote to Rome declining it. The Viscount Montagu, with whom he was living in the capacity of chaplain, also wrote to Propaganda for the same purpose (*ibid.*, ff. 18-23). George Leyburne seems to have written regularly every month urging the acceptance of his resignation, and among his letters is a paper on the state of the College at this time written by the English Chapter, who suspected him of wanting to hand the College over to the Society of Jesus (*ibid.*, f. 94). This no doubt brought about his final release. He returned to England in 1672, after spending a year and a half at Rome, and then went to Chalons-sur-Saône in Champagne, where he died, December 29, 1677, aged 84. (Cf. *Vat. Libr.*, *Bibl. Barb.*, t. 8620, f. 132; *Vat. Arch.*, *Nunz. di Fiandra*, p. 55, February 5, 1667; *Vat. Libr.*, *Bibl. Barb.*, t. 2184, f. 142, April 8, 1667; *Prop. Arch.*, *Scritture riferite nei Congressi*, t. 1, ff. 290–325 (Instructions for Claudio Agretti); *Prop. Arch.*, *Miscellanee dei Collegi*, *Misc. del Collegio Inglese di Douay*, f. 8. Internuncio to Barberini, Brussels, January 19, 1669).

[2] Cardinal Barberini wrote to him from Rome, November 14, 1671, congratulating him on the appointment and hoping that he would remain (*Prop. Arch.*, *Lettere della Sacra Congregazione*, t. 54, pp. 208, 395); but from the very outset, Leyburne found himself in difficulty with the authorities in Rome. Shortly after assuming charge at Douay, he petitioned Propaganda for the faculty of absolving from the mission oath, but this was refused; Cardinal Barberini wrote personally to the Bishop of Arras in order to facilitate the promotion to holy orders (*Vat. Libr.*, *Bibl. Barb.*, t. 8623, ff. 194–202).

1685, he ruled the Church in England single-handed until 1688, when three other Vicars-Apostolic were appointed. He died in 1702. His successor, Dr. Francis Gage (1676–1682), found the College in a flourishing state,[1] but upon him fell the burden of weathering the storm caused by the Titus Oates Plot (1678), which so alarmed the Catholics in England, that many feared to allow their sons to go abroad for their education. After his death, June 2, 1682, Cardinal Howard, the Protector of England, nominated Dr. James Smith to the Rectorship of the College. Dr. Smith's numerous voyages to England on business for the Chapter are an evidence of the respect in which he was held by all parties during the difficult negotiations which were carried on during the reign of James II. for the establishment of the Vicariates in England. He was nominated Vicar-Apostolic of the Northern District in 1688, and in 1700 an attempt was made to promote him to the Cardinalate, in order that he might be Protector of England. He died in 1711.

Dr. Edward Paston was appointed Rector on July 22, 1688. He was a scholar of the best type, gifted with great powers of administration, and imbued with a deep spirit of piety which inclined him to the religious state. At that time the Seminaries established in France under Monsieur Olier were gaining renown for the profound sentiment of faith and learning they engendered, and Dr. Paston determined to introduce the Sulpician method of discipline into Douay. When, however, he attempted to carry this out, difficulties arose to hinder him in his design. A vehement opposition to the plan broke out in the College itself and among the Secular Clergy in England, who considered the Rules under which the College had lived for nearly a century were of equal merit with those of M. Olier in training young ecclesiastics, and better suited to the peculiar needs of the English character.

[1] His correspondence with Barberini will be found in *Vat. Libr., Bibl. Barb.*, t. 8623, ff. 162–190; the letters to Propaganda will be found in *Prop. Arch., Miscellanee dei Collegi, Collegio Inglese di Duaco*, ff. 29–71. It was during his Rectorship that the grant of 20,000 florins from the Holy See was given to the exiles. In the list of 1676–1682 (*Vat. Arch., Nunz. di Fiandra*, t. 66), the number at Douay is given as twelve priests and eighty scholars. Douay received 1,800 florins as its share (*ibid.*, t. 71, ff. 183–186). Cf. *Prop. Arch., Scritture non riferite, dell' anno* 1676 *a tutto il* 1686, *Olanda-Belgio*, t. 3, ff. 22–61.

The matter was taken up by the authorities of Rome, and the Cardinal Protector took occasion of the dispute to send (1690) an improved set of Rules for the College.[1] These cover the main elements of College discipline: admission, religious duties, studies, sacred orders, the duties of the President, Vice-President, Prefect of studies, Procurator, and Prefect of discipline. One has but to read these new regulations to see how much they were inspired by the Rules of St. Sulpice. After a short experience the students found them a great help, and the College settled down to a steady calm of work and religious exercises.[2]

It is beyond the scope of the present volume to enter into the different aspects of the century-long struggle against Jansenism, in which the Society of Jesus bore the brunt of the fight for the orthodox teaching of the Church. It was a dangerous heresy, probably the worst with which the Church has been assailed in modern times. A period of relative calm followed the so-called Peace of Clement IX. (1669) down to the end of the seventeenth century. The attitude of some of the members of the English Secular Clergy justified the belief which the English Jesuits shared with many others that many priests in England who had been pupils of Thomas White, *alias* Blacklow, and who were called, in the disputes of the time, Blacklowists, were tainted with Jansenism. It was feared that the evil was spreading to the flocks over which

[1] HAUDECOEUR, *La Conservation providentielle du Catholicisme en Angleterre, ou Histoire du Collège Anglais* (*Douai* 1568–1578—*Reims* 1578–1593—*Douai* 1593–1793), p. 312. Rheims—London, 1898. Paston's correspondence, which is by far the largest of any of the Douay Rectors, will be found in *Prop. Arch.*, *Scritture non riferite dell' anno* 1676–1686, *Olanda-Belgio*, t. 3, ff. 1–798 passim; *ibid.*, *Miscellanee dei Collegi*, *Collegio Inglese di Duaco*, ff. 71–261. It deals mostly with the internal organization of the College, though the best and most valuable information is that given for the history of the Jansenistic quarrel at Douay. It shows to what a remarkable extent accusations of Jansenism influenced the Holy See in the selection of the first Vicar-Apostolic in 1685 (*Vat. Arch.*, *Nunz. di Fiandra*, t. 66A, January 5, 1685). Cf. *Constitutiones Collegii Pontificii Anglorum Duacensis, de Mandato Clementis VIII. P.M. per S.R.E. Cardinales Camillum Burghesium et Odoardum Farnesium Ordinatae ac confirmatae; et auctoritate apostolica per Em. ac Rev. Dom Philippum Thomam Howard, Tit. S. Mariae super Minervam S.R.E. Cardinalem de Norfolcia, ejisdem Collegii Protectorem, recognitae et in multis auctae.* Douay, 1690, p. 40. Cf. DODD, *Church History*, vol. III, p. 325 ss.

[2] *Prop. Arch.*, *Visite e Collegii*, t. 36, ff. 709–815 (*Notizie intorno ai Collegi Ibernesi, Inglesi e Scozzesi di Fiandra*); *ibid.*, *Miscellanee dei Collegi*, *Collegio Inglese di Duaco*, ff. 124–143. This year (1697) the Pope gave 700 crowns to the College (*ibid.*, *Atti*, 1697, Cong. 69, no. 5).

they had charge ; and in consequence, it was thought necessary to sound the alarm to the Church authorities on the matter. In France the quarrel had been renewed by the publication of the famous Case of Conscience in 1701. At a provincial Conference of the Clergy a case had been proposed to inquire whether absolution might be given to a cleric who declared that he held in certain points the doctrines "of those called Jansenists." It was the old subtlety proposed by Arnauld of the *questio juris* and the *questio facti*. Forty doctors of the Sorbonne, among them scholars of such repute as Natalis Alexander, decided in the affirmative, and at once orthodox Catholicism was roused to the dangerous outcome of this decision. The Case of Conscience was condemned by Clement XI. (1703), and that same year the quarrel was carried into England by Thomas Fairfax, S.J., who translated (1703) the *Secret Policy of the Jansenists* of Etienne Dechamps, S.J., and who published (1703) a book on the Case of Conscience, which awoke considerable discussion in English theological circles. It was alleged at the time that the book was as unnecessary as it was pernicious to the peace of the English Church. It seems to have caused dissensions also at Douay, for it was answered by the Rev. Andrew Giffard, the brother of Bishop Giffard of the London district and the Agent of the College in England. His papers and letters relative to the charge of Blacklowism and Jansenism contain many bitter expressions against those who were attacking all things secular with the charge of Jansenism. "I have no doubt," he says, "Father Fairfax thought it necessary to sound the alarm, and guard the Catholics of this country against the infection of that heresy, yet, at the very time, it is most certain that no people were more averse to Jansenism than the English clergy. It was never mentioned nor spoken of amongst us before these unhappy controversies. We knew nothing at all of the matter; so that I may assuredly affirm that there were not so many as five priests in all England who so much as knew the Five Propositions, perhaps, not so much as one of them, so little concern we had in this business." The occasion which brought the College into the discussion was the open competition, in 1702, between seven candidates

for the chair of Divinity at the University of Douay. One of these candidates, one of the best known English theologians of his time, Dr. Edward Hawarden, was Vice-President of Douay, and he won the post over his rivals. There was, however, a small faction in the University which had always opposed him, and measures were taken to exclude the learned English scholar from the chair. They succeeded in having his appointment set aside and a younger man of far less ability was given the coveted honour. Dr. Hawarden's ability was so exceptional that this slight upon the College was felt bitterly. For five years he remained at the English College, bearing with admirable patience and silence the attacks made upon him by his enemies. Dr. Paston soon became aware that a secret cabal, of which it was unjustly alleged some of the English Jesuits of Saint Omer were members, was plotting the downfall of the Vice-President, and that secret accusations against him of Jansenism were being circulated for subscription. His Dictata, or Notes given to the students of Theology, were made the groundwork of the accusation of Jansenism against the College. These were closely examined in 1704, but as no specific error could be found in them, the charge against him personally was allowed to drop for a while. The attack on the College was carried on by a young subdeacon, Augustine Newdigate Poyntz,[1] who had been received into the English College at Rome ; he had been expelled from Douay, and had been pronounced unfit for ordination by the Rector of the Episcopal Seminary of Arras. This "turbulent fellow," as the collegians at Douay had named him, fanned the flames of the opposition against Hawarden and the College. In 1707, the Nuncio at Cologne, Bussy, one of the leaders in the anti-Jansenist party, sent a memorial to Rome against the College, accusing the Professors, and especially Dr. Hawarden, of being secret Jansenists, and insinuating that the Bishops of England were also suspect because they did not prohibit the anti-Jesuit pamphlets which were being spread broadcast in England. Dr. Hawarden withdrew from Douay (1707) in consequence of this memorial. He returned to England and laboured on the Mission until

[1] FOLEY, *Records S.J.*, vol. VI, p. 457.

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his death in 1735. His enemies had at last succeeded in eliminating him from the intellectual contests at Douay. With his departure the attacks on the College subsided for a time. Bussy's memorial effected a thorough Visitation of the College, but by some strange mischance the avowed antagonist of the College, Adrian Delcourt, the Vice-Chancellor of the University, was appointed Pontifical visitor.[1] Dr. Dicconson, the Vice-President of the College, appealed to the Internuncio Grimaldi, at Brussels, who had not viewed very favourably the interference of Bussy, and Delcourt's appointment was cancelled. The principal result of this Visitation was the complete vindication of the College, the Professors and the students, from the charge of Jansenism.[2] Dr. Paston did not long survive this attack on the College. He died in 1714, and was succeeded by Robert Witham (1715–1738).[3]

The controversy over Jansenism in England and at Douay renewed for a while the unhappy dispute which had estranged Secular and Regular in the English Church[4] for over a century; and it might have died down more quickly but for Dodd's libellous attack on the English Jesuits (1713–1715) in his *History of Doway College*, and his *Secret Policy of the English Society of Jesus*, in which all the old charges and recriminations are repeated and intensified with a bitterness which is only paralleled by comparing the slanderous literature

[1] *Vat. Libr., Bibl. Vaticana MS. Latin*, 7396, ff. 178–193.

[2] *Prop. Arch., Misc. dei Collegi, Collegio Inglese di Duaco*, ff. 263 (*Acta Collegii Anglorum Duaci circa receptionem Constitutiones S.D.N. Clementis XI.*); ff. 273, letter from the Pope to President, Convictors and Alumni of College, Rome, March 26, 1715, praising them for their whole-hearted reception of the *Unigenitus*.

[3] *Ibid.*, ff. 270–271. For Witham's letters to Propaganda, cf. *ibid.*, ff. 274–372. Another attempt appears to have been made in the last years of Paston's Rectorship to unite the Irish, Scotch, and English Colleges at Douay into one establishment, which was to be called the British College, but it was never realized. (Cf. *Prop. Arch., Congregazioni Particolari*, vol. 34, ff. 64–79, *sopra le materie de Anglia, Ibernia e Scozia dal 1707 a tutto il 1712.*)

[4] FOLEY, *Records S.J.*, vol. V, p. 294 note; vol. VII, part 1, pp. 677–678. The first sign of opposition to Witham occurred in 1720. Cf. *Prop. Arch., Miscellanee dei Collegi, Collegio Inglese di Duaco*, f. 307. Witham's correspondence with Propaganda on the subject of Jansenism will be found in the same volume, ff. 309–384. His correspondence on the charges brought against him personally, together with the letter of the Internuncio, Santini, are in *Prop. Arch., Scritture non riferte dall anno 1708–1727, Anglia*, t. 2, ff. 102–110. Cf. also Letter of Dicconson, the Vice-Rector, to Propaganda, Douay, March 17, 1715, in *Vat. Arch., Nunz. di Fiandra*, t. 107.

which emanated from Paris in the height of the Jansenist troubles in France and Belgium, stung the English Jesuits into replying. The first of these attacks was written in the English Charterhouse, at Nieuport, and signed "R.C., Chaplain to an English regiment." Dodd was answered by Father Thomas Hunter, S.J., in the *Modest Defence*, in which he calls the English historian a groundless forger and falsifier, and an unjust reviler, etc.[1] Dodd replied to this in the *Secret Policy*,[2] a book in eight parts and twenty-four letters, directed to the Provincial of the English Jesuits (Fr. Richard Plowden). Father Hunter answered in a second book; but, realizing the disturbance it would cause to the work of the Mission, his superiors forbade its publication.

The Seventh Diary, which is in course of publication by the Catholic Record Society, takes up the story of the College with Dr. Witham's appointment and continues down to 1778. With the Treaty of Utrecht (1713), Douay, being in Artois, passed into the possession of France, and Louis XIV. gave

[1] The opinion expressed by the writer of the *Seventh Diary* on DODD is an interesting one: "Homo magis astutus quam sincerus, rerum quarumdam historicarum scrutator, libellaticus, qui videri saltem voluit author historiae Colleg. Ang. Duaceni et 24 Epistolarum Provinc. contra Jesuitas, mansit hic ut colligeret fragmenta quaedam et adjumenta ex libris et manuscriptis ad historiam pseudo-reformationis Anglicanae et omnium Collegiorum et monasteriorum Anglorum in partibus transmarinis composuerat etiam libellum reflectionum moralium in Evang. totius anni." *MS. Seventh Diary*, f. 71.

[2] DODD, *The Secret Policy of the English Society of Jesus. Discovered in a Series of Attempts against the Clergy. In eight Parts and Twenty-four Letters. Directed to their Provincial. Each Part containing Three Letters, being an Apology for the History of Doway College, with a curious Variety of Transactions from the Best Memoirs.*

Part I. *A General Key for a right Understanding of the Facts call'd in Question by the Society in the History of Doway College.*

II. *A Distinct Account of the first Establishments of the English Colleges in foreign Countries.*

III. *The Life, Politicks, and Writings of Father Robert Parsons, first Superior of the English Society.*

IV. *The Societies Intrigues with Mr. George Blackwell, Arch Priest, and first Superior of the Clergy.*

V. *The Lives of several Eminent Clergymen and their Memories, rescued from odious Aspersions.*

VI. *The State of the Hierarchy since the Reformation from the Memoirs of Segnior Panzani, the Pope's Legate.*

VII. *An exact History of Jansenism, with the turn given to it by ill-minded men, and the late Informations against Doway College and the Clergy from original Depositions.*

VIII. *A True idea of the busy men of the Society.* London, 1715.

the College a charter which constituted it a royal institution, supported by a royal pension. Dr. Witham purchased the seignory of Coutiches as a summer villa for the collegians, and here the students spent their free days and their vacations.[1] The pages of this Seventh Diary contain for the most part the chronicle of the ordinary events of College life:—the coming and going of students; the difficulties which arose over ordinations; the sickness and disease which appeared from time to time in the College, and the death of some of the afflicted; the gradual relinquishing on the part of the professors and students of Jacobite views; the public defence in philosophy and theology of young students of whom much will be heard in later years—Challoner and others; the dinners given to the heads of the University and the chief citizens of Douay; the cordial exchange of visits between the College authorities and the English Benedictines and Franciscans; and the prohibition (1719) from the Cardinal Protector against sending students to other Colleges before the end of their studies.[2] It contains also some valuable information upon the rather obnoxious Thomas Strickland, who obtained, in 1718, the Abbey of St. Pierre des Préaux in Normandy, and the bishopric of Namur, in 1727, through the influence of George I., in whose favour he was continually canvassing the chief centres of the Exile. A difficulty arose in 1720, over the paschal communion at the parish Church in which the College was situated. There is a long series of marginal notes in the Diary to which readers grew accustomed in the First and Second Diaries, viz. *accessit*, *decessit*, *dismissus*, *juramentum praestiterunt*, *missi in angliam;* all these are explained at length in the Seventh Diary, and make it one of the most precious sources we possess for English Catholic educational activity of the eighteenth century. After the controversy of 1702–1707, the University of Douay refused to permit the College to send candidates for the concourses held for vacant chairs. The reasons given by Dr. Delcourt for this regulation were: 1. because the College was practically a religious community, since it held everything in

[1] HAUDECOEUR, *op. cit.*, p. 332.

[2] *Prop. Arch.*, *Visite e Collegi*, t. 35, ff. 379–386; *ibid.*, *Atti*, 1720, Cong. 4, no. 7; *ibid.*, 1722, Cong. 7, no. 46.

common like the Jesuits and Oratorians; 2. because the professors were foreigners; 3. because the Mission Oath which each Douay student had taken was of such a nature, that, even if appointed to a vacant post, the University could be deprived of an English professor at a moment's notice, and this would be detrimental to its progress. Dr. Witham very justly replied that it was not true that the College was a religious community, and that there were many others in the University who were foreigners. Delcourt himself was a foreigner, and besides the English candidates for such posts could obtain naturalization papers if necessary. It was not true, moreover, that all the students of the English College took the Mission Oath. Dr. Paston, for example, had never taken it. A further argument against Delcourt's claim was that the post of President or Professor at the English College was for life, and there would not be the danger of being deprived of such successful candidates at a moment's notice. A difficulty had arisen when Dr. Challoner was presented by the English College as a candidate for the chair of Catechetics in the University. Dr. Burton has written at length on this incident in Challoner's life, and has shown that the unjust decision of the judges against him disturbed for a long time the once intimate relations between the University and the English College.[1]

It was about this time that Dr. Witham decided to rebuild the College. The buildings were then over a century old, and were inadequate to accommodate the students and professors. A large sum of money was collected in England for the purpose; Bishop Giffard subscribed £1000, and the Reverend John Savage (Earl Rivers, Viscount Savage, and Viscount Colchester) promised an immediate sum of £2000, on condition that the College gave him an annuity of £200. Dr. Witham, the President, and Dr. Challoner, the Vice-president, of the College, both agreed to this proposal, but the procurator of the College, Mr. Brockholes, refused and threatened to resign if the offer were accepted, his reason being the rather good state of Lord Rivers' health and the fluctuating value of English money. Lord Rivers replied that he would never

[1] BURTON, *The Life and Times of Bishop Challoner* (1691–1781), vol. I, p. 50. London, 1909.

give the College a penny during his life nor leave his *alma mater* anything in his will. Bishop Giffard was annoyed at the treatment given Lord Rivers and insisted on the contract being entered into. Brockholes remained obstinate, but eventually he was won over, and in April, 1722, an agreement was entered into between Lord Rivers and Dr. Witham, and plans were at once begun for the new buildings. The corner stone was laid February 9, 1723. About a year before this event, the professors of the English College at Paris had petitioned the Holy See to remove the prohibition of August 19, 1719, by which no pontifical student (*alumnus* as distinguished from *convictor*) could be sent from Douay to finish his studies at the English College there. In their petition the Paris Professors accused Dr. Witham of bad faith in the matter. A long quarrel ensued between the two Colleges, and the opposition to the President spread to England, where efforts were made to have Dr. Witham removed from the Rectorship. Witham himself had resigned April 2, 1722, but Propaganda refused to accept his resignation. In December, 1722, his brother, Bishop Witham, then Vicar-Apostolic of the Northern District, alarmed at the growing discontent the quarrel with Paris was causing among the Secular Clergy, advised him to resign again. The President saw but one method of silencing the complaints made against him—that of a Pontifical Visitation of the College. The main burden of these complaints was the enormous expense the new buildings would entail, for it was found that they would cost far more than could be afforded at the time. Harassed by his brethren in England and attacked by the Paris College Professors as being responsible for the prohibition of 1719, which, it must be admitted, militated strongly against the success of the Paris Seminary, Witham seems to have made every effort to induce Propaganda to release him from the burden of the Rectorship, but the authorities at Rome knew his worth too well to be influenced by the reports spread against him. The Seventh Diary contains a long reply by Witham to all these charges, not the least interesting of which is that of his being a "hidden Jesuit" and disposed to hand over the management of the College to the Society. This reply embracing also an exhaustive refutation of the charge of Jansenism against the

College, covers over one hundred pages of the Diary, and though of first importance in the history of the English College at Douay and Paris is too long to publish in a work of such limited scope as this. "The objection of my being a hidden Jesuit," he says, "is ridiculous. I declare I am the farthest of it that any one can be. I never liked neither their principles nor their ways. I think I have taken the most prudent methods to keep them always out of this house, which not long ago they were within an ace of getting from us by imprudent ways of some here . . . we are much against the Jesuits as ever both as to Grace and morals. I never shewed them any more than common charity and civility and thus we defie the Jesuits."[1] What is equally ridiculous is to see men of such eminent learning and sanctity still being frightened, like little children, at the bogey of the Society wanting the College. It is always in the letters of the enemies of the Society that we find the Jesuits wanting to control Douay; and in the panic which always ensued the moment a Rector died, we can only see the hidden action of those whose over-zealous activity meant more harm to the College than to the Society.

Small-pox broke out in the town of Douay in 1723–1724, and the saddest page in the Diary is the death of the four Smith boys, nephews of Bishop Smith, who succumbed one after another to the disease. During these occasions the Villa La Croix at Coutiches served as a refuge where all who were well were sent at the first sign of the disease. An interesting note occurs under date of October 4, 1725, in the Diary, written after the news of the fire at Saint Omer: "Ab hujusmodi infortunato casu clementissime Deus per infinitam misericordiam tuam et per intercessionem Sanctorum tuorum et martyrum hujus collegii libera hoc primum Collegium Anglorum post defectionem a fide catholica."[2] The next thirty years are singularly devoid of incident, and to the ordinary onlooker the constant coming and going of students and the monotonous routine of college life means little, but it is the story of one of the most patient and long-suffering struggles in the history of the Church for the maintenance of a nation's Faith. The noblest part of the history of Douay,—

[1] *MS. Seventh Diary*, f. 110. [2] *Ibid.*, f. 135.

the part that must appeal to every patriotic Englishman, was its unswerving loyalty to England and to English ideas and ideals. There was a period of uncertainty when the hearts of its students were in doubt whether that loyalty should be given to the "serenissimus rex Angliae" then in exile, or to "Georgius primus dictus Angliae rex," but England's wars at the time and the presence of the "red-coats" in Belgium and France won their allegiance to the new dynasty, and from the middle of the eighteenth century on to the abandonment of their old home in 1793, the College never wavered as regards its King. The only incident which varies this long stretch of sameness is Dr. Witham's frequent resignations. Propaganda never accepted them. There are many exchanges of visits between the English Benedictines and Franciscans and the College, and occasional dinners where the different Colleges sat down together "in signum amicitiae." The royal decree of November, 1735, ordering all the Colleges at Douay to give a list of their revenues caused a brief statement to be drawn up by the procurator which shows the exact amount of permanent assets the College could depend upon for its maintenance.[1]

[1] CENSUS. Primum igitur hoc Anglorum ob Fidem exulum Collegium, quod et academiae Duacencis primum etiam fuit primumq. Seminarium ad normam Concilii Tridentini, et ad exemplar Mediolanensis in regionibus Transalpinis erectum; nullum ab initio censum, nullos certos redditus habuit. Sed Eleemoysinis et gratuita piorum hominum Largitate quasi in diem vixit; donec Ssmus. Dnus. Greg. XIII. de gente nostra et fide Catholica optime meritus anno 1575, die 5 Aprilis, pensionem menstruam Centum Scutorum Auri eidem concessit. Quae postmodum ab eadem Sancta Sede ad 175 scuta Italica in singulos menses, seu 2100 scuta per annum aucta est. Et haec quidem pensio perpetua summorum Pontificum munificentia ad hunc usq. diem persoluta fuit, et juxta S. Sedis intentionem in adolescentibus in missionem Anglicanam educandis magno cum animarum fructu diligenter collocata.

Anno autem 1582 Philippus II. Hispaniarum Rex et Belgii Princeps aliam pensionem his mille Coronatorum per annum concessit, quae a Philippo III. et IV. confirmata fuit. Verum ab aerarium Flandricum bellis et tumultibus exhaustum et ob ministrorum Philippi IV. negligentiam et duritiam, nihil ex hac Pensione Hispanica perceptum est jam ab anno 1625 neq. quicquam iteratis supplicationibus obtineri potuit, praeter nuda sive Concilii Flandrici sive Regis promissa. Ubi vero anno 1667 Urbs Duacena in Regia Christianissimi Ludovici XIV., ditionem transiit, rejecta penitus est Collegii Supplicatio eidem Regi pro pensione hac humiliter porrecta: ita ut nulla jam supersit pensionem hanc recuperandi spes nulla expectatio.

Alii reditus certi quos ex praediis vel ex montibus Romano Bruxellensi et Parisiensi percipimus, variis temporibus constituti sunt partem nobilium Anglorum, partem Sacerdotum Missionariorum benefactionibus et eleemosynis et quidem reditus Romanus et Bruxellensis exigui admodum sunt, cum ex illo scuta Italica 44 tantum ex hoc Librae gallicae 90 quotannis proveniant. Census Parisiensis Libras gallicas 3230 exaequat; sed ita regiis edictis sine ulla nostra culpa, imminutus est, ut sexdecim Scholarium pensiones annuae amiserimus. Ex praediis deniq. quae prope Duacum

About this time also the use of aliases ceased altogether. Dr. Witham died in the twenty-fourth year of his rectorship, May 29, 1739.[1]

A year intervened before William Thornburgh was appointed by Propaganda (February 24, 1739), and shortly after he assumed charge (May 31, 1741) he prepared for Pope Benedict XIV., a long account of the state of the English College, which to a certain extent makes up for the long interval for which there are no official records (1654–1715). The questions proposed to him by the Holy Father are answered clearly and fully and the document is in reality one of the most comprehensive we possess for the history of the College.[2] Thornburgh died in March, 1750, after a term

sunt annuatim Libras gallicas 1919 percipimus: sed per nuperum Ludovici XV. edictum effectum est, ut post quietam 40 annorum possessionem lis nobis de eisdem redimentis ab haeredibus Laicis intendatur.

Reditus deniq. incerti pensiones annuae sunt, quas Angli Catholici ad suos suorumq. liberos hic alendos persolvunt. Hi crescunt minuunturve pro majore vel minore numero Scholarium quantacumq. autem in his exigendis adhibeatur diligentia tamen vel propter communium temporum acerbitates vel propter vexationes quas Catholici praecoeteris in Anglia patiuntur, non raro accidit, ut summam in iis corrogandis difficultatem experiamur.

Coeterum observandum est reditus omnes supra memoratos omnesq. pensiones annuas (praeter Pontificam et pauculas alias de quibus infra) ex Fundatorum instituto deputare, non ad Alumnorum sustentationem, sed ad juvenes alendos, donec aetate et Litteratura vel juramento Alumnorum Pontificiorum prestando idonei sint; vel confecto studiorum curriculo ad Parentes redeant. Jus autem hujusmodi adolescentes nominandi ac presentandi est plerumq. penes Fundatorum haeredes, et in quibusdam penes Collegii Praesidem.

Quatuor tamen ex praedictis pensiunculis (ut super indicatum est) ea Lege institutae sunt ut ex iis alantur adolescentes non primis modo studiorum annis ut fit in reliquis; sed etiam post praestitum alumnorum juramentum usq. ad confecta studia etiam theologica. His autem quatuor pensionibus et saepe memorata munificentia Pontifica exceptis, nihil prorsus. . . . *MS. Seventh Diary*, ff. 378–379.

[1] Witham sent his resignation to Propaganda in June, 1737. Cf. *Prop. Arch.*, *Atti*, 1737, Cong. 12, fol. 383; cong. 19, f. 406; 1738, cong. 34, fol. 103.

[2] *Prop. Arch.*, *Visite e Collegi*, *Collegi Pontifici di Vilna Brusburga*, *Fulda*, *Inglese di Douay*, *nelle congregazioni particolari degl' anni* 1741 *e* 1742, t. I, ff. 608–628. The document contains (1) the foundation of the College; (2) whether any changes in its organization were necessary; (3) whether new rules were advisable; (4) the number of alumni it had supported up to that time; (5) the number of convictores; (6) the distinction between the two classes of students; (7) the rules for admission of students; (8) the authority of the Nuncio at Brussels over the College; (9) doctrinal questions as taught in the College; (10) the dismissal of students, the studies, discipline, and revenues; (11) the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Arras; and (12) the President's opinion on various aspects of the College life. An abridged copy of this important document is in the *Archives* at Westminster, vol. V, p. 130 ss. It is dated May 31, 1741. The report of the Visitors of 1739 will be found in the same volume of the *Propaganda Archives*, ff. 45–88.

of eleven years as President. The following July, William Green was appointed Rector.[1] On November 19, 1753, a school was opened not far from Douay, in a little village, called Esquerchin, where the youngest boys were sent in preparation for the Humanities. Between 1755 and 1775, the Diary seems to have been neglected. At that date a summary was inserted but as only the most important facts are chronicled it tells little more than what is known from other sources. Time had unfortunately not lessened the antagonism which existed between the Seculars and Regulars, though a better feeling had grown up between the College and the English Benedictines and Franciscans; and in 1762, when the French Parliament determined to expel the Society from France, the English Jesuits were included in the decree. The Jesuit College of Saint Omer was then on French territory, and the College authorities, realizing the fate which would overtake them, anticipated it by transporting the students and the effects of the College to Bruges. An arrangement appears to have been made, whereby the English College at Douay was to take charge of the abandoned Jesuit College in their absence. Accordingly, on September 7, 1762, the French Government ordered the President of Douay College to take possession of the same. On September 30, 1762, a folio sheet: "The Protest of the English Jesuits at Saint Omer, upon their being deprived of their College," was published and signed by four English Jesuits. In this they asserted that their College would not have been taken from them had it not been through solicitations and intrigues on the part of the Secular Clergy. A similar charge was made against the authorities of the Douay and Paris Colleges, and against the English Carthusians of Nieuport. On October 19, 1762, the English Seculars much against their will, took possession of the College, and classes were resumed at Saint Omer the following year. The Jesuits appealed to Propaganda to save their property, and in this way the old quarrel was renewed.[2] This same year the preparatory school at Esquerchin was given

[1] *English College Archives, Scritture*, vol. VI, no. 8 (*Status Collegii Anglo-Duaceni a prima Institutione usque ad praesens tempus*, January 25, 1753).

[2] BURTON, *The Life and Times of Bishop Challoner* (1641–1781), vol. II, pp. 39–81 (*The Saint Omer Difficulty*).

up, the College at Saint Omer being used instead. From the Diary we learn that the whole affair was most unpleasant to the Professors, who only obeyed from fear of causing reprisals against their own College.[1] The summer villa at Coutiches was lost in 1765, owing to the fact that the deed of sale had not been registered at Paris, and they were obliged to sell it back to the original owner at a loss.[2] When the Jesuits were expelled from Spain in 1768, the College at Valladolid was handed over to the English Secular Clergy, and on May 20, 1768, the Reverend John Douglass took six young collegians from Douay with him to St. Alban's to begin classes there. Dr. Green resigned August 22, 1770, on account of ill-health, and the Rev. Henry Tichbourne Blount was elected President of Douay in his place. On September 25, 1770, a second colony left Douay for Valladolid.

The principal event from this time till the abandonment of the College at Douay was the suppression of the Society of Jesus in 1773: "annus, si quis alius, posterorum memoriae tradendus ob insignis Societatis Jesu insignem ubique dissolutionem Clem. 14^{ti} Breve laetiferum Dominus ac Redemptor datum est ad perpetuam rei memoriam 21 Juli."[3] Students came to Douay from the two English Jesuit Colleges at Bruges, when the suppression was carried into effect there. The rest of the history of Douay has been already treated with that charity and that completeness of detail which characterize the work of Monsignor Ward. From 1778–1793 we have no official records, but Monsignor

[1] R. Hoskins, S.J., *A Short Account of the Expulsion of the English Jesuits out of St. Omer's* MS. 49 pp. (*Stonyhurst Archives, Anglia, A*, III, 20). This was answered by Hodgson, *A Dispassionate Narrative of the Conduct of the English Clergy in receiving from the French King and his Parliament the administration of the College of St. Omer late under the Direction of the English Jesuits. Collected from the original memorials and Letters. By a Layman.* London, 1768, p. 155. Cf. Gillow, *Dict. Eng. Cath. Biog.*, vol. III, p. xiv, 409.

[2] *Prop. Arch., Miscellanea dei Collegi, Collegio Inglese di Duaco*, f. 452. (*Mémoire instructif pour le Collège des Anglois de Douay au sujet de leur Seigneurie de Coutiche.*) They bought the land, according to this memoir, in 1712, for 30,000 livres tournois, with money given by the late Viscount Montaigu. In 1741, the heir of Coutiche, M. Rullecourt, wanted it back again and offered 30,000 livres tournois for the property. The English College refused to sell it not only because they wanted the villa for holiday use, but because the value of money had almost trebled within the time which had elapsed. Besides they had spent nearly 2000 livres tournois in repairs, etc.

[3] *MS. Seventh Diary*, f. 341.

Ward has given us a good account based upon documents in the Westminster Archives. The part Douay took in the movement which preceded Emancipation (1829) has also been dealt with sufficiently in Ward's *Eve of the Catholic Emancipation.* President Blount resigned in 1781, and was succeeded by Dr. William Gibson, who governed the College until 1790, when he was elected to succeed his brother as Vicar-Apostolic of the Northern District (1790–1820).[1] The three names proposed by the Vicars-Apostolic for the post were Rev. Thomas Eyre, afterwards president of Crook Hall and Ushaw; Rev. Edward Kitchen; and Rev. John Daniel, the actual Vice-President. After a long delay, Rev. Edward Kitchen was appointed, and he arrived at Douay, July 30, 1791. Two months later, he resigned, owing to ill health, and a few months afterwards he died. To avoid another interregnum, Rome appointed at once the Rev. John Daniel. A number of refugees from the College had already begun classes at Crook Hall, in Durham, under the care of the Rev. Thomas Eyre. On June 29, 1795, Dr. Daniel arrived at Crook Hall, and was given formal charge as President of the College for twenty-four hours. He then resigned and Rev. Thomas Eyre resumed the office of President. This was done in order to guard the direct succession of Presidents.[2] Dr. Gregory Stapleton, President of the English College of Saint Omer, which had been in the hands of the Secular Clergy since 1773, arrived in England March 2, 1795.[3] Classes had also been begun by another section of Douay refugees at Old Hall, in Ware, where a lay school had existed for some years, and Stapleton went there with his collegians. He became President of St. Edmund's College that same year (1795), and ruled the College until 1801, when he was appointed

[1] WARD, *Dawn of the Catholic Revival*, vol. II, pp. 72–80. London, 1902. Cf. *Prop. Arch.*, *Miscellanee dei Collegi, Collegio Inglese di Duaco*, ff. 647–648; *Vat. Arch.*, *Lettere dei Vescovi e Prelati*, t. 373; cf. also *Rambler*, New Series, vol. II (1855), pp. 106–113: *Suppression of the English Secular College at Douay during the French Revolution*; *The seizure of Douay College*, article in the *Catholic Magazine*, July 1831, by the Rev. JOSEPH HODGSON; DANCOISNE, *Le Collège Anglais pendant la Révolution*, Douay, 1881; LE GLAY, *Notice sur le collège anglais de Douai.* Lille, 1861; *The City of our Martyrs*, article by J. B. MACKINLAY, O.S.B., in the *Dublin Review*, 3rd series, vol. XI (1881), ff. 291–301.

[2] The actual letters elucidating this point are in the Archives at Old Hall. Cf. WARD, *Dawn, etc.*, vol. II, p. 107 note.

[3] BRADY, *Episcopal Succession*, vol. III, p. 220.

Vicar-Apostolic of the Midland District. Ushaw College,[1] which represents Crook Hall to-day, and St. Edmund's[2] are therefore the two inheritors of Douay traditions, both "children of the same old Alma Mater."[3]

[1] GILLOW, *The Chapels at Ushaw*, Durham, 1885; LAING, *Ushaw Centenary*, London, 1895.

[2] DOYLE, *History of Old Hall*. London, 1891; WARD, *History of St. Edmund's College, Old Hall*. London, 1893.

[3] WARD, *History of St. Edmund's College, Old Hall*, p. ix, London, 1893. The papal pension was continued until the occupation of Rome by the French in 1798. It was regularly paid to Dr. Daniel, and with the approval of Mgr. Erskine, then the Papal envoy in London, it was divided equally between Crook Hall and St. Edmund's, as the recognized joint descendants of Douay. Cf. WARD, *The Eve of Catholic Emancipation*, vol. I, p. 171. London, 1911.

CHAPTER X.

THE ENGLISH CARMELITES.

1. *The English Mission of the Discalced Carmelites*: 1615–1849.

THE fate of the Congregation of the Calced Carmelites of the old observance in England is a pathetic one. At the beginning of the Reformation in England, a number of the junior religious in the Order were affected by the new learning and left the Church. The rest, with hardly an exception, signed the Act of Supremacy in 1534 in order to escape suppression. Subjected for a time to the rule of George Brown, a prior of the Augustinian hermits, who had been appointed General of all the mendicant friars by Crumwell, they were given later a corporate independence under John Byrd who became their Superior.[1] At the final suppression of the religious houses in 1538, the English Carmelites possessed thirty-six friaries and numbered about two hundred and eighty friars.[2] What eventually became of them is unknown. The suppression papers are by no means complete, for one hundred and forty names only are given, and they contain the inventory of less than a dozen houses. The friars had been robbed of all their revenues and were in such abject poverty that nothing remained for them but to retire into private life, either into their own families or among friends. It was a sad ending to their splendid past, for it is remarkable, says a modern historian, "how prolific the English Carmelites were in writers, although it is not impossible that the number of their writers was not really greater than those of the Franciscans and Dominicans; but these latter Orders lacked a Bale. For Bale

[1] GASQUET, *Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries*, vol. I, p. 173. London, 1889.

[2] ZIMMERMAN, *Carmel in England, a History of the English Mission of the Discalced Carmelites* (1615 *to* 1849), *drawn from documents preserved in the Archives of the Order*, p. 4. London, 1899.

has a redeeming point in his literary character. He gathered up, whilst it was yet time, with scrupulous care, the memorials of his Order in England, and thus showed, in spite of the violence and virulence of speech and pen, that there was somewhere in his heart a tenderness for the men of his old habit."[1] An attempt was made in Queen Mary's reign (1553–1558) to revive the English Province of the Order by gathering together the friars who had fled to Scotland in 1538 or who had returned to their homes, but it proved unsuccessful.[2] Between the suppression of the Calced Carmelites under Henry VIII. and the foundation of the Discalced Carmelite Mission in 1615, there is a period of seventy-five years for which we have no accurate records.

When the Provincial Chapter of the Italian Congregation of Discalced Carmelites decided in 1598 upon the establishment of foreign missions, Germany, Holland and England were included in the programme. The Colleges of St. Pancras in Rome and of St. Albert in Louvain were the training-ground for the young missionaries. From the beginning of these two houses, Englishmen were identified with the new activity of the Carmelites; and, again, it is the English Colleges of Rome and of Douay which form the stepping-stone into the contemplative life of the Order.[3] Father Simon Stock (Thomas Doughty), to whom the restoration of the Order in England is due, was a student at the English College, Rome (1606–1610).[4] Father Bede of the Blessed Sacrament (John Hiccocks), a converted Puritan, was first Superior of the Missionary College at Louvain.[5]

[1] GASQUET, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 240–241. John Bale (1495–1563) entered the Carmelite Order at the age of twelve; later, as a student at Cambridge, he became infected with the new learning and laid aside his monastic habit, renounced his vows, and married. Crumwell recognized in him a strong opponent of the monasteries, and from that time his fortune was made. In 1552, Edward VI. gave him the bishopric of Ossory in Ireland. He was the bitterest and coarsest controversialist not only in his own times but in the whole history of English Protestantism. He died in 1563 as Prebendary of Canterbury. "It is to be regretted," says Gasquet, "that Bale's Carmelite collections in the Harleian MSS. at the British Museum have not been printed." *Op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 241, note.

[2] ZIMMERMAN, article *Carmelites* in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. III, p. 364.

[3] The English College, Rome, furnished five vocations to the Carmelites during its one hundred and ninety-four years' existence. FOLEY, S.J., *Records*, vol. VI, p. 243.

[4] FOLEY, S.J., *Records*, vol. VI, p. 243.

[5] The Missionary College at Louvain was intended to serve as a seminary and novitiate for the missions in Germany, Holland and England. It is first mentioned

The English Mission was formally begun in 1615, when Father Simon Stock, who was then in Belgium, left for England to enter upon those twenty years of activity in the cause of religion which were to bring him into conflict with both factions of the Secular-Regular controversy, and which were to be repaid by his superiors with a passive resistance to all his efforts to ensure the future of the Order in England by the establishment of a novitiate similar to those founded about that time by the Jesuits, Benedictines and Franciscans. He was forty-one years of age in 1615, and enjoyed the confidence of the leaders among the Catholic exiles. It is to be regretted that Gillow has not given this many-sided personality the benefit of his biographical knowledge. It would be interesting to know more about the instructions he received from the Nuncio, Bentivoglio, on setting out to ascertain the real wishes of the English clergy regarding the appointment of a bishop. If Father Simon had only realized at the time the difficult and delicate piece of work the Nuncio had given him, and had foreseen the complications it would cause in his project of a novitiate, he certainly would have shrunk from a task which has dimmed the nobility of his character and has cast upon his name the stigma of unrequited ambition and bitter discontent.[1] The English

in the Instructions of Cardinal Borghese to Bentivoglio, Nuncio at Brussels, in 1611 (cf. *Vat. Arch.*, *Archivio Borghese I*, vol. 952, fol. 116); but nothing seems to have been accomplished before 1624, when the College of St. Albert, as it was called, was begun (cf. *Vat. Arch.*, *Nunz. di Fiandra*, vol. 14c, f. 92; *Prop. Arch.*, *Atti*, 1624, f. 124, no. 6). Meanwhile Father Simon Stock had begun his long series of letters (1622–1635) to Propaganda to show the necessity of a separate English College for the purpose (cf. *Prop. Arch.*, *Scritture Antiche*, t. 93, ff. 263–264; t. 101, ff. 3–16, 21–23 119–124; t. 134, f. 124; t. 363, ff. 207, 442). On March 14, 1626, the Nuncio a Brussels wrote to Propaganda urging the establishment of a separate house for the English, and suggesting that this be made a condition for the foundation "poiche veramente quella natione non ben conviene con li Scozzesi et Ibernesi" (*ibid.*, t. 101, f. 124). Stock's idea was to begin the novitiate at Saint Omer (*ibid.*, t. 101, f. 113). But the General of the Order refused to allow the foundation, and Propaganda was obliged to reply to Father Simon that, "as the novitiate of the English which your Reverence has claimed during so many years past, your superiors not judging that measure expedient for the Order, no resolution has been come to of the kind you desire; and the Sacred Congregation is accustomed to do no violence to the superiors of Orders, finding that to run counter to their wishes always embarrasses the management of business" (*ibid.*, t. 102, f. 10; cited by HUGHES, *op. cit.*, p. 189). Cf. also: *Prop. Arch.*, *Atti*, 1624, p. 108, no. 4.

[1] HUGHES, S.J., *The History of the Society of Jesus in North America, etc., Text*, vol. I (1580–1643), p. 188. New York, 1907.

clergy at the time were more convinced than ever that the Jesuits were bent on submitting them to the yoke of the Society, and were making the Nuncios' courts at Brussels, Paris and Madrid echo with frantic appeals for a bishop to be placed over them. "Unfortunately, to all these applications no answer was returned. Though the clergy continued to write and their agent at Rome redoubled his importunity, yet the same indifference to their appeals, if not the same silent and contemptuous bearing towards themselves, still marked the demeanour of the Roman court. . . . The wants and supplications of the English Church seemed to be alike disregarded: nor was it until more than twelve months had rolled away, and until the clergy, worn out with disappointment, had almost abandoned the hope of obtaining a superior, that a prospect even of partial success began to open upon their view. At length, however, they were surprised by a report that Doughty, a Carmelite friar, and originally an attendant on one of the Ropers, had received a commission, through the Nuncio in Flanders, to ascertain their wishes, and to report them accordingly to Rome. In a few days, Doughty appeared in London. He represented himself as the agent of the Roman court, declared that a resolution to appoint a superior had at length been adopted by the Holy See, and, having intimated that the selection of the individual for the vacant office would depend on the report which he should now be enabled to return, concluded by tendering his services in the capacity of special agent, to procure the nomination of an episcopal ruler." [1]

Father Simon took his commission too seriously, for such a promise went beyond his instructions and forced the Nuncio to discharge himself of all responsibility in the friar's actions. In the end Doughty lost the good feeling of all concerned. Dr. Harrison's appointment as Archpriest on July 23, 1615, closed the incident and Father Stock is not heard of again in general ecclesiastical affairs until 1625, when he sent to Rome his plan of starting missions in the New World.

These ten years (1615–1625) were devoted to missionary activity in England and to his pet scheme of founding an English novitiate in Belgium. He recognized the valuable

[1] DODD-TIERNEY, vol. V, pp. 63–65.

asset it was to the Jesuits, the Benedictines and the Franciscans, to have separate establishments for the training of their English subjects, and he constantly urged the necessity of founding a house for the English members of his own Order. In this he was acting in harmony with the Rule of the Carmelites, which, from the standpoint of the active work it enjoined, included a seminary where those who had passed through the novitiate and finished their philosophy and theology, should be given a final training in apologetics, controversy, pastoral theology, languages and the natural sciences. The superiors of the Order took one hundred and sixty years to learn the lesson other religious orders saw from the outset, that "missionaries in England had to be English." [1]

At that time Stock was right in considering it detrimental to their future work to have the young English novices prepared (as they usually were up to the establishment of St. Albert's, Louvain, in 1624), at the different novitiates in Brussels, Naples, Modena and Rome. England required specially trained missionaries at that time, and had his superiors been able to see it as he did, the novitiate could have been begun at once, for Isabella, whose love for the Carmelite Order is so well-known, had promised to endow it.[2] The Spanish ambassador at St. James', with whom Stock was a favourite, also contributed his support, but these assurances were of no avail. Father Zimmerman claims that the superiors of the Order "had to attend to the issues of the case, which one so deeply interested as Father Simon would naturally have overlooked; although it must have grieved them to cause a Religious, renowned for his zeal and holiness, so keen a mortification." [3]

We are not told what these issues were. Whether it was the conflict which began in 1621 between the English Carmelite nuns and the superiors of the Order over the Constitutions, or simply mismanagement, or some real and prudent reason we do not know; but the hopeless lack of appreciation of the English character shown in the Antwerp

[1] ZIMMERMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

[2] DE VILLEMONT, *L'Infante Isabella, gouvernante des Pays-Bas*, vol. II, p. 33. 2 vols. Paris, 1912.

[3] ZIMMERMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

trouble would lead one to believe that the foreign superiors failed either to understand the needs of the English Mission or to measure the extent of the Counter-Reformation which was at its zenith during these years. This is partly substantiated by the fact that in 1621, when the Missionary College was opened at Louvain, Stock was told that this would also serve as a novitiate for the English, Irish and Dutch subjects of the Order. Such an establishment was impossible, even in a religious community, in those days when racial antagonisms were so intense ; and how far this arrangement dissatisfied Stock is evident from the letter he wrote to Ingoli, the Secretary of Propaganda, in December, 1625, telling him that he saw no future for the Carmelites in England and that he was then completing his plans of accompanying Lord Baltimore to the New World. He was appointed missionary to the new colony on March 17, 1626, but the affair lingered on for five years, for which period there is an extensive but monotonous correspondence from Stock in the Propaganda Archives.[1] In the end, the slowness with which the affair progressed at Rome and the manifest unwillingness and, as he alleges, the bad government of the General (Paul of Jesus Mary) to put the Carmelite Mission on a firm basis by means of an English novitiate, led him to make a regrettable blunder in petitioning Propaganda (which had just been organized mainly through Carmelite influence for the direction of the missions throughout the world) for permission to separate from the Order and to found a distinctly English branch subject to Bishop Smith, as the Benedictines had done

[1] *Prop. Arch.*, *Miscellanea Varia*, vol. XI, *Relazione di Monsignore Urbano Cerri alla Santità di N.S. P.P. Innocenzo XI. dello Stato di Propaganda Fide*, p. 52. Other copies of this Relation exist : *Prop. Arch.*, *Misc. Varia*, vol. XIII ; Corsini Library, *cod.* 283, etc. It is difficult to fix the date of this valuable manuscript. On page one of the copy in vol. XI, is a note to the effect that the first part of the Relation (pp. 2–47 inclusive) could not have been written to Innocent XI., who died in 1689, because it contains events posterior to that date. Cerri relinquished his post as Secretary to Propaganda in 1679, and the writer of this note on page one, concludes that the second part (pp. 48–179) alone is his work. "N.B. Le notizie scritte nella prima parte di questo volumine de pag. 2 a pag. 47 inclusive non possono essere state al S.P. Innocenzo XI., che morì ne 1689, mentre in dette notizie si accenua a caso accadute nel secolo seguente. Sembra quindi che la relazione di Monsr. Cerri (che cesso di essere Segretario nel 1679) comminci a p. 48 e finisca a p. 179, ove si trova la conclusione." An English translation of the *Relation*, with an introduction by Bishop Hoadly (under the name of Sir Richard Steel) was published at London in 1715. A French translation was published at Amsterdam, 1716.

about that time. Propaganda rebuked him for his lack of loyalty to his own Order, and exhorted him to persevere in his present vocation and to devote himself with the same splendid energy, which had already marked his career as a missionary, in the work of saving souls in England, where there was so much need of labourers.[1] Eventually, the Maryland Mission was taken charge of by English Jesuits, and their success and the remarkable development of the Society in the United States which has followed down to the present day only heightens the failure of the Carmelites in not grasping an opportunity of so unique a character. Father Simon's life from now (1631) until his death, twenty-one years later, was spent as chaplain to the Roper family at Canterbury. He appears to have given up all hope of seeing the Order properly established in England. A great many letters covering this period from Stock to Propaganda are in the Archives at Rome. They treat mainly about incidents connected with the controversy between the Regulars and Seculars, and they give one the impression of a pen which was meddling in affairs of which it did not always possess accurate information.[2]

[1] *Prop. Arch., Scritture Antiche*, t. 102, f. 10, January 19, 1628. The relations of Simon Stock with the Calverts and the colonisation of Maryland are given in detail by HUGHES, S.J., *op. cit., Text*, vol. I, pp. 181-215.

[2] The question of the English novitiate was renewed several times before his death, and we find him as eager as ever for what he believed to be the only sure means of carrying on the Mission. In a joint letter dated London, December 14, 1634, five of the English Carmelites, among whom is Stock, accused the Belgian Provincial of diverting the use of the house in Louvain from the Missions, as it was originally intended by Joanna Chamberlin who sold it on that condition. The reply of the Provincial throws a flood of light on the state of the English Carmelite Mission at the time: "Ex parte Sacrae Congregationis de propaganda fide fuit mihi insinuatum per Illustrissimum ac Reverendissimum admodum Dominum Stravium archidiaconum Atrebatensem querelam datam esse apud praefatam sacram congregationem in seminario nostro Lovaniensi erecto pro missionibus Angliae, Scotiae, Holandiae, aliorumque locorum ubi haereses grassantur, contra me, eo quod anno 1632 fungens officio provincialis in Belgio deputaverim dictum locum et domum seminarii ad usum religionis et non pro missionibus juxta conditionem qua domus fuit vendita a domina Joanna Chamberlina, et quod post instantiam factam apud nostrum Patrem generalem per dictam dominam et nobilem Thomam Leydes, ut adimpleretur conditio aut ei restitueretur domus nuncupata *Placet*, non paruerim decreto capituli generalis in componendo praefatum conventum in forma seminarii, et iubet sacra congregation quod executioni mandetur. Ad haec respondeo verissimum esse Lovanii in loco vocato *Placet* venditam per praefatam dominam religioni sub ea conditione domum, ut in ea conderetur seminarium missionum, uti de facto conditum fuit et specialiter et nominatim pro missionibus Angliae, Hiberniae, Holandiae et Germaniae, testis fuit oculatus R.P.N. frater Nicolaus a Conceptione secundus definitor generalis jam Romae residens, et tunc temporis fuit definitor provincialis Belgii et postea provincialis. Ad id quod

The Mission was given an ecclesiastical status in 1618, when Father Eliseus (William Pendryck, 1583–1650) arrived

mihi imponitur anno 1632 per me fuisse mutatam praedictam domum seminarii ad usum tantum religionis, non autem pro missionibus. Salva pace respondeo falsam esse, sed permansisse in eodem statu continuo usque ad praesentem diem, nam semper fuerunt et sunt duo praelectores qui docent theologiam et controversias et materias magis necessarias pro talibus missionibus. Immo in dies magis ac magis per ductam fuisse ad perfectionem seminarii. Quantum ad missionarios sive studiosos in seminario educandos (circa quos fortasse querela fuerat excitata) respondeo verum esse Anglos neque hibernos a duobus annis non studuisse in seminario: sed quod peccatum in hac re provincialis commisit. si ex his nationibus non reperiantur in provincia idonei sex Angli nempe P.F. Simon Stock, P.F. Eliseus, P.F. Edmundus, P.F. Elias, P.F. Franciscus, P.F. Bartholomaeus, fuerunt antea missi in Angliam, ubi continuo insudant circa conversionem animarum; remanserunt tantum hic in Belgio quatuor, quorum primus est P.F. Beda a Sanctissimo Sacramento iam provectae aetatis, et antiquitatis in religione plusquam a viginti duobus annis, qui nunquam fuit applicatus ad studia, nihilominus propter zelum animarum, et eximiam pietatem bis missus fuit in Angliam, et toties detentus in carcere, inde liberatus superiores iudicarunt non expedire amplius mittere ipsum in Angliam. Secundus P.F. Anselmus persolvit sua studia, et sic manet Antverpiae, tanquam procurator suae missionis anglicanae, ut inde habeat correspondentiam cum illis; duos alios iuvenes F. scilicet Gervasium et Protasium misi ut studerent in seminario, sed unus illorum fuit vocatus a R.P.N. generali, ut iret Romam, alter enixe rogavit me, et cum ipso alii religiosi Angli, ut applicarentur ad studia philosophiae, in quibus non erat satis edoctus: Quid igitur mirum si non studeant Angli in seminario, cum non sint in provincia. Ex Scotia nunquam inventus est hic unus qui peteret habitum. Hiberni fuerunt non pauci tam in provincia quam in seminario sed post studia comparata missi sunt in Hiberniam, ubi eam condiderunt duo monasteria, et intendunt saluti animarum. Non remansit nisi unus qui vocatur P.F. Cherubinus, qui satis profecit in doctrina theologiae et controversiarum, et sic non indiget studere amplius in seminario, neque ibi possunt habere nisi actu studentes, propter penuriam victus, et paucitatem cellularum: ut pauco tempore venerunt ex Hibernia aliqui recenter professi, unus est in cursu philosophico, aliis duobus ultimis nondum est assignatum a R.P.N. generali ut maneant in provincia, et alio transeant et sic non potuerunt applicari ad studia. Pro Germania multi religiosi ex nostra provincia missi sunt, qui adiuvant illam, et hic nullus Germanus remansit. Pro missione in Holandiam sunt multa subjecta capacia, et iam actu in seminario quinque, vel sex, praeter multos alios dispersos per provinciam, qui absolverunt studia, et possent praestare sua obsequia pro ecclesia sancta Dei et animarum salute pro provinciis Holandiae, et fere nullus fuit in seminario, neque est adhuc qui non sit idoneus pro conversione haereticorum: nam praeter illos qui callent linguam vernaculam illarum nationum, Walones per linguam gallicam et latinam etiam possunt servire conversioni haereticorum non solum in his partibus, sed etiam in Anglia, Holandia, in Elvetia, et in Gallia. Praeterea in dicto conventu seminarii plurimi ex nostris voto se astrinxerunt ad eundum ad missiones pro conversione haereticorum, cum obedientia id iniunxerit. Quod in aliis conventibus nec fit, nec permittitur. Ex quibus liquet, nullo modo fuisse mutatum in sua integritate. Insuper addo nunquam me vidisse aut intellexisse quod seminarium nostrum missionum Lovaniense receperit quidquam ex Anglis, neque ex Hibernis, pro religiosorum sustentatione, adhuc nec unum obolum, sed industria et diligentia religiosorum huius patriae a suis parentibus et amicis procuraverunt, eleemosynas ut sustentarentur. Quid igitur mirum si religiosi huius patriae studeant in seminario maxime deficientibus Anglis, Scotis et Hibernis, praesertim, cum idonei sint pro conversione infidelium et haereticorum ut supra probatum est."

(tergo) "Scrittura del provinciale de Carmelitani Scalzi di Fiandra sopra la casa

in London as Vicar-Provincial and Superior of the Order in England. At that time the Mission consisted of two friars, Simon Stock and himself; but vocations gradually commenced, and in 1635 they were eight in number.[1] Their chief Superior was the Carmelite Provincial in Belgium. During the seventeenth century the English Carmelites, many of whom were converts, lived mostly in the Catholic Embassies at London or in the private houses of Catholics. We know more about the English Carmelite friars of this century than of the next one, the eighteenth.[2] Their lives were passed in quiet, though the methods they used on the Mission did not differ essentially from those of the other religious Orders.[3] No centralized activity could be attempted, owing to their constant dispersion; and, apart from the daily religious exercises which each one carried out for himself as best he could, there was little to distinguish them from the other missionaries. Their Faculties were as comprehensive as those of the different religious bodies in England.[4] But it was a hidden life on the whole, and, except for occasional letters, they were practically out of touch with the Order on the Continent.[5] Even as late as 1646, a complaint was made in

venduta in Lovanio a suoi Padri da Giovanna Chiamberlina." (*Vat. Arch., Arch. Borg. III.*, t. 23, ff. 142–144.) This discussion seems to have forced the General to explain his reason for the refusal to allow the English novitiate, and Stravius, the Nuncio at Brussels, in a letter to Barberini, January 6, 1635, says quite frankly that the reason given does not appear very weighty to him, especially since so many other Monasteries of the English nation had already been successfully founded in Flanders and in France.

[1] *Report on the Present State of the Catholic Church in England* (1635), *Archives of the "Old Brotherhood."*

[2] The Calced Carmelites seem to have attempted a Mission in England at the beginning of the seventeenth century; one of their number, George Rainer, was put to death for the Faith in 1613.

[3] The rules governing the Mission not only show how difficult it was to carry out their religious exercises and to preserve the spirit of their Order, but also give one the impression of the unpracticalness of their lives in the peculiarly stringent conditions existing in England at the time. Cf. *Constitutiones pro missionariis Carmelitarum excalceatorum in Anglia* (*Prop. Arch., Scritt. Antiche*, t. 100, ff. 272–281, July 4, 1631).

[4] ZIMMERMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

[5] Owing to the patronage of the Queen, another attempt was made by the leading English Carmelites in 1642, to change the decision of the General on the subject of the novitiate; they wrote to Propaganda explaining the lack of workers in their Mission and the necessity of founding an English house of studies in order to keep the Order alive. For thirty years and more they had solicited the superiors, but in vain; they now begged Propaganda to intervene (*Prop. Arch., Scritt. Antiche*, t. 297, ff. 101–102).

the General Chapter that so little was known about the English Vice-Province. The Civil War, no doubt, made it difficult to send letters, and the atmosphere of bigotry and persecution which reigned in nearly every corner of England hindered the Fathers from attempting any more open communications among themselves. Meetings or assemblies were equally perilous. Some time after the year 1665, one of the English Carmelites opened a school in Hereford, where a few boys were taught Latin and Christian doctrine, with the view of training them up later for the religious life. This school furnished ten candidates for the Carmelite novitiates in Flanders, Paris, Rome, and Venice, and five of these had finished their studies and were working on the Mission in 1679. The system followed was first to prepare them in this school in the elementary branches, then to send them to the Conventual School at Bruges for rhetoric and the higher studies. The novitiate was made at one of the different Carmelite centres, and a final training was given at St. Albert's Missionary College, Louvain. It was a slow process, and with the constant changing it necessitated, vocations were not numerous enough to give the Mission a constant or solid footing.

The accession of James II. (1685) aroused hopes that their Order would recover its old glory in England, and they were much encouraged by the plan Queen Marie d'Este had formed of founding a convent of Carmelite nuns in London, with her aunt, the Princess Eleanor, who had become a Carmelite at Modena in 1674, as Superior.[1] But the swift march of events brought about the fall of the Stuarts. With the same imprudent zeal the different Orders showed in establishing themselves publicly in or around London soon after James became King, the Carmelites obtained a house at Bargeyard, in Bucklersbury, where the community life, with all the exercises of regular observance, the recitation of the Divine Office,

The Archives contain no reference to the answer given by the Congregation; the only notice for this period being the petition of a student of the English College, Rome, to be released from his student oath in order to enter the Carmelites (*ibid.*, *Atti*, 1646–1647, f. 523, no. 17). Cf. FOLEY, *Records*, vol. VI, p. 371; ZIMMERMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 146 (Matthew Hodgson).

[1] PATRICK, O.D.C., *Carmel in Ireland: a Narrative of the Irish Province of Teresian or Discalced Carmelites*, 1625–1896, pp. 43–45. London, 1897.

meditation in common, and conventual Masses, was solemnly inaugurated, July 26, 1687. Unfortunately, no particulars about this small community have been preserved. It was dispersed in the following year.[1]

For the history of the Discalced Carmelite Mission in England between 1689 and 1800 very few and fragmentary records exist. This is due in great measure to the loss of papers and documents belonging to the English Vice-Province on the death of its last member, and also to the loss of conventual archives on the Continent in the great upheaval of 1789. The Roman Archives yielded nothing of very great interest. Even the usually well-documented volumes of Propaganda contain little that would show how the young men who joined the Order in England in the eighteenth century were educated. We know that they all practically followed the same path. After receiving an elementary education from one of the English Carmelites either at Hereford, or abroad at Bruges, Paris, Naples, Bordeaux, Modena or Malta, where these elementary schools existed, their noviceship was passed in most cases in Belgium—at Brussels or at Louvain. Philosophy and theology followed, and then, after a period of work on the Mission in England, they were given a year at Marlagne, near Namur, which was the favourite Desert of the English members of the Order. In 1731, they numbered sixteen missioners, with eight candidates at Naples or Bordeaux, but still the want of an exclusively English house of studies was felt quite as much as in the days of Simon Stock.

To make up for the lack of support given them by the superiors of the Order, a second preparatory school was opened in Buckinghamshire, and in 1755 vocations were multiplying to such an extent that the subject of the English novitiate was again promoted in the General Chapter. At the eleventh hour the English Carmelites succeeded. In August, 1773, the Vice-Provincial, Father Richard (Anthony Firth, 1719–1792) received permission to purchase the suppressed Jesuit College at Tongres, in the Principality of the Prince-Bishop of Liége. We have very meagre information about the twenty years they spent there, all the papers being lost in the Revolution. Neither the local archives nor the archives at Liége contain

[1] ZIMMERMAN, *op. cit.*, pp. 301-302.

anything of value for this foundation. The Ordination Registers at Liége give only the names of five who were ordained for the English Carmelite Mission.[1] The College at Tongres hardly had time to begin systematic training when the French Revolution broke out and swept away all the religious houses in Belgium. The English Franciscan friars of Douay took refuge there in 1793, and the following year Franciscans and Carmelites fled to England together. The end was near. The decline which had set in in the religious life of the nation in the middle of the eighteenth century had its effect on the Carmelites as well, and in 1793, there were but four Carmelite missionaries in England.[2] In 1818 there was but one, and some years later during the inquiry which preceded the Emancipation Act (1829) a paper circulated by order of Parliament to ascertain the number of religious in England contains the epitaph of the Order: "Francis Willoughby Brewster—no Superior, no Inferior, being the last man!" When he died in 1849, an effort was made to re-establish the Order in England, and in 1862 the present Province was erected by Cardinal Wiseman. Few religious orders in England during this long struggle for freedom of worship and toleration have a more poignant history. Recruited, as the Carmelites were before the Reformation and afterwards, from the best English families, the forty-eight names which are preserved on the roll of the Mission from 1655 to 1849 are among those that will live as exemplars of true religious devotion, of rare missionary zeal in times of national crises such as the Plague (1665) and the Fire of London (1666), and of high intellectual ability. But no amount of energy, no exposition of their needs, seems to have struck a sympathetic chord in the hearts of their superiors, until it was so late that the very efforts expended in establishing the house at Tongres exhausted the little strength which remained. We need an answer to this attitude of the General of the Order and the Provincial in Belgium, and no doubt if the proper archives were searched we should be able to understand the other side of their history better than we do. Some day also

[1] ZIMMERMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 383.

[2] Two were in the Midland District (BRADY, *Episcopal Succession*, vol. III, p. 213) and two in the London District (*ibid.*, p. 169).

the ascetical and apologetic works the English Carmelites have left behind them in manuscript will be gathered up reverently from the forgotten places where they now lie and be given to the English-speaking world, which deserves to know more about the gallant struggle these English members of the oldest religious Order in the Church made during two centuries for the conversion of their country to the true Faith.

2. *The English Carmelite Nuns.*

In striking contrast to the history of the English monks of the Order, the origin and development of the contemplative life of Carmel among the English women of the same period present an unmistakeable sign of the profound religious vitality of the English nation. For the origin of the first English convent of Carmelite nuns, founded at Antwerp in 1618, we must go back to the Spanish nuns of the Bérullian congregation,[1] when one of the six Carmelites who came from Spain to Paris in 1604 to start the Teresian reform there, the Venerable Anne of Saint Bartholomew in whose arms Saint Teresa died (October 15, 1582),[2] left Paris to find a home in one of the Carmels of Belgium. On her journey northward, this "Francis Xavier of Carmel," as she has been called, went first to the Carmelite convent of Mons, where, among the nuns, she found one whom she chose to accompany her to Antwerp for the foundation of the celebrated Spanish convent there (1612). This Englishwoman, the first, no doubt, to enter the Teresian Carmelites, was Anne Worsley (Anne of the Ascension), who in this way received as direct spiritual patronage the whole heritage of the Teresian reform. There is no doubt that Saint Teresa herself experienced as strong a desire to help the afflicted Catholics of England as her equally celebrated countryman, St. Ignatius Loyola. The foundations in Belgium at Mons, Louvain and Brussels (1607–1608) which had been

[1] HOUSSAYE, *M. de Bérulle et les Carmélites de France*, pp. 6–9. Paris, 1872; DE BROGLIE, *La Bienheureuse Marie de l'Incarnation, Madame Acarie* (1566–1618), 3rd edition. Paris, 1903 ("*Les Saints*").

[2] BOUIX, S.J., *Autobiographie de la Vénérable Mère Anne de Saint-Barthélémi, compagne inséparable de Sainte Térèse, l'une des six Carmélites espagnoles venues en France, et Fondatrice des Carmels de Pontoise, Tours et Anvers. Ouvrage traduit sur l'autographe inédit de la Vénérable. Conservé chez les Carmélites d'Anvers, avec commentaires et notes historiques*, pp. 81–82. Paris, 1869.

made by another companion of the Saint, Anne of Jesus,[1] and the foundation of Antwerp (1612), brought Carmel to the very doors of England; while the activity the English Catholics at home and abroad were expending in the Counter-Reformation found naturally in the contemplative life an outlet for the religious zeal and devotion which burned in the hearts of their daughters. Anne of Jesus contemplated the bold venture of entering England at the head of a little band of nuns to begin a convent there, and hoped if success did not follow her efforts that she would at least receive the crown of martyrdom. The Spanish circles of Madrid and Brussels were echoing at that moment with the heroism of Doña Luisa de Carvajal (1614),[2] and it is not surprising that her example had fired the imagination of chivalrous Spanish women, who felt themselves called to offer their lives as a sacrifice to God in order to stem the tide of heresy in what was once the Dowry of His Mother. "If I found a way open," Anne wrote in her last illness, "to enter England, I would go there even in my present state of ill-health; it is true that I cannot budge, but with the help of others, I would try to do it!"[3]

For the remarkable development of the English Carmel after the foundation of the convent at Antwerp in 1619,[4] we are dependent to a large extent upon the archives which were saved from the wreck of the French Revolution, and which are now at the houses of the Order in England—Lanherne, Darlington and Chichester. In the Lanherne Archives is a MS. *Life of Anne of the Ascension*, which so far has not been published, though much valuable information about the Antwerp community can be gathered from two other Lives recently published in the *Quarterly Series*. Through the

[1] MAURIQUE, *Vida de la V. Madre Ana de Jesus*, 2nd edition, p. 698.

[2] MUNOZ, *Vida y virtudas de la venerable Virgen Doña Luisa de Carvajal y Mendoça, su jornada a Inglaterra, y successos en aquel reyno.* Madrid, 1632; LADY GEORGIANA FULLERTON, *The Life of Luisa de Carvajal.* London, 1873 (*Quarterly Series*, vol. VI).

[3] *Mémoire sur la Fondation, le Gouvernement et l'Observance des Carmélites Déchaussées, publié par les Soins des Carmélites du Premier Monastere à Paris*, vol. II, p. 419. 2 vols., privately printed. Rheims, 1894.

[4] THOS. HUNTER, S.J., *An English Carmelite: the Life of Catherine Burton (Mother Mary Xaveria of the Angels) of the English Teresian Convent at Antwerp.* Edited by H. J. COLERIDGE, S.J. London, 2nd edition, 1883. (*Quarterly Series*, vol. XVIII); E. BEDINGFIELD, *The Life of Margaret Mostyn (Mother Margaret of Jesus)*, edited by H. J. COLERIDGE, S.J. London, 1878 (*Quarterly Series*, vol. XXV).

kindness of the present Prioress, a valuable manuscript history of the English Carmelites (1 vol., folio, pp. 157, XVIIIth century) has been lent to the present writer, and upon this he has been obliged to depend for the general history of the Order.[1] At the very outset of the foundation at Antwerp, we meet with one of the most interesting characters among the exiles—Lady Mary Lovel. She was the daughter of Baron Teynham, and the widow of Sir Nicholas Lovel. The first mention we find of her is in a list of exiles living at Saint Omer, Mechlin and Brussels, sent in to the Government from Brussels in 1603.[2] Her activity in the Foundation Movement covered a wide field, and from the beginning she was under the observation of the English Agent at Brussels, Edmondes, who reports her movements regularly to Lord Salisbury in 1606–1609. This "most passionate besotted poore woman that ever was,"[3] as Edmondes calls her, writes herself in August, 1608, to Salisbury that "my ende is only to seeke the glorrye of God and the securitie of my sowle in a state of life seperated from the miseries and dangers of the world, so my hope is that it shall be no occasion to devert your honorable favor from me or mine."[4] She was then contemplating entering one of the English convents in Belgium, and begged Salisbury to look after her children. He appears to have been instrumental in enabling her to leave England after her husband's death, and she promises to reward his kindness in her prayers: "I will often in my poor and solitary cell offer your Lord up unto His High Majestie."[5] Edmondes reports later to Salisbury that she was being influenced by the Jesuits to enter the Benedictines at Brussels, but "fewe others here do approve the same, in respect of the great neglect which she hath shewed therein for abandoning the care of her children."[6] Having made all the necessary

[1] This document will be referred to as the *Lanherne Annals*.

[2] *P.R.O., Flanders Correspondence*, vol. 7 (1603–1605), f. 34.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 9, f. 112, Edmondes to Salisbury. Brussels, August 10, 1608.

[4] *Ibid.*, vol. 9, f. 126.

[5] She acknowledges Salisbury's "honorable favor done unto me and my children" in a letter to the same, November 3, 1610, which she wrote in behalf of the Jesuit Father Baldwin (*Dom. Cal. James I.*, vol. lviii, no. 2; printed in full by FOLEY, *Records*, vol. III, pp. 518–519).

[6] *P.R.O., Flanders Correspondence*, vol. 9, p. 215, Edmondes to Salisbury. Brussels, September 20, 1608.

arrangements for the care of her children, she entered the Convent at Brussels in the course of the next year. On April 13, 1609, Edmondes writes[1] that the Lady Lovel "is very much distracted whether she should resolve to persevere in the course of a nunne, into the which she hath put herself, for that she doth not only very ill brooke the severities of that type, but also the disagreements which have been between her and the Abbess, for seeking to reclayme her haultie humours."

We know very little about this incident in her life. She left the English Benedictine Monastery a few months later, owing to her inability to agree with Lady Mary Percy, accompanied by two of the English nuns, Lucy Knatchbull and Margaret Digby, who later on led the quarrel which resulted in the foundation at Ghent.[2] Their purpose was to found another house in Brussels.[3] Edmondes relates the incident with great satisfaction to Salisbury, accusing her of not knowing her own mind and of being "filled with fantasticall humors."[4] Lady Lovel now decided upon founding an English Carmelite Convent at Liége,[5] but Anne Worsley, to whom she proposed the scheme, refused to leave Antwerp so long as the Venerable Anne of Saint Bartholomew was alive. The Belgian Provincial of the Order was anxious to see the foundation begun, and tried to change the English nun's decision; the University of Louvain was appealed to, and the doctors there decreed that she could not be obliged to leave Antwerp against her will. Her opposition to the

[1] *Ibid.*, vol. 9, f. 251.

[2] *Chronicle of the First Monastery founded at Brussels for English Benedictine Nuns*, 1597, p. 64. Privately printed, East Bergholt, 1898.

[3] *P.R.O.*, *Flanders Correspondence*, vol. 9, f. 282v, Edmondes to Salisbury. Brussels, August 2, 1609.

[4] The English Agent Turnbull reports to Winwood, from Brussels, September 2, 1616, that Lady Lovel had obtained permission to build a Carmelite Convent, of which she was to be first Prioress. She had first settled on Liége, then on Mechlin, but was opposed in both these projects (Cf. *P.R.O.*, *Flanders Correspondence*, vol. 12 (1616–1617); the rumour about the Liége foundation still persisted, however, for he reports on December 14, 1617, "It is sayde the Lady Louvell is gone to Leege, with a resolute purpose there to erect a monastery of English Teresian nunns, over whom she is to be Pryoresse." (*Ibid.*, vol. 12.)

[5] The only previous attempt to found an English Carmelite Convent appears to be that of the English Jesuits who tried to persuade the Benedictine nuns who had left the Brussels Monastery with Lady Mary Lovel to begin a Carmelite house. Cf. *Annals of the English Benedictines of Ghent*, p. 4. Privately printed, Oulton, 1894.

scheme was unfortunate, because it left Anne of the Ascension in a false position with Lady Lovel and the Provincial. Later, however, Lady Lovel had a dispute with the Provincial and the Liége house was given up. In 1618–1619, a house was bought at Antwerp for the English foundation, and five English nuns from the Convents of Antwerp, Brussels and Louvain settled there.[1] Among these was Teresa Ward, the sister of Mary Ward, the Foundress of the Institute. Anne Worsley was most unwilling to begin the work, timorous, no doubt, of being dependent upon a character as unstable as that of Lady Lovel. Moreover, she had come into conflict with the Fathers of the Order in the foundation of the convent at Mechlin, and they saw that she was no ordinary opponent of the plan to introduce certain changes they deemed advisable in the Teresian Constitutions.

The dispute between herself and the Fathers of the Order broke out anew during the preparations for the new English Convent—the first house of the Teresian reform for Englishwomen.[2] The Fathers appear to have attempted to have her removed from Belgium altogether. Matters came to a crisis, and the affair soon became known in Antwerp, where there were a great many English exiles and merchants, and eventually the Provincial yielded, and assisted in the foundation. The strife over the Constitutions of Saint Teresa does not directly concern us here. There were faults of judgment and a lack of prudence on both sides, though the Belgian Fathers cannot be said to have acted with uniform religious charity

[1] *Lanherne Annals*, f. 32. "The Lady Lovel made this condition, that the Religious should enjoy the priviledges which our Holy Mother St. Teresa had left in her Constitutions, particularly that of freedom of confessors, and treating with the Society, for this Lady designed this Monastery should be under the Bishop, but the Fathers of the Order would never consent to it, nor let them have any Religious to begin it, but under their own Government." After the foundation at Antwerp, Lady Lovel made an ineffectual attempt to establish a Convent for English Bernardines (cf. HEIMBUCHER, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 452). An English nun of this Order was brought to the house Lady Lovel purchased at Bruges for the purpose, but the project did not prosper, and before her death, she left the house to the English Jesuits (cf. L. WILLAERT, S.J., *Le Testament de Dame Marie Lovel*, in the *AHEB*, t. XXXIII (1906), pp. 70–76). When the English Austin Canonesses of Louvain were seeking a house to make a filiation in 1629, they bought this house from the Society, giving in exchange some revenues they held in the *Mont de Piété* of Ghent (cf. HAMILTON, *Louvain Chronicle*, vol. II, p. 68).

[2] *Mémoire, etc.*, vol. II, pp. 426–449.

towards the English nuns.[1] The whole story is told with impartiality in the *Mémoire* lately published at Rheims. The English Convent became one of the chief battle-grounds between the two parties, for Anne Worsley, as first Prioress, had availed herself of the privilege the Constitutions gave the nuns, and had chosen an English Jesuit as spiritual director and confessor for the new convent. Lady Lovel had made the exercise of this privilege the essential condition of her founding the Convent.[2] As this practically took the jurisdiction of the foundation away from the Belgian superiors of the Order, the matter was regarded with some alarm by the General, and unfortunate methods were used to frighten the nuns into obedience. It is not a pleasant story, but the redeeming feature is the high esteem with which the Belgian Provincial always held Anne Worsley.

After the death of the Venerable Anne of Jesus, March 4, 1621, a set of Constitutions different from those in use in the Belgian Carmels was published, and the nuns received orders to destroy the Constitutions of 1607, which they were following, and to adopt the new ones. The principal points of difference regarded the jurisdiction of the Convents and the appointment of confessors. These were to rest entirely in the power of the local Provincial. The first houses to resist this

[1] The whole difficulty is explained at length in a letter from the Nuncio to Barberini, dated at Brussels, November 16, 1624, and marked in the Nuncio's hand: "Questa è per Vs. Illma. solamente." Cf. *Vat. Arch., Nunz. di Fiandra*, t. 14B, ff. 409–411; t. 14C, f. 1, January 4, 1625; t. 14C. ff. 23, 36, February 8, 1625; f. 66, March 22, 1625. In the Royal Archives at Brussels there are many other documents which complete the story of these domestic troubles (MS. 3285, II, 2077, nos. 1-6: *Documents pour l'histoire des Carmélites aux Pays-Bas*). *Les Thérésiennes anglaises à Anvers*, in the *Messager des sciences historiques de Gand*, t. LXXVI (1894), p. 358; ROBINSON, *Antwerp, An Historical Sketch*, pp. 220–224. London, 1904; GENARD, *Anvers à travers les âges*, vol. II, p. 85. 2 vols, Brussels, 1888–1892. To start the foundation in 1618, Lady Lovel gave a round sum of £1600 and ornaments for the church worth £600. At her death she left them also a legacy of £300 (*Lanherne Annals*, f. 33). For a list of these ornaments, cf. *ibid.*, ff. 33–34.

[2] *Lanherne Annals*, p. 49 ss. Cf. also, BURTON, *Douay Diaries*, vol. I, p. 398 (*Kellison's Report on the English, Scotch, and Irish houses in Belgium*, 1622): "The fifth community, at Antwerp, and following the Rule of S. Teresa, was founded by a noble and pious lady named Lovel, about 1619. I have nothing special to say concerning this house, except that at present it is in great difficulties, because the Carmelite Brothers wished to change its Rule. And when the nuns refused, they ordered the two Brothers who were working in England and used to send noble families to the community, to take care that no more were sent. Consequently the said lady herself has been compelled to cross over into England to try and make good this defect."

order were the English Convent of Antwerp and the Flemish Convent of Louvain.[1] The Universities of Louvain and Douay both decreed that the nuns were not bound to alter their Rule. This opposition aroused an open dispute between the two sides, and the Fathers went so far as to attempt to bring the English Convent into bad odour at home with the principal Catholic families, so as to keep young Englishwomen from joining them. This caused widespread scandal, and the Nuncio, Giovanni Francesco di Conti Guidi del Bagno (1621–1622), sent the case to Rome, asking for a settlement. At the same time, the General of the Order, the celebrated Dominic of Jesus Mary, sent a memorial to Gregory XV., asking that the Order be relieved of the two houses of Antwerp and Louvain, on the plea that it would interfere with their religious life to be governed by friars who followed different Constitutions.[2] By

[1] *Vatican Archives, Nunz. di Fiandra*, t. 14, f. 456.

[2] *Vat. Libr., Bibl. Barb.*, t. 2852, ff. 105–106: "Punti considerabili nel caso delle monache di Fiandra.

1. Che li Padri scalzi non domandarono il governo delle monache ma Sua Santità glielo comando ad instanza d'altri. E questo è lo stile delli Padri scalzi anche in Italia: essendo che solamente governano quei monasterij, che ad istanza d'altri Nostro Signore li ha commesso.

2. Che li Padri non hanno riconosciuto mai per constitutioni delle loro monache, se non quelle che hanno la moderatione di Gregorio XIIII. che sono l'istesse di Spagna, tradotte dalla spagnuola nella lingua volgare, e secondo quest' intelligenza commune, non è stata la mente delli Padri ricevere al suo governo le monache di Fiandra se non secondo le constitutioni correnti in Italia et Spagna.

3. Che il breve di Nostro Signore, nel quale diede a Padri scalzi la cura di tali monache, contiene la moderatione di Gregorio XIIII., e però l'allegare le monache di essere state accettate dalli padri senza tal moderatione, par cosa poco fondata, perchè dato caso, che nell' atto di riceverle, non si sia fatta mentione di Gregorio XIII. giuridicamente parlandosi dovera supponere, poichè per governare le monache secondo le constitutioni di Sisto V. senza la moderatione di Gregorio XIII. si ricercava derogazione espressa delli punti di Gregoria XIIII. Alligano che il breve che si mendo a Fiandra faceva mentione solamente di Sisto V. ma il duplicato che resta in Roma, e che concorda con la minuta, fa mentione di Sisto V. e di Gregorio XIIII. e tutti due li brevi hanno la stessa data, et in tutto il restante concordano ad verbum.

4. Li Padri difficilmente governaranno le monache con differenza di constitutioni. 1° Perchè in quei che tocca alla direttione loro, è cosa certa, haveranno, tanta parte, che forse più li religiosi di altre religioni, come già si è cominciato a sperimentare, dal che nasce disunione. 2° Perchè havevano poca fede con li superiori proprij, divertite dalle opinioni di altri religiosi di diverse professioni.

5. Le monache di Fiandra sono state governate da sacerdoti secolari, e sono avezze, a quella, che loro chiamano libertà di spirito, e forze saria di più servitio di Dio, che senza fare più rumore, tornassero al governo de' sacerdoti secolari. 1° Perchè prudentemente si giudica che li religiosi non haveranno sodisfattione di loro, et esse non saranno governate da religiosi con l'affetto, e frutto, che conviene. 2° Perchè questa libertà, come sara pubblicata, fara danno alle monache d'Italia, e a quelle di Spagna, massime autorizandola con lettere Apostoliche. Et il dire che fu cosa

a Brief of March 17, 1623, the Pope relieved the Fathers from all further concern in the superintendence of the two houses, which he placed under the direction of the Bishop.[1] The difficulty, however, did not end here; Lady Lovel returned that same year from England, and, finding that several Flemish ladies had been accepted at the English Convent as novices, objected to their presence in the house, saying that she had founded the Convent for English Carmelites alone. These Flemish ladies then set about to found another monastery; and although they found several of the Belgian bishops willing to accept them, the Fathers of the Order and the other Carmelite nuns who were subject to their jurisdiction opposed the new foundation, and brought the influence of the Archduchess Isabella to bear on the different bishops, in order to prevent the new foundation. The Bishop of Antwerp, however, took the matter into his own hands, and sent Sister Teresa of Jesus (Teresa Ward), with all the Flemish novices, to Bois-le-Duc, where preparations had been made to receive them. The Bishop of Bois-le-Duc had already given his consent, and in 1624 the new Anglo-Flemish Carmel was begun there.

Isabella did not hide her displeasure, and for a time there was danger of the house being closed by the Privy Council. The Nuncio proposed a compromise, and placed the whole affair before the Holy Father. Isabella agreed to this, and asked Urban VIII. to order all the Discalced Carmelite nuns in her dominions not only to be placed under the jurisdiction of the Fathers, but also to be refused all permission to erect new Convents in the future unless they be subject to the Order. The Nuncio saw no reason why this demand should not be granted, but he advised Cardinal Barberini, in a long letter on the subject, to make an exception of the English Convent at Antwerp, assuring him that such a decision would

approvata dalla Beata Madre Teresa, non osta doppo la moderatione di Gregorio XIIII. fatta ad istanza di Filippo 2° e della congregatione di Spagna, massime perchè in cose morali che fecero li santi fondatori delle religioni et anchè li concilij generali, si fanno poi mutationi per diverse ragioni fondate in sperienza et in varie circonstanze et in questo particolare li Padri scalzi, non trattano di far novità, ma di mantenere le constitutioni del modo che corrono nelle due congregationi d'Italia e Spagna, con proposito pero di attendere a quelle di Fiandra con ogni sorte di carità nelli punti controversi, ne quali la differenza di leggi si può dare sodisfattione la quale tocca alla carità e prudenza de' superiori."

[1] DODD-TIERNEY, vol. IV, p. 14 note, where the Brief is printed in full.

be highly disagreeable to the English nuns.[1] At one period in the troubles which surrounded them, it looked as if the English Carmelites would be expelled from the Archduchess's territory. The result of her appeal to Rome was a prohibition from Urban VIII., dated December 13, 1624, ordering all ecclesiastical authorities to abstain from erecting or founding any new Convents of the Order until the Holy See had spoken on the question.[2] The new Anglo-Flemish convent at Bois-le-Duc now found itself in a very difficult position. Lady Lovel refused to allow the nuns to return to Antwerp, and Isabella refused to sanction their deed of foundation.[3] But as the Convent had been begun before the prohibition of Urban VIII., it was allowed to continue under the Bishop's jurisdiction.[4] In

[1] *Vat. Arch., Nunz. di Fiandra*, t. 14B, fol. 410 (Spanish). Printed in full (French Translation) in the *Mémoire, etc.*, vol. II, p. 439, note.

[2] *Ibid.*, t. 14C, f. 1.

[3] In a letter to Barberini (*Vat. Arch., Nunz. di Fiandra*, t. 14C, fol. 23. Brussels, January 25, 1625), the Nuncio expresses the desire of Isabella that the new Convent at Bois-le-Duc be suppressed by the Holy See, unless it submits to the Fathers of the Order.

[4] *Lanherne Annals*, f. 141; *Mémoire, etc.*, pp. 463, 475; *Vat. Libr., Bibl. Barb.*, t. 6794, p. 6. "Illustrissime et Reverendissime Domine—,

Litteras vestras scriptas decima quarta mensis praeteriti hesterna die accepi. Quod attinet ad moniales Teresianas, ita se res habet. Est in civitate Antuerpiensi inter coetera monasterium ordinis Beatae Mariae de monte Carmelo discalceatarum, pro natione anglicana, in quo recepta etiam fuerunt aliquot filiae Belgae, sed crescent numero earum, fundatrix, quae adhuc superest, institit quatenus filiae Belgae emitterentur, et earum loco reciperentur Anglae, comminando quod dotem promissam aliter non solveret. Hoc rationi consonum esse, visum fuit reverendissimo domino episcopo Antuerpiensi, sub cuius iurisdictione monasterium illud anglicanum, et personae eiusdem tam Anglae quam Belgae virtute brevis apostolici Gregorij XV. fel. record. de data decima septima Martij anni millesimi sexcentesimi vigesimi tertij, expediti ad istantiam vicarij generalis fratrum ordinis Beatae Mariae de monte Carmelo discalceatarum hactenus fuerunt, et ob dictas causas, et quod numerus Anglarum et Belgarum excederet numerum religiosarum quem constitutiones ordinis permittunt: idem reverendissimus dominus ad istantiam dictae fundatricis et Priorissae dicti monasterij anglicani patentibus litteris de data die octava mensis Octobris anni praeteriti matura deliberatione praemissa (uti narrat) sororibus Annae de Jesu et Teresiae de Jesu Maria, ut per opportunitatem primam a dictis Anglis separari et alibi sub regula quam professae sunt, Deo servire possent, licentiam et facultatem dedit, quae quidem sic dimissae et associatae quinque novitijs Belgijs quarum aliquae in monasterio Antuerpiensi integraliter, aliae ex parte novitiatum absolverant, in hanc civitatem cum dote quadringentorum aureorum annorum quae huic orcini et loco pro septem virginibus sufficit, commigrarunt et in domo conductitia ad usum conventus dicti ordinis etiam quod clausuram et oratorium sufficienter instructum, accommodata, nobis ac clero et civitati gratissima sine querela habitant. Quibus aliae quinque novitiae quae in conventu Antuerpiensi sub cura reverendissimi domini illius loci per breve apostolicum de quo supra, existentes annum probationis peregerunt congregationi huius civitatis eo quod ab anglis separari debent cum dote quinquaginta aureorum in auro in singula capita sese coniungent.

1628, the English nuns who had begun the foundation there, returned to Antwerp. Four years later, when Bois-le-Duc was captured by the Calvinists, the community separated, one part going to Cologne, the other to Alost, where Teresa Worsley was Prioress for a time. What finally settled this dispute is unknown. There is hardly any mention of the nuns who were exempt from the jurisdiction of the Fathers in the histories of the Order. Apart from the English houses it is quite certain that all the Carmelite Convents of nuns in Belgium shortly after 1630 had accepted the Constitutions of Nicholas Doria in place of those originally given these communities by the first founders.

The number of nuns at Antwerp was about twenty at the time of the filiation to Bois-le-Duc. Among them was Helen Wigmore, the sister of Winifrid Wigmore, whose name has been given a dubious fame by Benedict XIV., in the Bull *Quamvis justo*. The Archduchess Isabella visited the Convent in 1633, and her satisfaction at the condition of their religious life

Praefata soror Anna de Jesu quae coeteris praeest in congregatione Buscoducensi, nata est annos triginta octo, et in ordine professa est ab annis duodecim. In dicto conventu anglicano fuit superiorissa et praefecta novitiarum annis quinque, et incepit in illis officijs praeesse etiam eo tempore quo conventus ille erat sub cura Patrum de Monte Carmelo Discalceatorum. Soror Teresia de Jesu Maria nata est annos viginti quinque, et professa est annis quinque. Istae duo sorores venerunt ex conventu Antuerpiensi cum licentia Reverendissimi Domini Episcopi, ut supradixi. Habemus duos licentiatosis. Theologiae, quorum unus est canonicus graduatus, viros aetate moribus et doctrina praestantes, qui illarum virginum conscientijs, concionibus, et officijs divinis, gratis praesunt, nec illis morientibus alij deficient in hac civitate, in qua est copiosus clerus. Si Sua Sanctitas velit Congregationi huic Buscoducensi adiungi alias religiosas seniores, illae commode haberi possunt ex conventu Lovaniensi, qui subest Reverendissimo domino Archiepiscopo Mechliniensi per breve apostolicum, de quo supra. Vehementer expedire videtur, ut conventas virginum discalceatarum sit in hac civitate, tum ad aedificationem aliorum conventuum virginum hic existentium, tum propter vicinos hollandos et provincias ipsis unitas ex quibus aliquae cum competenti dote instant ut recipiantur, quas aliae verisimiliter sequentur. Dicta soror Anna est ex catholica et nobili familia in illis partibus. Non desunt etiam in hac civitate virgines valde idoneae, quae locum sollicitant. Et haec civitas abest quinquaginta milliaribus italicis ab omnibus monasterijs illius ordinis. Spero me per praemissa satisfecisse mandato Suae Sanctitatis, in cuius voluntatem clausis oculis (uti dici solet) me projicio, cui humillime supplico ut cum bono venia ipsius, conventum ordinis Beatae Mariae de Monte Carmelo discalceatarum habere liceat sub cura mea ordinaria, quemadmodum habent Reverendissimus Dominus Archiepiscopus Mechliniensis, et Reverendissimus Dominus Episcopus Antuerpiensis. Dominus Deus conservet Illustrissimam et Reverendissimam Dominationem Vestram eamque suis sanctis donis magis ac magis cumulet. Buscoducensi 18 Januarij, 1625. Illustrissimae et Reverendissimae Dominationis Vestrae humilis servus in Domino. Nicolaus episcopus Buscoducensis." Cf. also: BROM, *Archivalia in Italië*, t. II (*Vaticaansche Bibliotheek*), p. 450, where another letter from the Bishop is printed in full.

probably settled the old-time difficulty at last. The one hundred and seventy-five years of the English Carmel's residence at Antwerp were spent in what would seem to the outside world a continual monotonous round of religious duties and exercises, but in the divine economy which regulated the scattered English flock of the Church, their life merits as high a place as the activity of missionaries or the preparation of boys and girls of the time—"the future tense of the Church in England"—for the struggle which inevitably awaited them on their return home.[1] From its foundation to its suppression (1619–1794) twenty-one Prioresses ruled the Convent, and the number of nuns professed in the house was one hundred and twenty-nine. Two of these Prioresses reached a remarkable state of perfection. The first, Mother Margaret Wake (1617–1678), entered the English Carmel at Antwerp in 1633, and was elected Prioress in 1678, dying that same year. In 1716 the religious found it necessary to enlarge the little cemetery in the vicinity of the Convent. On opening her grave, they found her body entirely preserved and as natural as if she were sleeping. The news caused great excitement in the city, and the Bishop came with several of the leading physicians to view the body. It was found necessary to put a

[1] The edifying lives of the nuns need no higher word of praise than that contained in a letter from the Bishop of Antwerp to the Archbishop of Mechlin, dated May, 1658: "As for the English discalced nuns, which are under my obedience . . . I can assure your lordship that, in my diocese, I have not any one Monastery of nuns, in which is greater observance, charity, and edifying love than in those two (at Antwerp and Lierre), which may serve for a pattern to as many Monasteries as are in the world. And I am moreover bold to say that, having had in my charge (being companion in the general government of the Order of Preachers) to the number of about three thousand convents of nuns of the same order (I speak of the government in general), and having visited in person more than two hundred Convents of nuns, namely, of Italy, Rome, Naples, Cologne, Genoa, and throughout all France, Spain, and Flanders, I can speak it with truth, I have not found any more religious, more observant of regular discipline, more obedient, or with greater charity; not any that might be said to excel or equal these my two Monasteries of Antwerp and Lierre." Again, in a certificate dated August 14, 1661, the same prelate thus expresses himself in reference to the nuns of Antwerp: "Attestamur et indubitatam fidem facimus, sanctimoniales nostras ordinis carmelitarum excalceatarum, nationis Anglicae, Antwerpiae sub cura nostra degentes, in eodem monasterio vivere sub exactissima regulari observantia, ac perfecta disciplina monastica, in tanta pace, concordia, ac mutua charitate, adeo ut vitam angelicam potias quam humanam ducere videantur, in aedificationem exemplarem omnium Christi fidelium, et speculum vitae religiosae." (Cf. DODD-TIERNEY, vol. IV, p. 115, note.) This same year the Princess Louisa Hollandina, the grand-daughter of James I., was received into the Church at the Convent in Antwerp (cf. *Pontoise Annals*, MS. at Teignmouth, f. 115).

guard of soldiers around the Convent, for the townspeople believed they possessed the body of a saint.[1] It was still there when the French Revolutionists attacked Antwerp, but in the havoc which ensued, it appears to have been destroyed. The second of these was Mother Mary Xaveria of the Angels (Catherine Burton, 1668–1714), who entered the Convent at Antwerp in 1693, and was elected Prioress in 1700 and again in 1707. She died in 1714, in the odour of sanctity.

In 1648 the first distinctly English filiation from Antwerp was made at Lierre. The Fathers of the Order made every possible effort to prevent the foundation of this new English house, which, like the mother-house in Antwerp, was to be subject to the Bishop of that city. They gave the nuns "unspeakable trouble," till at last the Internuncio reported the difficulty to the Holy See, and the English nuns were allowed to proceed with their foundation.[2] Among those who left Antwerp in 1648–1649 for Lierre, were Margaret Mostyn and her sister Ursula.[3] The new Convent was well supported by the mother-house, which gave in the beginning 1800 florins to purchase the property at Lierre. For the ornamentation of the church 675 florins were given. Then as an endowment 20,000 florins were settled on the new Carmel, making a total of 22,475 florins. In 1651, 200 florins were sent from Antwerp to pay for the habits, linen, breviaries, and other necessary things. In this same source we read: "Item: paid to Lawyers and Attorneys on account of the differences which we have had with the Fathers of our Order, at the Foundation of Lierre, and for the Bull from Rome, 1000 florins."[4] The *Life of*

[1] DIERCXERNS, *Antwerpia Christo nascens et crescens*, t. VII, p. 415 (*Maria Margarita ab Angelis Teresiana Angla*). Antwerp, 1793; *Lanherne Annals*, ff. 70–77.

[2] *Vat. Arch., Nunz. di Fiandra*, t. 34, October 13, 1650.

[3] E. BEDINGFIELD, *The Life of Margaret Mostyn* (*Mother Margaret of Jesus*), 1625–1679, edited by H. J. COLERIDGE, S.J. London, 1878 (*Quarterly Series*, vol. XXV).

[4] *Lanherne Annals*, pp. 133–136. The economic aspect of these three principal Carmelite houses was always better than that of other English Convents in Belgium. The rule allowed but twenty nuns in each house at any given time, and these all brought dowries with them. Their families in England never lost sight of these chosen souls and it is but seldom in consequence that we find any mention in the *Annals* of money difficulties. The Accounts were not wholly lost in the flight from Belgium, and the different archives at Lanherne, Chichester, and Darlington contain many papers of interest for the future historian of the "best part" they chose in days when it meant untold difficulty to follow such a vocation. That they suffered financially during the disturbances which occurred at the time of the Revolution in England (1649) and during the fanatic outburst which followed the bogus Titus Oates Plot (1678) is evident from

Margaret Mostyn gives us a good analysis of the life at Lierre down to 1679, but for the whole of the eighteenth century the records are a blank.[1] Probably further material may yet be published in the volumes of the *Catholic Record Society*.[2] The community quitted their Convent on June 23, 1794, and arrived in London on July 7 following. They settled first at Auckland, near Durham, and in 1804 they removed to Cocken Hall, near the same town. Here they remained until 1830, when they took possession of their present home, Carmel House, Darlington.[3]

the share they were given in the distribution of the papal grant of 20,000 florins, which we have already seen in treating of the other communities (*Vat. Arch., Nunz. di Fiandra*, t. 66 (1676–1682)). In the list drawn up in 1676–1682 in preparation for the distribution, we learn that at Antwerp there were about twenty nuns; at Lierre, twenty-one; and at Hoogstraet, five or six religious. The first account of the sums given in volume 71 of the *Nunziatura di Fiandra*, states that the Antwerp nuns (who then numbered twenty-three) had an annual income of 660 crowns from money put out at interest in Belgium; but owing to the war and other causes they had only received half this amount during the seven years previous. All their benefactors in England were either dead or impoverished owing to the Civil War. This list credits them with 288 florins. In the second list (volume 72, *Nunziatura di Fiandra*, 1682), they were supposed to number forty nuns, which, however, cannot be exact, owing to the stringent rule on this point. They had lost 5000 florins and their capital of 60,000 florins was so tied up that it was useless. The abundant alms they were accustomed to receive from England had practically ceased. This list credits them with a grant of 240 florins. At Lierre it was the same story: in the list of vol. 71, they numbered twenty-one in all, and had not received a penny from England since the persecution began. One of their principal benefactors had just died, and the loss of their annual income of 239 crowns reduced their house to poverty. They are credited with a grant of 264 florins. In the second list, the number given is also twenty-one, and the amount, 252 florins. The Convent at Hoogstraet contained seventeen nuns and had an annual revenue of 330 crowns. But, having lost their principal benefactors, they did not have sufficient funds to complete the wall around the house so as to ensure the enclosure. They are credited in this first list with 240 florins. The second list gives their number as seven and credits them with a grant of 60 florins. The different attestations of the three Convents acknowledging the receipt of these much-needed alms give no further information of the state of these poor religious, who, as a letter from Lierre says, "sont dans l'oublie des hommes" (*ibid.*, t. 12 (1662–1706), under the dates of September 11, 14, 18).

[1] Several very valuable pages in the history of the Lierre Convent are to be found in the *Vat. Arch., Nunz. di Fiandra*, t. 34, under date of September 17, and October 13, 1650.

[2] In the present state of the archives at the Archbishop's house in Mechlin, it is impossible to make any complete search for documents for the history of the English Carmelites. They are being rapidly put into order, however, and it is hoped that future workers will not neglect this rich storehouse. Lechat has pointed out there the existence of some manuscripts dealing solely with English Carmelite nuns of Antwerp, Hoogstraet and Lierre. (Cf. LECHAT, S.J., *Une Communauté anglaise refugiée à Malines, au XVIe siècle*, in the *Annales du Congrès historique de Malines*, t. II, p. 244. Mechlin, 1911.)

[3] HUSENBETH, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

The second filiation[1] from Antwerp, and the most important in the history of the English Carmelite nuns is that made at Hoogstraet in 1678. The sources for its history are well preserved at the home of the present Convent, in Chichester. These Annals are especially valuable for the early history of the Order in the United States. The beginning of the Convent at Hoogstraet came about in this way. Mary Gabriel de Lelaing, Countess of Hoogstraet,[2] and wife of the Count of Salm and Hoogstraet, had petitioned the Holy See some time before 1670 for permission to found a Convent of Carmelite nuns in her house at Hoogstraet. This petition was granted by Clement X. on October 6, 1670. The nearest Carmel was that of Mechlin, but the nuns there found it impossible to begin the new foundation. After waiting seven years, the Countess appealed to the Bishop of Antwerp, on October 5, 1677, who at once gave the necessary leave for three of the English nuns to begin the work.[3] Now, for some time previous to this, the Antwerp community had been in possession of a legacy left them by a certain William Evans for the purpose of beginning a new filiation. The legacy was not sufficient to support a Convent, but when the executors of Evans were consulted on the matter, they very generously allowed the English nuns to accept the offer of the Countess of Hoogstraet, who was to be called Foundress, and to keep the legacy of William Evans, who was to be named a Benefactor. The English Carmelites took possession of the house at Hoogstraet on October 18, 1677, though the Convent was not formally opened until August 18, 1678, when Ann Harcourt was elected Prioress. When the War of the Spanish Succession broke out in 1701, the community, being too

[1] The English Carmelites made other filiations for which we possess no records, namely, at Dusseldorf, Nuremberg, Aix-la-Chapelle, Munsterfeld, and one in Poland. *Lanherne Annals*, f. 141.

[2] Cf. ADRIAENSEN, *De Collegiale Kerk de H. Katharina te Hoogstraeten*. Hoogstraet, 1895.

[3] An account of the foundation in the Archives at Chichester, entitled *Mémoire par Monsieur le Marquis de Deynse*, who was then Governor of Brussels (Cf. HENNÉ ET WAUTERS, *Histoire de la ville de Bruxelles*, t. II, p. 179. 3 vols., Brussels, 1843–1845), contains the statement that William, Prince of Orange, later William III. of England, assisted the Rheingrave in her design : "a estez appuyez par des lettres de recommandation de Son Altesse, Monsieur le Prince d'Orange, en ce temps-là, presentement Roy de la Grande Bretagne qui a eu la bontez de fair faire diverses instances pour ce sujet."

exposed to danger at Hoogstraet, took refuge in the Countess's palace at Mechlin, where they remained till the war was over. The Treaty of Utrecht brought about peace, and in 1713 the nuns returned to their Convent at Hoogstraet.

Between 1754 and 1789 five American ladies entered the Convent and were professed there: [1]

(1) Mother Bernardine of St. Joseph (called in the world Ann Matthews) was born in Charles County, Maryland, in 1732. She was the daughter of Joseph Matthews and of his wife, Susanna Craycroft. She received the habit at Hoogstraet, September 30, 1754, together with Ann Hill, who also came from Maryland. Her profession followed on November 24, 1755, and she received the veil on December 3 of that same year, being then twenty-three years old. She rose rapidly in the chief offices of the Convent, being elected Prioress, April 13, 1774. By the Treaty of Versailles (1783), independence was given to the new United States of America, and the idea of beginning the Order there was at once entertained by the American Prioress of Hoogstraet. After making all the necessary arrangements, she left Hoogstraet on April 19, 1790, accompanied by her two nieces, and founded the first house for contemplative nuns in the new country, at Port Tobacco, where she died as Prioress, June 12, 1800.[2]

(2) Mother Ann of Our Blessed Lady (Ann Hill) was born (1734) in Prince George's County, Maryland. She was the daughter of Henry Hill and Mary Ann Hoskens, his wife. After the departure of Mother Bernardine Matthews, Ann was elected Prioress of the community at Hoogstraet (1790), and was holding that office when the nuns fled to England (1794). She died at Great Canford, in Dorsetshire October 29, 1813, and was buried in the Canford churchyard.

(3) Sister Mary Aloysia (Ann Teresa Matthews) was born in Charles County, Maryland, in 1754. She was the daughter of William Matthews and Mary Neale, his wife, and was clothed at Hoogstraet by her aunt, Mother Bernardine Matthews, December 18, 1786. She made her profession the following year, and in 1790 accompanied her aunt to Baltimore, where she died, November, 12, 1833.

[1] From the Archives at Chichester.

[2] CURRIER, *Carmel in America*. Baltimore, 1890; *Lanherne Annals*, ff. 81–86.

(4) Sister Mary Eleanor (Susanna Matthews), a sister of the above, was born in Charles County, Maryland, in 1758. She died in the American Carmel at Port Tobacco (October 28, 1807), whither she had gone with her sister and aunt in 1790.

(5) Sister Mary Florentine (Mary Mills) was born in St. Mary's County, Maryland, in 1764. She was the daughter of Justin Mills and Mary Dant, his wife. Her clothing took place at Hoogstraet, December 18, 1786. She was one of the first of the community to fall under the new laws of Joseph II., which forbade any one to make religious profession before the age of twenty-five. She remained with the Hoogstraet nuns and came with them to England in 1794, being the second to die at Canford House, where she was buried, July 16, 1800.

The account of the journey of these three nuns to the American Foundation (1790), written by Mother Bernardine Matthews to the Confessor at Hoogstraet after her safe arrival, is an interesting one.[1] Little remains to chronicle in the life

[1] *Lanherne Annals*, ff. 81–84. "The Account of the journey to the American Foundation, 1790, from the Rev^d Mother to the Confessor of Hooghstraet: I believe it will be agreeable to hear of our safe arrival in Maryland & the particulars of our journey: After we left the Texal which was the first of May (I wrote from thence the day we sailed & sent the letter by the Pilot to Amsterdam to be put in the post) we had a good voyage & not very long considering the course we passed: the Captain deceived us, saying he was bound for New York & Philadelphia, but we found afterwards he did not intend going to Philadelphia, but had taken in a parcel of goods to deliver at Tenerif one of the Canary Islands belonging to Spain, at a Town called Sancta Cruce, which we knew not when we engaged with him, he sailed down the southern Latitudes, which made it very hot, & was 2000. miles further than we should have gone had he sailed direct for America. We put to the coast of Normandy, crossed the mouth of the Bay of Biscay, had a short calm on the coast of Spain, passed the Cape of St. Vincent, by the Straits of Gibraltar, saw the Port of St. Julian, where the poor Jesuits suffered so much, passed by Morocca in Barbary, off the coast of Africa. On the 20th of May we saw the Canary Islands, on the 22nd saw the Island of Tenerif, the 23rd Whit-sunday, entered the Port of Sancta Cruce, where we cast anchor & lay there till thursday evening following, from thence we sailed the course called the Trades & had good winds & weather, only one or two slight storms & arrived at New-york the 2nd of July, our passage was very disagreeable on account of the passengers, a man and his wife with 3 little children, who were crying almost from morning till night & the man and his wife very disagreeable people, who were often wrangling & quarrelling, the Captain a poor little mean spirited stingy Scotchman who had provided very slender provisions or necessaries for passengers, his bread from the first was mouldy & not fit to eat & so little of it, that he put his men to allowance as soon as we had left Sancta Cruce, where he had an opportunity of furnishing his ship with fresh bread & other provisions if he would, but he was so stingy although his crew had threatened to leave him if he did not provide better, he only took in one barrel of poor flour, & a quarter or two of poor Beef with 2 old sheep, indeed if we had met with bad

of the three houses. In 1792 the French took possession of the Low Countries, and on January 25, 1793, the Convent of Antwerp was entered by soldiers, who took an inventory of all it contained. Continual frights and alarms disturbed the peace of the community at Antwerp until the week after Easter, 1794, when the French entered Flanders and took Courtrai. From that time panic prevailed in the English religious houses, and the Antwerp Convent became the refuge for all the other communities fleeing from Belgium. The nuns of the English Carmel were invited by the Prioress of the Convent they had founded at Dusseldorf (*c.* 1650) to take refuge there; but that town was in as great a danger as Antwerp, and they decided upon returning to England, where

weather to have detained us longer on the voyage, we should have been in danger of perishing for want of provisions, the water was so bad that it was not fit to drink, we were obliged to strain it through a cloth & let it stand a day to sweeten before we could drink it, we were all very sea-sick excepting Mr Neale, mine did not last long, but the others were sick as often as the weather was rough all the passage, & Mr Neale had a bad fit of gout, that he could get no rest hardly for 14 days: I wrote to the Nuns from New York, which we left on the 4th of July Sunday, & arrived at Norfolk on Friday morning the 9th where we hired a vessel, to pursue our journey, & sailed from thence the same day in the evening: & on Saturday evening the 10th we arrived safe to Mr Bobby Brent's landing, which is about a mile from my Nephew Ignatius's House, it was then too late to land our baggage, but we met with a man who was going out to fish, & we prevailed on him to return to shore with a letter to Mr Brent & Ignatius, to inform them of our arrival, to desire them to come to us early in the morning. Ignatius came off immediately, & came on board our vessel about 10 o'clock on Saturday night, my Nephew returned on shore that night & came to us again on Sunday morning about 5 o'clock, when we landed with all our baggage & went up to Mr Brent's, where Mr Neale said Mass about 8 o'clock, we dined there & in the evening went over to Bary's house, intending to make that our habitation till a more convenient place could be provided, we remained there 8 days: it was then judged more proper that we should come to Mr Neale's house by Porte Barro, which was much larger & not inhabited, we put on our Habits the 2nd day after our arrival here & keep our regularity as well as we can, a place was agreed on for our Convent, much to our satisfaction in St Mary's County, but some difficulties arose about it & Mr Carroll being in England about 3 weeks before our arrival, his Vicar thought proper we should chuse another place, & Mr Baker Brooke has made us a present of his own dwelling, with several acres of land round about it to make a Convent of. Mr Plunket parted from us at New York & travelled the rest of his journey by land, he came to see us since our arrival & is now on the Mission. There went to America The Rev^{d} Mother of Hoogstraet, Prioress. Sister Clare Joseph, Dickenson of our Com^{ty}, Sub-prioress. Sister Mary Aloysia & Sister Eleonora Mathews, 2. Young Professed of Hoogstraet, Nieces to the Rev^{d} Mother & our Confessor Mr Charles Neale, all natives of America, except our Sister Clare." The fourth member of the little band of Carmelites who settled at Port Tobacco was Sister Mary Clare Joseph, who was a Miss Dickinson, from the English Convent at Antwerp. It is not stated whether she was English or American, but most probably she was English, because there is no mention of any American novices in the Lanherne Annals.

they arrived July 12, 1794.[1] The English Carmelites of Lierre had preceded them by a week, while the Hoogstraet nuns arrived the next morning, July 13, 1794. The Antwerp community settled finally at Lanherne, in Cornwall, where it is to-day; the nuns of Lierre found a permanent home at Darlington, and the Hoogstraet nuns, after living a few months near Acton, in Middlesex, went to Canford House on December 5, 1794. On September 15, 1825, they left England, owing to financial difficulties, and settled at Torigny, in Normandy. Five years later they went to the neighbouring town of Valognes,[2] where they remained until 1870, when they returned to England, and a few years afterwards took up their residence in their present home, at Chichester. Communities such as these must be judged quite apart from either the teaching orders or the semi-active ones. They represent a distinct aspect of the English Counter-Reformation and of its activity, which is difficult to estimate in terms of words and deeds. That they were more terrified than the other English communities of women at the thought of leaving the sacred asylums where they had chosen to hide from the world, is self-evident; the assurance they had, moreover, of being received hospitably by their own people at home was a dubious one, since it rested more on the English dislike for the Revolutionists than on any desire to see the conventual life restored.

[1] In 1799, an Irish Carmelite nun, Sister Mary Charlotte Smith, from the Royal Priory of St. Denis, came to Canford, bringing with her some precious papers and relics belonging to Madame Louise, the daughter of Louis XV., who had made her profession there. (Cf. GEOFFROY DE GRANDMAISON, *Madame Louise de France.* Paris, 1907.) Among these is a small book which belonged to her, with the Bourbon arms on the cover. It is entitled : *Précis et observations sur les réligieuses supprimées par l'Empereur, et en particulier sur celles des Pays-Bas Autrichiens, accueillies par la France.* Rome-Paris, 1795, pp. 170. From it we learn the plan Madame Louise had of making provision to receive all the Carmelites of the Low Countries who were suppressed by the decree of Joseph II. in 1789. There is no mention of the English Carmelites and this leads us to suppose that they escaped the reform, though certain documents in the Archives at Chichester would indicate that the English nuns in other Carmelite Convents in Belgium entered the Convents of their own nation at Antwerp, Lierre, and Hoogstraet in order to avoid laicization. The only English community which was suppressed at this time was that of the English Carthusians at Nieuport (Cf. LAENEN, *Étude sur la suppression des Couvents par l'empereur Joseph II. dans les Pays-Bas autrichiens et plus spécialement dans le Brabant*, pp. 462–464. Antwerp, 1905).

[2] *Notice biographique sur M. l'Abbé Charles-Hyacinthe Allain*, pp. 36–37. Saint-Lo, 1882 ; ADAM, *Étude sur la Ville de Valognes*, p. 97 ss. Valognes, 1912 ; GODEFROY, *Une célèbre Baronie Normande*, pp. 70–71. Valognes, 1891.

Much credit is due to the prudence and tact of the Vicars Apostolic in the difficult days which followed down to Emancipation (1829), in helping them to establish themselves again in England, and to plant the seeds of what has since proved to be one of the most encouraging aspects of the harvest the Church has reaped in England since the Catholic Revival.[1]

[1] WARD, *Dawn of the Catholic Revival in England* (1781–1803), vol. II, pp. 115–129. London, 1909.

CHAPTER XI.

THE ENGLISH AUSTIN CANONESSES.

1. *The Convent of St. Monica, Louvain.*

Up to the time of their suppression under Henry VIII., the houses of the Austin Canons and Canonesses of St. Augustine in England rivalled those of the Benedictines in number and in importance. The fifty-nine houses of Canons, in Gasquet's well-known list of suppressed Monasteries, contained seven hundred and seventy-three members, and the thirteen Convents for women of the same Order had probably over a hundred sisters.[1] We have no accurate information of the fate of the Canons or Canonesses.[2] They disappeared completely from the scenes of their triumphs in the past, many of them either going abroad to houses of their Order in Belgium, Scotland and Ireland; or, as was the case with most of the suppressed communities, returning to their families, where

[1] Gasquet, *Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries*, vol. II, pp. 323, 546–564; *Canons and Canonesses Regular*, article in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. III, p. 296.

[2] Cf. *Lawrence Vaux*, article in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. XV, pp. 315–316. Lawrence Vaux became a Canon-Regular of St. Augustine at St. Martin's Priory, Louvain, in 1572. Vaux was born in 1519. He was educated at Queen's and Corpus Christi Colleges, Oxford, and in 1559 he went into exile rather than take the oath of Uniformity. Soon afterwards he opened a small school for the children of the English exiles at Louvain, and later joined the Canons-Regular at St. Martin's, of which monastery he became sub-prior. He was at Douay, July 24, 1580, and left for England, August 2, of that year (Cf. Knox, *Douay Diaries*, p. 168). He was arrested at Rochester (Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 170–171) and imprisoned in the Gatehouse, Westminster. He was transferred to the Clink in 1584, and died there the following year, aged sixty-five. Whether these visits to Douay and to England were for the purpose of encouraging vocations to the Canons-Regular in order to begin a separate English house of the Order, is not known. He is chiefly celebrated for his *Catechism or Christian Doctrine, necessarie for Children and the Ignorant People*, printed at Louvain, in 1567, and many times since, the last edition being that by Thomas Law, for the Chetham Society, 1885. Cf. *The Rambler*, vol. VIII (1857), p. 399 (*Life of Revd. Lawrence Vaux*); *Dom. Cal. Eliz.*, 1581–1590, p. 118, August 21, 1583.

they continued their religious life as far as was possible with the support of the small pensions given them by the Government. It is to one of these nuns, Sister Elizabeth Woodford, who had been professed at Burnham Abbey in 1519, that the English branch of the Order owes its continuance down to the present day. At the confiscation of her Convent in 1538, she entered the family of Dr. John Clement, the friend of Blessed Thomas More, who was then practising medicine near Marshfoot, in Essex. When Edward VI. became King, Dr. Clement, with his wife, Margaret Riggs, emigrated to the Low Countries, going first to Bruges, then to Mechlin (where Mrs. Clement died and was buried behind the high altar of Saint Rumold's), and later to Louvain, where he was one of the colony of English exiles which Antony Bonwise had formed in the old University town.[1] Sister Elizabeth accompanied the Clement family to Louvain, and in 1548 she entered Saint Ursula's Convent of Austin Canonesses in the same city,[2] where she was joined a few years later by a daughter of Dr. Clement, Margaret Clement, who became Prioress of the Flemish convent in 1569.[3] Between the years 1569 and 1606, the presence of these two Englishwomen at St. Ursula's encouraged as many as twenty-five of their countrywomen to enter the community. Among these were two nieces of Cardinal Allen, and it is interesting to note that many of the names implicated in the Gunpowder Plot are to be found in the Chronicle at this time. Nearly all of them were relations of priests or laymen who had died for the Faith; for, from the days of Queen Elizabeth to those of Oates's Plot, the community was closely associated with many of the English

[1] SANDER, *Rise of the Anglican Schism, etc.*, p. 201.

[2] *The Life of Mother Margaret Clement*, by Sister ELIZABETH SHIRLEY, 1611. MS. in possession of the Priory of Nazareth, Bruges, from which the long extract (*Mother Margaret Clement and the Carthusian Monks*) was printed by Father JOHN MORRIS, S.J., in *The Troubles of Our Catholic Forefathers related by themselves*. First Series, pp. 3–61. London, 1872. The original *Life* is among the Archives at Newton Abbot, and has been recently published in the *Poor Souls' Friend*.

[3] HAMILTON, O.S.B., *The Chronicle of the English Augustinian Canonesses Regular of the Lateran, at St. Monica's in Louvain* (*now at St. Augustine's Priory, Newton Abbot, Devon*), vol. I, p. 3. London, 1904–1906. 2 vols. Vol. I, 1548–1625; vol. II, 1625–1644. English Catholic readers will be delighted to learn that a member of the community at Newton Abbot, who is one of the silent forces in the encouragement of historical studies on the Exile, is preparing the third volume of the *Chronicle* for publication in the near future.

martyrs and confessors.[1] One wonders what must have been the daily converse of these heroic daughters of Catholic England who lived and prayed together in the quiet Flemish cloister.

Looking around the stalls of the choir in the year 1600, one would have seen there Anne Clitheroe, the daughter of Venerable Margaret Clitheroe, the gentle martyr of York;[2] Margaret and Helen Garnett, sisters to the martyred Provincial of the English Jesuits;[3] Susan Laburn, or Laybourne, one of whose earliest reminiscences was her visit to her father, James Laybourne, the martyr, as he lay in chains awaiting execution; Ann and Dorothy Rookwood, in whose saintly family fines and the dungeon were household words; Bridget and Mary Wiseman, whose parents had been condemned to death for harbouring priests;[4] Frances Burrows, who at eleven years of age, though threatened with instant death, had saved a hunted priest from the pursuivants; Helen and Catherine Allen, nieces to the great Cardinal,[5] and other noble ladies of scarcely less illustrious history.[6]

St. Ursula's was at that time one of the leading English religious centres in the Low Countries, and it was but natural that the families of the nuns, in seeking a place where their young daughters could be educated, would send them to be trained and cared for by their own relatives. Many English children entered the cloister-school of the Flemish Convent before the separation in 1609, and the presence of an English chaplain in the person of Father John Fenn, who had gained great reputation in Mary's reign as Head-Master of the noted

[1] FOLEY, *Records*, vol. VI, pp. 261, 323, 327, 329, 519.

[2] *An Abstract of the Life and Martyrdom of Mistress Margaret Clitheroe, dedicated to her daughter, Ann Clitheroe (A religious of the Order of St. Augustine in Louvain), who suffered in the year of Our Lord* 1586, *the 25th of March. At Mechlin, printed by Henry Jacy*, A.D. 1619. 2nd Edition, Sands & Co., London, 1911. Several MS. copies of her Life exist in private libraries in England, at Oscott College, and at St. Mary's Convent, York. One of these has been ably edited by Father JOHN MORRIS, S.J., in the Third Series of *The Troubles of Our Catholic Forefathers related by themselves*, pp. 331–433. London, 1877.

[3] FOLEY, *Records*, vol. IV, pp. 134 note, 547 ss.; *Stonyhurst Archives, Anglia A I*, (a. iii, I), p. 76; *ibid., Anglia II*, pp. 5–10.

[4] *Thomas Wiseman of Wimbish, Essex. Inquisitio post-mortem*, 1586. *With some family notes*, in the *Publ. Cath. Rec. Soc.*, vol. IX, pp. 1–12. London, 1911.

[5] KNOX, *Allen*, pp. 372–373.

[6] HAMILTON, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 16–17; GILLOW, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 244–246.

free school at St. Edmundsbury in Suffolk, attracted many others. The Chronicle mentions that he had been chaplain-major of Sir William Stanley's regiment, and also gives him credit for a large share in the founding of St. Monica's. For forty years he was the confessor to the English nuns in Louvain, and made many translations from Latin and Italian ascetical works for their direction. He published in 1583 the Acts of the English Martyrs, which Bridgewater used in his valuable *Concertatio.*[1]

The situation at St. Ursula's was analogous to that of the English Carthusians at Bruges in the days of Prior Chauncy. Two races under the one roof, and with an English Superior over the Convent, in those days of strong national feelings could not be called, even in a religious house, an ideal method of government. The Chronicle, however, scarcely mentions any trouble between the English and Flemish nuns, and perhaps they were able to continue during the prioress-ship of Mother Margaret Clement in peace and amity. When she resigned in 1606, the English nuns of the community wished to elect an Englishwoman in her place. Sister Mary Wiseman was elected, but the ecclesiastical authorities at Mechlin refused to sanction their choice, owing to her being under the canonical age. "So the English lost their election, which they could hardly brook, being persuaded by most of their friends that they had great wrong, and therefore counselled them to appeal unto Rome, offering to assist them therein."[2] A conflict at once arose between the English nuns and the Archbishop, who threatened them with excommunication unless they obeyed. They had no option but to bow to his will, and the trouble might have quieted down, had the Archbishop not ordered all the English nuns to appear before the Visitors and each one in particular to acknowledge her fault and ask forgiveness. The scene which took place on this occasion is one of the most edifying of all that

[1] *Concertatio Ecclesiae Catholicae in Anglia adversus Calvino-papistas, et Puritanos sub Elizabetha Regina quorundam hominum doctrina et sanctitate illustrium.* Treves, 1583. In conjunction with Fr. JOHN GIBBON, S.J., FENN published this very reliable treatise, which in its present form contains notices of more than a hundred martyrs, and six hundred confessors, exiles and other sufferers for the Faith. Dr. Bridgewater republished it on a much larger scale in 1588, and again in 1594. For Fenn's other writings, cf. HAMILTON, *Chronicle*, vol. I, p. 48.

[2] HAMILTON, *Chronicle*, vol. I, p. 56.

occurred during the long years of Exile—to find women of the best families of England acknowledging publicly a fault of which they had not been guilty, and this, moreover, at a time when the national characteristics were such that even their love for religion was barely strong enough to hold the strong English nature of the sixteenth century in check when interference which seemed unnecessary hindered their work.[1] It was evident that the nuns would have to separate. The wound was too deep to heal, and what they bore in patience and in humility as coming from the hand of God incensed their relatives and especially the lay-exiles in Louvain, who considered they had been dealt with harshly. The friction between the nuns had also caused vocations to fall off, and they feared the extinction of the English members unless an independent house was begun at once.

The Flemish Superiors were quite willing to be rid of their English sisters; and finally, through Dr. Caesar Clement, the nephew of Mother Margaret Clement, who at that time occupied two influential posts as Dean of St. Gudule's, in Brussels, and Vicar-General of the Spanish army in Flanders, permission was asked of the Archbishop for the desired change. With great prudence he brought the matter before the ecclesiastical authorities and succeeded in obtaining the necessary leave for the new foundation, which took place in 1609. Besides Dr. Clement, the chief agent of the nuns was Thomas Worthington, the nephew of the President of the English College at Douay, who had married Mary Allen, a sister of the two Allens of St. Ursula's. Two of Worthington's daughters became nuns at the new English Convent, which was dedicated to St. Monica.[2]

[1] There is a very interesting letter (*Archivio Borghese I*, vol. 973, t. 288), from the Bishop of Cosenza to the Viceroy of Naples, about this time (1608), regarding the active propaganda against the Church the English Protestant merchants and sailors were carrying on in the chief Italian towns along the Mediterranean. The Bishop's delineation of the English character at this period, when piracy was still an honourable profession in the English navy, is a valuable one: "La natione Inglese fra tutti l'ultramontane settentrionali è vivace di spirito, impatiente di silentio, impetuosa, et temerariamente ardita, etc., etc." Catholic Englishmen were just as fearless and daring as their Protestant countrymen, and while one deplores the sacrilegious incident the Bishop refers to, it must be admitted that courage bordering on madness alone can explain the anti-Catholic feeling which prompted Protestants in a city like Rome, "nel cuore della Chiesa Cattolica, sotto gl'occhi del Summo Pontifice, di far violente injuria all' Santissima Eucharistia, et così publicamente dimontrarsi di quello inimici et rebelli della Santa Chiesa."

[2] *The Bedingfield Papers* in the *Publ. Cath. Rec. Soc.*, vol. VII, Misc. VI, pp. 44-

When the English community took up its residence at St. Monica's, vocations and money began to flow in, and in less than twenty years the house was so crowded by their numbers that they were looking for a place to begin another establishment.[1] St. Monica's was perhaps of all the English communities in Belgium the most intensely loyal to the House of Stuart. The two hundred years' history of this house contains many events of importance to the world outside the English cloister. For this period we have the *Chronicle* which Dom Hamilton has published in two volumes for the years 1548–1644. The learned Benedictine died before he could complete the third volume. In the *Poor Souls' Friend*, a monthly periodical published by the Bridgettines of Chudleigh, the rest of the *Chronicle* down to the year 1660 was published with notes by Dom Hamilton before his death (1907), but the remaining century had to be made up from detached manuscripts, such as the Obituary Book, the Book of Benefactors, and the Stafford and Towneley Letters, now in the Archives at Newton Abbot. One important factor in understanding the life of the community is that in its list of professions nearly every name prominent in the Jacobite cause is represented. In 1622, they built the church connected with the Convent and it was the burial-place of all the exiles who died in or about Louvain.[2] To-day there is no trace of this church which was

158 (*Notes by Father L. Willaert, S.J., on the localities in Belgium mentioned by Marwood*). London, 1909; HUSENBETH, *Notices on the English Colleges and Convents established on the Continent after the Dissolution in England*, pp. 52–59. Norwich, 1849. "The next house of women is one established at Louvain, and so crowded by their numbers that they are looking around for another establishment. It was founded under the auspices of a noble lady, who is now prioress there (Sister Mary Wiseman, who died July 8, 1633). It struggled through many difficulties by the help of the Bishop of Cambray, then Archdeacon at Mechlin, and also by the help of that most distinguished man, Dr. Caesar Clement, now Vicar-General of the Army of His Catholic Majesty, and Dean of the Church of S. Gudule at Brussels. It has for confessors two secular priests, men of virtue, and so experiences the kindness of the clergy most of all. It has no other means than the pensions of the nuns, who live a life of piety, holiness and virtue." BURTON, *Douay Diaries*, vol. I, pp. 396–397; *Note-book of John Southcote, D.D.*, 1628–1636, in the *Publ. Cath. Rec. Soc.*, vol. I, p. 116. London, 1905.

[1] *P.R.O.*, *Flanders Correspondence*, vol. 10, ff. 112–113, Turnbull to Salisbury, Antwerp, September 11, 1611. The Catholics of England this year gave £1,000 to the Austin nuns at the Louvain Convent, "which is stuffed with poore deluded women of our nation." Cf. PIOT, *Histoire de Louvain*, p. 87 ss. Louvain, 1839; F. FOPPENS, *Auberti Miraei opera diplomatica et historica*, vol. III, p. 180. Brussels, 1723–1748. 4 vols.

[2] *Register van de bescheeden, titels, documenten des Godeshuys van Sint Monica*

considered one of the finest in the city. Some years ago the present writer visited the houses which now exist on the ground of the Convent, but nothing was found either in the grounds or in the cellars which recalled the old days. Even the tombstones, which must have been numerous, had entirely disappeared.[1] At Newton Abbot there are three large pictures which were painted for the church by the Flemish artist, Crayer.

When the siege of Louvain took place in 1633, part of the Louvain community took refuge at their house in Bruges, and when all had quieted down again, they were again disturbed by the pestilence which broke out in Louvain the following year.[2] Every morning, as the *Chronicle* tells us, during this time, a kind of preservative against the plague was taken by the nuns, and every morning pitch was burned to disinfect the house.[3] During the rebellion in England (1648–1649), every post was awaited with great anxiety, for there were few in the Louvain community who had not some relative or friend fighting for Charles I., and among the families of the Royalists slain at the time, no English community suffered so heavily as St. Monica's. The Arundels, Babthorpes, Bedingfields, Blundells, Cliffords, Collingwoods, Constables, Copleys, Giffords, Howards, Jerninghams, Morgans, Nevilles, Poles, Ropers, Throckmortons, Vaughans, Vavasours, Wisemans and the Worthingtons—all had daughters, sisters, nieces or grand-nieces in this convent. The Viscount Stafford, who was executed for the Faith at London, December 29, 1680, had a daughter at Louvain; his short and pathetically brave letters to his daughter are printed in the Louvain *Chronicle*, and

gemeynlyck genoemt Engelsch Clooster, geschreven bij mij Nicolaus Gilbert, hunnen notaris anno 1707 (MS. in the Library of the Jesuit College, Louvain).

[1] Those who have visited the old Irish Franciscan Monastery of St. Anthony at Louvain, where so many of the gravestones have been preserved, will appreciate the loss of those which once existed at St. Monica's. Cf. *L'Archéologie irlandaise au couvent de Saint Antoine de Padoue à Louvain*, article in the *Études Réligieuses*, vol. XXII, pp. 408–437, 586–603. Paris, 1869; E. VAN EVEN, *Louvain dans le passé et dans le présent*, p. 255 ss. Louvain, 1891–1895.

[2] J. MORRIS, S.J., *St. Monica's Convent in War, Pestilence, and Poverty*, from the MSS. at Newton Abbot, printed in *The Troubles of Our Catholic Forefathers*, First Series, pp. 252–287. London, 1872; British Museum, *MSS. Cole*, no. 5813, 51 (*Account of the Nunnery of St. Monica in Louvain*).

[3] ARTHUR CLIFFORD, *The Tixall Letters, or Correspondence of the Aston Family and their Friends, during the Seventeenth Century, with Notes and Illustrations*, vol. I, p. 22 ss. London, 1815.

show the gallant faith of the man who, though innocent, preferred death to dishonour, confident "through the mercy and Passion of our Savior to obtaine Everlasting happynesse."[1] The Jacobite uprisings of 1715 and 1745 were also cruel times for the Convent. In the first, Sisters Katherine and Elizabeth Radcliffe lost their nephews, the Earl of Derwentwater and Charles Radcliffe, his brother, who were beheaded on Tower Hill, February 24, 1716;[2] in the second, Sister Christina Towneley's joy at the escape of one brother to France after the disastrous defeat at Culloden was turned to sorrow at the news of the execution of another brother, Colonel Francis Towneley, at London, July 30, 1746.[3]

A Convent so intimately connected by family ties with the leading Stuart and other Catholic families in England would naturally be the first to suffer economically once the Protestant party in England gained the ascendency.[4] It is not surprising, therefore, to find the two houses at Louvain and Bruges mentioned in the list drawn up by the Holy See (1676) of all the English, Irish and Scotch communities which were then in destitute circumstances.[5] Both at Louvain and Bruges the number of English Canonesses at this time was forty, and in the general distribution of 1682, both Convents received 480 florins.[6] The Guest-house attached to St. Monica's brought in a small revenue, and the constant sacrifices Catholic families made to ensure the continuance of their countrywomen's religious life kept the Convent from succumbing to the poverty the wars at home and in Belgium had created. The school never seems to have been a large one. Liége and its College for girls under the charge of the English Sepulchrines was too near to allow the Austin Canonesses to rival them. In the

[1] *The Speech of William late Lord Viscount Stafford on the Scaffold.* London, 1680. *Translated into French: La Harangue de Monsigneur Guillaume Vicomte de Stafford, sur l'eschaffaut immédiatement devans son exécution le* 8 *Janvier*, 1681, s.n. (A copy of this is in vol. 71 of the *Nunziatura di Fiandra*, ff. 19, 105.)

[2] *Original Letters and other Documents relating to the Earls of Derwentwater preserved at Thorndon Hall.* London, 1873; Cf. HAMILTON, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 139.

[3] HAMILTON, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 176–178.

[4] J. MORRIS, S.J., *The Condition of Catholics under James I.*, p. xxxi. London, 1871; *The Life of a Conspirator, being a biography of Sir Everard Digby, by one of his descendants*, p. 297. London, 1895.

[5] *Vat. Arch., Nunz. di Fiandra*, t. 66. (*Catalogus omnium coenobiorum pertinentium ad subditos regis Angliae in Belgio.*)

[6] *Ibid., Nunz. di Fiandra*, t. 72, April 23, 1682.

decline which began after the second Stuart Rising, in 1745, the Louvain Convent suffered from a lack of vocations, as did all the communities. When the French entered the Low Countries the second time in 1794, the English Austin nuns left Louvain, June 28, 1794, and landed at London, July 18. They went first to Hammersmith, where they remained for six months; they then removed to Amesbury in Wiltshire. In December, 1799, a house was taken in Dorsetshire, called Spetisbury House, and in 1860 the community moved to their present home at Newton Abbot.[1] This same year they gave up the school which had been begun at Louvain over two centuries before, in order to devote themselves entirely to Perpetual Adoration of the Blessed Sacrament. A slight modification also was made in the habit at this time to denote this change. Their Archives are among the richest of all the ecclesiastical collections in England, and come next to Stonyhurst, Ushaw and Douay in importance.

2. *The Convent of Nazareth, Bruges.*

The second Convent for English Austin Canonesses was founded by the Louvain nuns at Bruges in 1629.[2] This house had been part of the legacy left to the English Fathers of the Society of Jesus by Lady Lovel. As has been mentioned in the chapter on the Carmelites, she bought the house in order

[1] F. M. STEELE, *The Convents of Great Britain*, pp. 64–68. London, 1902.

[2] The Convent of the English Austin Canonesses at Paris was founded in 1634, with six young English ladies who had been educated at the Abbey of Notre-Dame-de-Beaulieu, at Douay. Influenced by Dr. Kellison, the President, and by Miles Pinkney, *alias* Thomas Carre (Cf. GILLOW, *op. cit.*, vol. V, pp. 313–317, for his numerous translations of ascetical works dedicated to the first Abbess, Lady Tredway), the Procurator of the English College at Douay, one of these ladies, Lady Letitia Tredway, who had entered the Abbey of Notre-Dame-de-Beaulieu in 1616, began in 1631, a separate establishment in the town for English nuns of the Order. Two years later, the community went to Paris, where, through the kindness of Dr. Smith, the exiled Bishop of Chalcedon, permission was granted by Richelieu for the new Abbey. Here Bishop Smith, after his forced retirement by Mazarin, passed the last thirteen years of his life. He died, March 18, 1655, aged eighty-eight. The school was opened shortly after the founding of the Abbey, and it soon became the leading English school for girls. The convent was confiscated in 1793, and was turned into a prison. When peace was established under Bonaparte, the school was reopened and the house continued to flourish down to our own times, when it was again confiscated by the French Government (1903) and the community came to England, where they established themselves at Hull. Cf. CEDOZ, *Un Couvent de Religieuses Anglaises à Paris de 1634 à 1884*. Paris-London, 1891.

to begin a Convent for English Benedictines, but, having abandoned the project, and realizing that she was not long for this world, she added the gift of it to the Jesuits in her will. The Society had no immediate use for the house, and it was sold to the English Canonesses at the original price, the nuns giving in exchange certain bonds they possessed on the *Mont de Piété* of Ghent. Some opposition was made by the Bishop and magistrates of Bruges over the founding of the new Convent within their jurisdiction, on the plea that the amount settled by the mother-house at Louvain was insufficient to keep the nuns. Living expenses were very heavy at that time, and the high cost of ordinary food-stuffs all through the Thirty Years' War made the ecclesiastical authorities chary of burdening their dioceses with religious houses which might eventually be a drain on the resources of their people. The matter was arranged to their satisfaction, however, each nun being given £15 yearly, and on September 14, 1629, nine of the Louvain nuns began the Priory of Nazareth of the "Dames Anglaises,"—so well known to-day to the people of Bruges. Among these nuns of the Bruges foundation are some worthy of special notice: Sister Elizabeth Lovel, the niece of Lady Lovel, the foundress of the English Carmel at Antwerp; Sister Mary Gifford, a relative of Archbishop Gifford, of Rheims; and Sister Mary Pole, the second Prioress, who was the great-granddaughter of Blessed Margaret Pole, the last of the Plantagenets.

The history of the Bruges convent has not been written, though much valuable material exists in the Archives there.[1] Through the kindness of the present Prioress (Mother Joseph Magdalen Smyth), copious notes were furnished the writer, and with the aid of these a connected story of the nuns' long stay in this most fascinating of the old Flemish cities can be given. From 1629 to 1794, when the community fled to England, eight Prioresses governed the Convent, and from the return to Bruges (1802) down to the present day, ten more; making in all eighteen. The first of these was Sister Frances Stanford, to

[1] LONG'S MS., *History of the English Carthusians*, is among these archives; L. GILLIODTS VAN SEVEREN, *Documents relatifs au couvent des Dames anglaises de Bruges*, in the *Annales de la Société d'Emulation, pour l'étude de l'histoire et des antiquités de la Flandre*, t. liii (1903), pp. 1–9.

whom the valuable *Life and Martyrdome of Venerable Thomas Maxfield* was dedicated;[1] the second was Sister Mary Augustina Pole, above mentioned; the third and fourth were Bedingfields; the eighth was Sister Mary Augustin More, the ninth lineal descendant of Blessed Thomas More;[2] the ninth was Sister Mary Louisa Mawhood, the daughter of the Catholic merchant of London of that name; the twelfth was Sister Mary Austin Nyren, the daughter of the great cricketer; and the seventeenth, Sister Mary Liefmans, the only superior who was not English. Among the nuns we find, besides the daughters of the families we have mentioned in treating of St. Monica's, members of the families of the Babthorpes, Brookes, Carylls, Wrights, Rookwoods, Widdringtons, and Vaughans. Lady Lucy Herbert, the sixth Prioress, who died in 1744, as Sister Teresa Joseph, was the daughter of William, Duke of Powis, Chamberlain to James II. A complete biographical list of the confessors to the nuns shows the care taken by the Presidents of the English College, Douay, and the English Provincials of the Society of Jesus to furnish the Convent with able spiritual directors. The importance of this factor in the life of the community cannot be too highly estimated. There is also a list of the donations and benefactions, which explains the prosperity which prevailed among them during the severe trials which beset the communities at critical periods in English Catholic life at home.[3] Among these are gifts from "ye English Carthusians," the Petres, the Giffords, the Bedingfields, and Carylls, and one of 480 florins from "His Highness the Archduke Leopoldus." The school also

[1] *The Life and Martyrdome of Mr. Max-Field, Priest of the English Colledge in Douay, at London, Condemned to death for his Priesthood, the ii of July* 1616. *Gathered out of letters written in English, but increased and turned into the Latin Toung. Douay*, 1616. *Dedicated to the Reverent and Religious Mother Frances Stanford, Prioresse of the English in Brugis.* Reprinted by the *Cath. Rec. Soc.*, vol. III, Misc. III, pp. 30–58. London, 1906.

[2] Among the relics preserved at Newton Abbot are the hair shirt and the rosary of Blessed Thomas More. Cf. VAN GESTEL, *Historia Sacra et profana archiepiscopatus Mechliniensis*, vol. I, p. 175 ("Hoc monasterium adservat horridum et asperum cilicium Christi Martyris Thomae Mori Angliae Cancellarii sub Henrici VIII. . . . item, adservat ejusdem Rosarium quo preces ad Deiparam Virginam fundere consuevit"). The Hague, 1725.

[3] In the will of William Craftes, a porter of the English College, Douay, the Louvain nuns received a legacy of 400 florins, and their sisters at Bruges, 500 florins. Cf. BURTON, *Douay Diaries*, vol. II, pp. 507, 515, 516, 544.

brought in a constant revenue. The names of some of these "Convictresses" shows how the Stuart traditions were perpetuated in the Convent. All the leading Catholic noble families of England are represented on the school register. One of the Semmes family from Maryland was a pupil there; she became later a Benedictine nun at Pontoise. Under date of 1775 we find a Miss Frances Kenneth Jerningham, who later became Canoness at Bruges, the daughter of Henry Jerningham, "of Maryland." Several of the children hail "from the West Indies." It is an interesting list, containing the names of many young girls, who, of gentle birth themselves, married into the highest English, Austrian, and Italian circles.

Prosperity, however, did not exist from the beginning. St. Monica's had fixed an annual income of 100 florins upon the eleven nuns sent out from Louvain to Bruges in 1629, but the Thirty Years' War ravaged Holland and Belgium during the first twenty years of the life at Bruges, and in 1635, the Prioress (Mother Mary Pole) sent two Sisters to England to beg for alms. The answer to this appeal was so generous that they were enabled to pay off all the debts on the Convent and to put aside money for future contingencies. In 1642, Mr. George Knebb left them a legacy of 1842 florins, and in 1645, the record reads: "Plentiful alms; no debts." Four years later a new Convent-building was begun, and the town Treasurer, with eight more of the officials, made "a common gathering" for them, which amounted to 500 florins. "It seems clear," say the Annals, "that we were in great pecuniary distress, and were much helped by alms given us by the town and the great abbeys of the neighbourhood; from about 1645 these alms cease, and we lived on the revenue of dowries and the money obtained by accepting boarders." When Bruges became the rendezvous for the Stuarts after the Rebellion of 1649, their Convent was frequented by Charles II. and the leading Royalists. In 1656 the nuns contributed 1000 florins towards the Stuart cause, which gift Charles II. returned in 1664. On August 8, 1708, "our King James III. entered our enclosure with all his attendants, and a crowd of other people, rich and poor, who got in with them. Three of those our King touched were of our religious." The South Sea "contrivance" ruined

many at the time, and we find that portions that were promised could not be paid in consequence; the Convent, however, was able to lend the English Jesuits the sum of 3000 florins when they came to Bruges, after the suppression of Saint Omer, in 1762.[1] In 1766 "we first get to know Mr. Alban Butler," who later translated their Rule, and became their confessor-extraordinary. At his death, in 1773, a tablet was put up to his memory at the door of the choir, for which, as the Annalist quaintly adds, "He left a small legacy to defray expenses." The school was so flourishing in 1781 that the nuns were obliged to refuse thirty girls for want of room. The last Carthusian Prior, Father Williams, took refuge with the nuns in 1783, when his Monastery was closed by order of Joseph II.

Ten years later the French took Bruges, and preparations were made "to be in readiness to leave the Convent." Their more valuable articles of furniture were sent on in advance to Holland, and in 1794, at the advice of the two English Princes, Ernest and Adolphus, sons of George III., who were then in Bruges, they left for Rotterdam, sailing for London on July 6, 1794, and arriving there on the 12th.[2] Two of the nuns remained behind at Bruges to keep possession of the cloister, and in July, 1802, five of the nuns who had gone to England returned. Later, in November of this year, the rest of the community returned. The Annals for this interesting period of Belgian history (1802–1830) contain many items of information written from the outsider's point of view. Their chaplain, M. de Foere, was chosen as deputy to go to England in 1831, to offer the crown to Leopold of Saxe-Coburg. In 1834, Leopold I. visited the Convent, and nine years later, Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort came to see the nuns. Long descriptions of these visits are in the Archives of the Convent. The present community of Austin Canonesses at Haywards Heath, in Sussex, was founded from Bruges in 1886. The Convent at Bruges still continues; and, with the exception of

[1] FOLEY, *Records*, vol. V, p. 172.

[2] *Sufferings of English Nuns during the French Revolution*, article in the *Rambler*, vol. II, 1854, pp. 520–536; *The Canonesses of St. Austin at Louvain, now at Spetisbury House, Dorsetshire*, article in the *Rambler*, vol. II, 1854, pp. 41–44; *Gallia Christiana in provincias ecclesiasticas distributa*, vol. V, p. 248. 16 vols. Paris, 1715–1865.

the Irish Benedictine nuns at Ypres, it is the only English community which still remains in Belgian territory, and thus links the present with a past full of activity and success, which in so many of the leading Flemish towns of Brabant, Flanders, Liége, Cambray, and Artois, where English communities existed, remains only a memory.

CHAPTER XII.

THE CANONESSES REGULAR OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

THE Canons Regular of the Holy Sepulchre existed in England from the reign of Henry I. (1100–1135).[1] At the time of the suppression of the Monasteries under Henry VIII., the Order possessed two houses only, according to the official lists,[2] though the *Brevis Narratio* gives the number as seven.[3] No attempt appears to have been made to restore the English branch of the Order during the two centuries of the English, Irish, and Scotch Foundation Movement on the Continent. To what extent the Canonesses of the Order were established in England, it is impossible to say. Heimbucher makes no mention of any Sepulchrine Convents before 1622, when the Marquise Claudia de Mouy founded a house of Canonesses at Charleville, in France.[4] There were, however, many such houses for Flemish subjects in the Low Countries from the fourteenth century onwards, and in the genealogical table which exists in the New Hall Archives, the Convent of English Canonesses, begun at Liége, October 8, 1642, can be traced in direct descent through the house at Tongres (itself a filiation from another Liége Convent of the Order, St. Walburga's, which in turn was founded from a third community sent out to Liége in 1496), to Nieustat, the first daughter of the original mother-house of Kinroy, founded by John à

[1] HEIMBUCHER, *Die Orden und Kongregationen der Katholischen Kirche*, vol. II, p. 24. Paderborn, 1907.

[2] GASQUET, *Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries*, vol. II, pp. 546–564.

[3] WILLIEMSEN, *Deux Notices sur l'Ordre Canonial du Saint Sépulchre*, part II (*Brevis Narratio Canonici Ordinis Resurrectionis sive Custodum SS. Sepulchri Dominici in Jerusalem*), p. 190. Maestricht, 1891.

[4] *Op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 82; VANDERSPEETEN, S.J., *Ordres Religieux du Saint Sépulchre*, article in the *Collection de Précis Historiques*, vol. VIII (1859), pp. 206–211.

Brouck in 1480.[1] In fact, with so many Convents of Canonesses Regular of the Holy Sepulchre existing in western Europe, it is singular that no Englishwoman before Susan Hawley's time joined them. When she left England in 1641, to found a Convent abroad, the other Orders which had attracted English subjects—the Benedictines, Franciscans, Carmelites, and Austin Canonesses—were then in the zenith of their prosperity; and it is regrettable that we have no explanation of her decision to begin a distinctly new field of religious life for her countrywomen. When she presented herself at the Flemish Convent in Tongres, it was with the understanding that, once her profession was made, she would be allowed to begin a separate house for English nuns of the Order. That year also, another Englishwoman, Frances Cary, joined the Flemish Convent at Tongres with the same desire; and on October 8, 1642, these two set out for Liége in company with the Flemish Mistress of Novices, who was to be their first Superior.[2] The presence of the English Fathers of the Society of Jesus at Liége no doubt influenced them in founding the new Convent there.[3] At the end of this year, the little community numbered eight nuns, among whom was the daughter of the Burgomaster of the city, M. Nicholas de Plenevaux. Through the efforts of Father Joseph Simons (*alias* Emmanuel Lobb, who received the Duke of York, afterwards James II., into the Church at Ghent in 1667), they obtained the abandoned property of the English Institute of Mary in that part of Liége known as the *Pierreuse*.[4] It should be stated quite emphatically, in view of the error into which Daris and other writers have fallen,[5] that there was no

[1] H. P. VANDERSPEETEN, S.J., *Soeur Hélène d'Enckevoert et les Sépulchrines de Liége, de Maestricht et de Hasselt.* Tongres, 1870.

[2] GILLOW, *Biog. Dict. Eng. Cath.*, vol. III, p. 197.

[3] *History of the New Hall Community of Canonesses Regular of the Holy Sepulchre, with a Preface by* FATHER SYDNEY SMITH, S.J., *printed for private circulation* (1899), p. 19.

[4] *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire monastique du Pays-de-Liége*, by J. P. R. STEPHANI, edited by N. J. ALEXANDRE, vol. I, p. 241. Liége, 1876–1877.

[5] DARIS, *Histoire de l'évêché et de la principauté de Liége, au XVIIe. siècle*, vol. I, p. 358. Liége, 1868–1890; CHAMBERS, *Life of Mary Ward*, vol. II, p. 455. London, 1885. "Les Sépulchrines anglaises se formèrent en 1630 d'une partie de la communauté des jésuitesses de Liége, qui embrassèrent l'institut du Saint Sépulchre, quand elles connurent que leur ordre allait etre supprimé par le Pape Urbain VIII. Placées sous la Citadelle, elles passèrent en 1655 au faubourg d'Avroy" (*University Library*,

connection either in the concept of their religious life or in the original members between them and the suppressed House of Mary Ward's Institute. No doubt some misunderstanding on this point existed at the outset, for the first English Prioress, Mother Susan Hawley, published a "*Brief Relation*" in 1652, explaining the object of the Order, with instructions for the best and shortest route from England to Liége.[1]

A few years after the foundation on the *Pierreuse*, the building of a fort close to the Convent disturbed the peace of the nuns, and in 1650 they petitioned Maximilian-Henry, the Prince-Bishop of Liége, to allow them to buy a house in another quarter of the city. The rapid growth of the community, which then numbered twenty-two members, was also a factor in the desired change. Accordingly, the Bishop gave them, in exchange for their Convent, a house in the town, which belonged to a moribund religious society known locally as the Coquins.[2] It was a hospice built in the Middle Ages by the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, and consisted at the time of nine lay-brothers, whose duty it was to care for the pilgrims going to and from the Holy Land. In the middle of the seventeenth century, however, pilgrims were not only much less numerous, but also went by a different route to Jerusalem. The Coquins had either been already suppressed by Innocent X., when the Bishop ordered them to give up their house to the English Sepulchrines, or, as has been claimed, were expelled because of their political activity against the Bishop.

Liége, MS. 1187, f. 20); GOBERT, *Les Rues de Liége*, p. 331. Liége, 1888; COMTE DE COURET, *Notice Historique sur l'Ordre du St. Sépulchre*, pp. 94–105. Paris, 1905.

[1] MOTHER SUSAN HAWLEY, *A Brief Relation of the Order and Institute of the English Religious Women at Liége*. Liége, 1652; J. MUMFORD, S.J., *A Brief Narrative Concerning the first Origin and Flourishing State of the Religiouse of the Holy Sepulchre*. Liége, 1652 (MS. at New Hall); *A Short History of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre of Our Lord Jesus Christ, with an Account of the English Community of that Order established at New Hall, Essex*. London, 1849; *A Relation of the beginning of the English Monastery of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre of Our Lord in Jerusalem begun in the year of Our Lord* 1642, *the 8th of October, in the following manner*.

[2] GOBERT, *Les Rues de Liége*, pp. 329–333. Liége, 1888. The etymology of the word *Coquins*, to-day an opprobrious epithet, is disputed; probably it arose because the lay-brothers were cooks at the Hospice of Saint Christopher, as their house was called. There are one hundred and fifteen manuscript volumes (folio) of their accounts, deeds, etc., in the Library of the Convent at New Hall; they date from the fourteenth century down to 1655. Many other volumes belonging to the Coquins were lost in 1794, in the transport from Liége.

One account states that the Coquins, realizing at last that their usefulness was over, gave up their house willingly in 1655, and waived all claim to the property on condition that each of them should receive an annuity from the English nuns of £23 during their joint and several lives. The *Relation* we have been following, however, says that they were expelled by force, and that it was only after considerable difficulty the English nuns entered into their new home.[1] No doubt the presence of

[1] The deed of contract between the English Sepulchrines and the Prince-Bishop for the exchange of the houses has been printed by GOBERT (*op. cit.*, p. 332 note) from the State Archives at Liége: "L'an 1655, du mois d'Avril, le 7e jour, par devant moi, le puble notaire soubescript, en presence des tesmoins embas desnommées par les constituées: Reverende Mere prieuse, supérieure, procuratrice et chanoinesse régulière de l'ordre du St-Sépulchre de la nation anglicane de la cité de Liége dénomément N.N.N.

"Lesquesslles, après avoir rendu grâces très humbles à Son Altèze Sermc Maximilien-Henri Prince-Electeur de Cologne, Evesque et Prince de Liége, etc., du bien qu'elle a esté servie de leur procurer au moyen de l'impétration du brevet de Sa Sainteté Innocent Pape, dixième de ce nom, d'heureuse mémoire, au fait de la suppression de l'ordre des Frères Coquins, lez-Liége, aux faubourgs d'Avroit, et application et appropriation de la maison, revenus, biens et droits quelquonques qui furent paravant appartenant aux dits frères et maisons au profit des dites mère et couvent;

"Pour tesmoigner une partie de la gratitude qu'elles en doivent à sa dite Altèze, laquelle elles conserveront à jamais en leurs ames avec veu de redoubler incessament leurs prières a Dieu pour sa prospérité, ont, de leur propre mouvement et volontairement cédé et renoncé, comme par cette elles cèdent et renoncent au profit d'Icelle et ses successeurs évesques et princes de Liége, à la maison qu'elles ont et possèdent en cette cité, en la montagne de Piereuse, avec brassine, jardins, heritages, méliorations, et impenses, montantes a grosse somme et touttes autres appartenances qu'elles ont cy-devant acquis du sieur Jacques Gal à charge de payer et acquitter par sa dite Altèze et ses successeurs et indemnité au dit sieur Gal et ses représentants, une rente de deux cent cinquante florins Brabant, rédimible selon les contracts, restante d'une plus grande partie rédimée par la dite Mère et Couvent, laquelle rédemption elles cèdent aussi a Sa dite Altèze et ses successeurs, et ayants cause. Item d'acquitter dix muids fonciers espeautre de rente deüs à Messeigneurs de la Cathédrale de Liége, comme aussi deux florins liégeois de cens aux chanoines de St-Materne, selon que d'icelles charges appert par le contract de transport que le dit sieur Gal, leur en a fait l'an 1644, le 10 de mois de jung, redressé par devant les Srs eschevins, l'onzième du mesme mois et an.

"Voir que si l'effect de la dite suppression et appropriation venoit par cy-après à estre resoud, qu'en ce cas la dite cession cessera et seront les dites religieuses en leur entière dans leur maison de Piereuse.

"Suppliant tres humblement la dite Altèze de vouloir agréer et accepter la présente cession et leur continuer tousiours l'honneur de sa bienveillance et grâce de sa particulière protection. Et pour le premis renouveller par devant toute Cour de Justice ou besoin sera mesmement d'en demander confirmation de Sa Sainteté en cas de besoin, ont constitué Jacques de Lymont et Charles Bloys, procureurs de la Cour spirituelle de Liége et tous autres porteurs de cette et chascun d'eux in solidum. Promettant, etc.

"Surquoy ce-esté ainsy faicte et passé au parloir de la maison et convent des dites religieuses, situées en Piereuse, les an, mois et iour que dessus.

the Burgomaster's daughter in the community, of which she was Procuratrix, threw the balance in favour of the nuns. A school was opened in the Convent, which they entered in May, 1656, and the number of pupils increased so quickly that within four years an entirely new Convent had to be built.

The *Relation* now comes to an end as a contemporary source, but the thread of the story can be taken up in the *Book of Benefactors*, which dates from April 21, 1662.[1] From this source we learn how great was the generosity of English and Liégeois Catholics towards the community. In 1676 the Sisters were about forty in number,[2] and in the papal distribution of 1682 they received 510 florins.[3] They were in reality not as far away from their friends as may be thought, for Spa was a spot much frequented by the English in the seventeenth century; but, together with all the other exiled communities, they also suffered in the disaster which fell upon the Catholics in England after the Titus Oates Plot of 1678. The presence of the English College of the Jesuits was always an incentive to parents to send their daughters to the school of the Sepulchrines, not alone on account of the spiritual direction they would receive, but because Liége, being a separate principality,

" Présents illecque Honoré Sr Nicolas de Plenevaux, cy-devant bourgmestre de la cité de Liége et François d'Aigrement tesmoins ad ce requis.

Marie de la Conception, prieure indigne. (Susan Hawley.)
Françoise de St-Ignace soubprieure. (Frances Cary.)
Anne-Françoise des Séraphins procureuse. (Barbe Plenevaux.)
Hélène de la Croix. (Jane Cary.)
Paula de la Passion. (Jane Greene.)
Constance du St-Sépulchre. (Anna Maria Vanbriel.)
Aloisia de la Presentation. (Elizabeth Chichester.)
Flavia de St-Joseph. (Elizabeth Daniell.)
Jenne de St-Augustin. (Jane Liverloz.)
Agnès de Ste-Claire. (Barbe Houthem.)
Marie de Ste-Katherien. (Mary Hildesley.)
Anne de St-Margaret. (Anne Hildesley.)
Joséphine de Jésus. (Anne Simeon.)
Dorothée de l'Annonciation. (Dorothy Daniell.)
Marie de Ste-Françoise. (Mary Simeon.)
Marguerite de l'Ange gardien. (Margaret Preston.)
Magdeleine de la Transfiguration. (Susanna Hildesley.)
Marie de Ste-Sophie. (Anne Downes.)
Constance de Ste-Christine. (Constantia Hyde.)
Catherine de Ste-Augustine. (Margaret Monica Foster.)
Catherine de Ste-Thérèse." (Catherine Hildesley.)

(*Protocol of the Notary Ruffin*, 1654–1656, pages 59–60.)

[1] *History of the New Hall Community, etc.*, p. 36.
[2] *Vatican Archives, Nunziatura di Fiandra*, t. 66.
[3] *Ibid.*, t. 72, April 22, 1682.

was not so disturbed by the wars which then prevailed all over western Europe.[1]

Little remains to be chronicled of a special interest.[2] The periodical risings of the Meuse, the coming and going of scholars, the arrival of novices and the professions, and the exemplary lives of the nuns, crowd the pages of their Annals during the eighteenth century,—all, it is true, of vital importance to the life of the community itself, but not of such a general nature as to demand repetition. The authoress of the *History of the New Hall Community* has done her work well, though both in this volume and the contemporary accounts we possess, too little is said about the school and the studies these young girls of a former generation passed through before being considered fit to take their place in the world. It only became important in 1772, when it had to be enlarged to accommodate the number who came. The real reputation of the school dates from 1776, when it contained about sixty boarders. From that time on to 1794, it was the best-known of all the English schools for girls outside France. The last Prospectus sent out to England announces that the aim of all the training given in the Convent was to form the hearts of the young girls to virtue, to teach them to love the practices of religion, and to instruct them thoroughly in these; to inspire them with a taste for application and work, with good order and domestic economy, to adorn their minds and accustom them to act from sentiments of honour. The ordinary studies were: English, French, and Italian; sacred and profane history; arithmetic, book-keeping, all that belongs to epistolary composition in different ranks of life; heraldry, "the use of the globes," geography, the principles of natural history so far as was useful for girls; embroidery, and all sorts of needlework; the art of drawing and painting flowers. Dancing, music, and portrait-painting were all extras, as were also miniatures on ivory.

The Revolution broke out at Liége on August 17, 1789.

[1] *History of the New Hall Community, etc.*, pp. 80–81.

[2] Lady Warner entered the Convent of the Sepulchrines, taking the habit, September 20, 1665. (Cf. *Life of the Lady Warner, in religion called Sister Clare of Jesus*, pp. 60–73 London, 1858.) She left, however, the following year, and joined the English Poor Clares at Gravelines.

Disorder reigned in the city until January 12, 1791, when the imperial troops entered the town and reinstated the magistrates in their offices. During the French occupation of the town, the English nuns were subjected to many inconveniences, being obliged from time to time to quarter soldiers in the school. The celebration of their one hundred and fiftieth anniversary (October 8, 1792) was almost contemporaneous with the French victory of Jemappes (November 5, 1792); and the capture of Brussels ten days later preceded but a few weeks the fall of Liége. Sixty soldiers were quartered on them at this time, but there was peace for a while after March 1, 1793, when the French lost the neighbouring town of Aix-la-Chapelle, and were then obliged to evacuate Liége. Constant rumours of the return of the French army made it impossible to carry on the school in security, and arrangements were made to return to England. On January 26, 1794, they sent on most of their belongings in advance to Maestricht, though on all sides they were criticized for what seemed to their friends a wholly unnecessary step, for Liége appeared too far away from the French capital to be influenced permanently by the revolutionary government. The sudden approach of the French army in the spring of 1794 decided them to leave, and they set out, seventy-five in number, on what has since been acknowledged to be one of the unique episodes in the history of the French Revolution.[1] They reached Maestricht at the end of May, 1794, and found the little town crowded with French *émigrés*. After remaining a month, they set out for Rotterdam, arriving there July 22, and on the 29th, set sail for London, which they reached on August 18, thus making the whole journey by water. Lord Stourton immediately placed Holme Hall, in Yorkshire, at their disposal, and here they remained until 1796, when they were transferred to Dean House, Wiltshire. In January, 1799, they went to their present home, New Hall, near Chelmsford, in Essex. This ancient palace had been in turn the residence of Sir William Boleyn, the grandfather of Anne Boleyn, of Henry VIII., Mary Tudor, and the Dukes

[1] MOTHER JOSEPH SMITH, *A short account of some Particulars which happened during the Revolution at Liége, and of Our Journey from thence to England. Published, with notes by Mother* ALOYSIA CLIFFORD, pp. 77, s.l.n.d.

of Buckingham.[1] The Convent and land belonging to them at Liége were restored to the community on August 21, 1802, by the French Government, on the condition that they re-opened the school ; but they were so well established at New Hall that it was thought best to sell the property at Liége. This was done in 1822, though much had already been sequestrated by the Dutch Government.[2] One hundred and fifty-six choir-nuns were professed at Liége from 1642 to 1794, and in that same period forty-seven lay-sisters. Six of these choir-sisters were Americans :

(1) Miss Martha Hagan, daughter of William Hagan and his wife, Mary Price, of Maryland, was clothed on September 14, 1763, and professed September 29, 1764. Her name in religion was Mother Mary Joanna Regis. She died December 31, 1791, aged fifty-eight. Her dowry was £150 sterling.

(2) Miss Martha Semmes, daughter of Joseph Semmes and his wife, Rachel Prether, of Maryland, was clothed March 23, 1767, and professed April 19, 1768. Her name in religion was Sister Mary Rose. She died December 30, 1768, at the age of twenty-one years. Her dowry was £300 sterling.

(3) Miss Clare Semmes, sister of the above, was clothed September 2, 1767, and professed September 5, 1768. Her name in religion was Mother Ursula. She died at New Hall, May 7, 1820. Her dowry was £300 sterling.

(4) Miss Elizabeth Hagan, sister to Martha Hagan, was clothed June 7, 1769, and professed June 8, 1770. Her name in religion was Mother Mary Longina. She died January 26, 1778, aged thirty-seven. She had for dowry £300 sterling.

(5) Mrs. Ann Dougherty, widow of Mr. Dudley Dougherty, of Northampton County, in the Province of Pennsylvania, and daughter of Bartholomew Kelsey and Sarah Thomas, his wife, of the same place, was professed May 9, 1771. She was known in religion as Mother Bridget of the Holy Cross, her dowry being £200 sterling. She died August 17, 1789, aged about forty-six.

[1] *An Essex Convent—New Hall,* by M.P., in the *Essex Review,* vol. XVII (1908), pp. 57–66; pp. 121–132 ; GILLOW, *op. cit.,* vol. III, p. 201.

[2] DARIS, *Notices sur les églises du Diocèse de Liége,* vol. II, p. 235 ss. Liége, 1891 ; GOBERT, *op. cit.,* p. 333.

(6) Miss Mary Anne Semmes, sister of the above, known in religion as Sister Mary Constantia, was clothed August 5, 1766. She died before the date set for her profession (July 6, 1767), aged twenty-eight years.

(7) Miss Teresa Semmes, the fourth of the Semmes sisters, known in religion as Sister Francis Regis, was clothed in July, 1768, but died before her profession, June 2, 1769, at the age of nineteen.[1]

[1] From a Profession-book in the Community Archives, entitled : *Livre aux Visitations et Professions des Soeurs Chanoinesses de Saint Sépulchre des filles refugiées d'Angleterre admises à la laité de Liége, par l'autorité de Rev^me et Il^me Ferdinand Evesq. et Prince dudict Liége de l'an* 1642. As an example of these Professions, we publish the one of Ann Dougherty of Pennsylvania : "Je, sousigné Recteur du College des Anglois, étant deputé par son Altesse Notre Evêque et Prince de Liége pour Examiner de nouveau la Vocation de la Soeur Marie Bridgitte (Ann Dougherty) de la Sainte Croix, Novice du Choeur au Couvent des Dames Chanoinesses Angloises du Saint Sépulchre au faubourg d'Avroy, age de 28 ans, declare que l'aiant examinée, Je n'ai rien trouvé qui puisse l'empecher de l'y consacrer a Dieu par les Voeux solennels de Religion. En foi de quoi j'ai signé avec elle la presente Declaration ce 5 April, 1771.

Jean Howard.
Ann Dougherty."

John Holme, S.J., *alias* Howard, became Director to the nuns in March, 1764. Four years later he was appointed Rector of the English College at Liége, and witnessed its suppression in 1773, being at the time Vice-Provincial. Upon the establishment of the Academy, he was nominated its first President, and died in that office, with the repute of sanctity, October 15, 1783. Practically the whole success of the Convent and the school was due to his influence and activity ; some of his brethren at the College, in fact, accused him of neglecting the College for the nuns' sake.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE ENGLISH DOMINICANS.

1. *From the Suppression of the Monasteries to the Foundation at Bornhem:* 1538–1658.

THE autumn of 1538 witnessed the final suppression of the Friaries in England. They numbered at this time, according to the statistics given by Gasquet, about two hundred in all; of these, sixty were Franciscan houses, forty-two were Monasteries of the Austin Friars, thirty-six belonged to the Carmelites, and about fifty-three to the Order of St. Dominic.[1] The probable number of Dominicans in these houses of the English Province was four hundred and fifty. We know very little about the details of their suppression, though Fr. Raymond Palmer, O.P., contributed some years ago several valuable communications to the *Reliquary Quarterly Journal and Review*, which describe the life of the disbanded friars.[2] There is every evidence that they were among the leading opponents of the Royal Supremacy, and the majority of them was obliged to leave England in consequence (1534–1535). They went mostly to Ireland and Scotland, and lived in the houses of their Order there, until the Master-General settled them in Convents abroad.[3] We have no means of ascertaining how many went into voluntary exile after the suppression of 1538, but the number must have been considerable; for, only in rare

[1] GASQUET, *Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries*, vol. II, p. 238. London, 1889.

[2] Vol. XVIII, p. 71.

[3] REV. C. F. RAYMUND PALMER, O.P., *The Life of Philip Thomas Howard, O.P., Cardinal of Norfolk, Grand-Almoner to Catherine of Braganza, Queen-Consort of King Charles II., and Restorer of the English Province of Friar-Preachers of Dominicans. Compiled from original manuscripts. With a Sketch of the Rise, Missions and Influence of the Dominican Order, and of its early history in England*, p. 66. London, 1867.

individual cases, did they accept the royal pension as a reward for conformity.

When Mary Tudor ascended the throne of England eighteen years afterwards, many of those who had gone into exile had passed away or had been lost sight of in foreign Monasteries; but there remained always, before her time and afterwards, a hidden province governed by a Vice-Provincial or Vicar, who was appointed by the Master-General.[1] The restored community of 1553, which took up its residence at the Priory of St. Bartholomew, one of the oldest monuments in London to-day, had scarcely time to settle down to a regular religious life under Fr. William Perin when Queen Mary died; and on July 20, 1559, the Dominican Priory was suppressed. The friars were actuated by the same impulse which caused the Carthusians and the Bridgettines to go into exile in order to keep their corporate existence intact, and towards the close of the year (1559) they were allowed to leave England, at the request of the Spanish Ambassador, the Count of Feria, for Belgium.[2] The Dominican exiles were twelve in all, and of these two were priests (one of whom, Father Hargrave, was from the Priory of St. Bartholomew). The Prioress of the Dominican nuns of Dartford, four choir-nuns, four lay-sisters, and a young postulant, crossed over to Belgium, under the direction of Father Richard Hargrave, in the same vessel with the Bridgettine nuns of Syon.[3] Father Hargrave and his companion accompanied the Dominican nuns in their search for a permanent home, going with them from Antwerp to Termonde, and then to Liliendael, near Zieriksee, and back again to Antwerp, until the four nuns who remained in 1573, went to Engelendael, outside Bruges, where they soon passed away. What became of the two Dominican friars we do not know, but it may be concluded that from the death of Hargrave in 1566, the English Province of the Order ceased to exist. Officially, however, it never ended, because many Englishmen joined the Order in foreign houses between 1573 and 1658,

[1] Rev. F. Benedict Van Doninck, O.Cist., *Het voormalig Engelsch Klooster te Bornhem*, p. 107. Louvain, 1904.

[2] Kervyn de Lettenhove, *Relations, etc.*, vol. I, 525; *Cal. Venetian*, vol. VII, pp. 78–81.

[3] *Publ. Cath. Rec. Soc.*, vol. I, p. 43 (*Dr. Sander's Report to Cardinal Moroni*). London, 1905.

and these were always considered as potential units in case the Province should be restored to its old rank. These novices came from the different Colleges—Douay, Saint Omer, Rome, and Valladolid—and they were sent on the English Mission when their studies were over.[1]

After Elizabeth's death it was hoped that a means would be found to group the English Dominicans into an organized Mission, but the rigour of the persecution made it impossible. The General Chapters of the Order at this period made several ineffectual attempts to found an English novitiate in Spain, but the numbers which presented themselves were not sufficient to warrant the expense of a separate house. The Dominicans who were known best of all during this time were continentals attached to the embassies in London; and of these was the celebrated Father Diego de la Fuente, the confessor to Count Gondomar, the Spanish Ambassador at the Court of James I.[2] He it was whom the Secular priests wanted for Bishop on the death of the last Archpriest, William Harrison, in 1621. He refused, however, to allow his name to be sent in to the Holy See.[3] The first English Dominican whose name is known to us in the history of the hidden Province is Father Thomas Middleton, *alias* Dade, who came to England in 1617, and in 1622 was appointed by the Master-General, Vicar of the English Province. He was superior for thirty-three years (1622–1655), and, owing to the influence of Queen Henrietta Maria, the number of English Dominicans who came to assist him became sufficiently large to necessitate the opening of a novitiate. Permission for the same was obtained from Rome in 1636, but nothing could be done owing to the troubled state of affairs in England. At this time there were twenty Dominicans in England; but at the Restoration (1660), only six English Dominicans remained, and "the Province had fallen so low that it seemed to be on the brink of ruin, when it pleased God in His good providence to call His servant from the highest nobility of the land for bringing about its restoration."[4]

What Allen was to the English Secular Clergy, and

[1] FOLEY, *Records S.J.*, vol. VI, pp. 139, 159, 183.

[2] PALMER, *op. cit.*, p. 75; BRADY, *Episcopal Succession*, p. 67; BERINGTON, *Memoirs of Panzani*, pp. 96–97. Cf. also DODD-TIERNEY, vol. V, pp. 83–87, cccxlvi–cccxlvii.

[3] PALMER, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 90.

Gennings to the Franciscans, Philip Howard, grandson of the Earl of Arundel, Earl Marshal of England, and of the highest noble family next to that of the King, was to the English Dominicans. The story of the young nobleman's entrance into the Order of St. Dominic, in spite of the efforts made by his grandfather, who protested in person to Pope Innocent X. against the step, and the influence brought to bear on the young man through Cardinal Barberini, reads more like a chapter from the life of St. Thomas Aquinas than from that of a modern Englishman. His solemn profession at Rome, after being personally examined by the Pope, on October 18, 1646, closed the incident.[1] Shortly after this, at the General Chapter of 1650, he advised those present on the necessity of restoring the Order in England and the opportuneness of founding an English novitiate. The General Chapter of 1650 could not see its way clear to do more than admonish all foreign superiors of the Order to be most sympathetic towards any English subjects who should present themselves, but "this admonition fell far short of his desires for the welfare of England. The want of systematic organization for keeping up and increasing the province was the great bar to the full operation of the Order in England, and this want could be met only by founding a Monastery or College exclusively for the province."[2]

2. *The Foundation at Bornhem*: 1658–1795.

Father Howard went to Belgium in 1655, and through the help of the Belgian Provincial of the Order, negotiations were begun for the purchase of the old Dominican Convent of

[1] FATHER PALMER (*op. cit.*, pp. 78–98) has given the whole story of Howard's vocation from original letters, many of which he has published. The opposition of Howard's grandfather at Rome, and of his grandmother, the Countess of Arundel, at the Nuncio's Court in Brussels, is well documented in the *Nunziatura di Fiandra*. In vol. 29, fols. 153–160, the reasons for this opposition are given: the family feared reprisals in England, the loss of property and of titles, in case a member of a house so close to the royal family should become a friar. The Earl of Arundel was more frank about it, however, for the main opposition seems to be based upon the disgrace which would fall upon the family if Thomas became a religious. Cf. *Prop. Arch., Atti* (1644–1645), p. 472, no. 24 (*De Dmo Philippo Comite de Arundel anglo facto Dominicano*).

[2] PALMER, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

Bornhem which had passed out of the hands of the Order a short time before.[1] Family affairs called him to England before the final purchase could be made, and while there he raised £1600 on property belonging to him and by some individual gifts.[2] Had his plans been matured in 1654 before the death of his grandmother, the Countess of Arundel, he would no doubt have shared in the legacy of £6000 she left to the English Jesuits for their foundation at Ghent.[3] Many difficulties had to be overcome before the English Dominicans were given possession of the property at Bornhem. The legal difficulty of founding a new house of exiles was far greater at this period than in the beginning of the century. The Thirty Years' War had impoverished the Low Countries, and the local magistrates were not willing to see a new religious house erected within their jurisdiction, if there were any danger of its becoming a burden on the community. Moreover, the ecclesiastical authorities at Ghent, in which diocese the town of Bornhem lay, hesitated somewhat owing to the presence in the house of some Gulielmites, a congregation of the Hermits of St. Augustine.[4] The Internuncio at Brussels helped them to settle all these difficulties, and the house was bought in the autumn of 1657, the royal licence for the foundation being granted March 19, 1658. The conditions of the licence were very stringent: the English Fathers were to put all their capital (20,000 florins) into securities and were never to alienate or lessen it. The revenue from this, amounting to about 1000 florins a year, would keep thirteen religious, which number was never to be exceeded, and under no conditions were alms to be solicited in Belgium itself. Only English Dominicans would be permitted to live in the house, and all their services on Sundays and festivals were to be celebrated with closed doors, nor were the Fathers to exercise any parochial rights. Even with these violations of the traditional privileges of the

[1] *In Exile* (*The English Dominicans at Bornhem*), article in *Merry England*, vol. XVI (1890), pp. 257–281, 356–531, by F. R. PALMER, O.P.

[2] *Vat. Arch.*, *Nunz. di Fiandra*, vol. 44, July 31, 1660.

[3] FOLEY, *Records*, vol. VII, part I, p. liii; SANDERUS, *Flandria Illustrata*, vol. i, p. 131; *The Lives of Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, and of Anne Dacres, his Wife, edited from the original MSS., by the* DUKE OF NORFOLK, E.M., p. 303. London, 1857.

[4] HEIMBUCHER, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 180.

Order, it was thought best to make a start, and on April 6, 1658, they took formal possession of the Convent of the Holy Cross, and with Father Howard as first Prior the community soon attracted many of the English Dominicans in other convents of the Order, among these being Fathers Martin Russel, Lionel Anderson, and Vincent Torre.[1] A novitiate was opened and postulants for the Order began to arrive.

Charles II., then in exile, was at Brussels at this time, and Howard often visited him at his Court there. When Cromwell died, in September, 1658, the Stuart Party began to reorganize its plans, and Charles sent Howard to England to aid the royal cause. With him the exiled King associated a certain Richard Rookwood, who had been a Jesuit and was then a member of the English Carthusian Monastery at Nieuport. It is regrettable that more is not known of this meteoric personality. The Prior of the Carthusians warned Charles that the man was not trustworthy, but for some unknown reason Charles insisted on his taking part in the embassy. Rookwood left Nieuport for England, and on his arrival went at once to Richard Cromwell, who had succeeded his father, and disclosed to him the negotiations with which Howard was entrusted ; through Rookwood's treachery the Stuart rising was quelled, and its leader, Sir Charles Booth, arrested and imprisoned in the Tower. Rookwood's later career is even more melodramatic. When Charles returned, in May, 1660, to be crowned, the traitor was generously spared and ordered back to his convent at Nieuport ; but he escaped and fled to Germany, where he apostatized and was given a Calvinistic church in Heidelberg. He married the widow of a German Colonel and through her influence obtained her late husband's commission in the Palatine army. He rose to such favour

[1] FOPPENS, *Auberti Miraei opera diplomatica et historica*, vol. III, p. 280. Louvain, 1723-1748 ; *Les Dominicains en Angleterre*, article in *L'Année Dominicaine Bulletin Mensuel du Tiers-Ordre de St. Dominique*, vol. 2 (1862), p. 668 ; vol. 3 (1863), pp. 207, 268 (*Les Dominicains en Angleterre, extrait d'un mémoire detaillé sur les Missions d Angleterre adressé à la Propaganda, et conservé dans les archives de notre ordre*, by P. DOUSSOT, O.P.). In the notes sent to the writer by the Mother Prioress of the English Convent at Bruges, we learn that Matthew Bedingfield, an English exile at Brussels (Cf. *Publ. Cath. Rec. Soc.*, vol. VII, Misc. VI, p. 427), who pledged his real and personal property at Brussels in 1656, in order to promote the foundation at Bornhem (PALMER, *op. cit.*, p. 102), had attempted to start a Convent of English Beguines in the city, but was unsuccessful.

that the Elector Palatine sent him as his ambassador to England, but the King ordered his instant departure from London, and at length, in 1673, the unhappy man, who doubtless was quite irresponsible, was slain in a skirmish by the French during the war with Holland.[1]

During 1660–1661 Howard spent much time in England promoting the Catholic marriage of the King, and when Charles married Catherine of Braganza in May, 1662, Howard was made her chaplain. This appointment required his constant presence at the English Court, and it is to his credit that, while retaining his post of Prior of Bornhem and that of Vicar of the English Province of the Order, the young community did not suffer by his absence. He began a College for boys at Bornhem about the year 1665. Owing to the legal condition in the contract limiting the Convent at Bornhem to thirteen religious, he attempted to found a second English Dominican Priory at Dieppe, but the plan was not carried out. The College does not seem to have been very successful before the beginning of the eighteenth century. It was at this juncture also that Howard re-established the Dominican nuns of the Second Order at Vilvorde. Two years after the Dieppe plan for the establishment of a second Priory fell through, Howard was induced to take the old Dominican Priory at Tangier, in Africa, a town which was included in Queen Catherine's dowry. Here the English Dominicans remained for three years, when it was given to the Irish Province (1668) and finally abandoned altogether in 1691, when the city was destroyed by the English. Howard had succeeded his cousin Lord Aubigny, as Grand Almoner to the Queen, in 1665, and as this gave him the highest ecclesiastical prestige in England, the hopes of the struggling province as well as of the Catholics in general were at their highest.[2] His life was now spent in frequent journeys between London, Brussels, Bornhem and Rome. Everything pointed to his being made Vicar-Apostolic of England.[3] Ecclesiastic authority had been absent since

[1] PALMER, *op. cit.*, pp. 114–116.

[2] *Prop. Arch.*, *Lettere della Sacra Congregazione*, t. 54 (1669–1671), f. 184, Master-General to Card. Barberini, September 20, 1670.

[3] For the correspondence concerning Howard's position in English ecclesiastical affairs at this time, cf. *Prop. Arch.*, *Lettere della Sacra Congregazione*, vol. 54, ff. 59,

1629, when Bishop Smith withdrew to France, and the success which had been obtained both in promoting the Church and in cementing the different factions in Holland, stimulated the Secular Clergy more than ever to petition the Holy See for a bishop. The opposition of the Jesuits and the Regulars, who saw in episcopal authority the curtailing of those privileges and customs which, rightly or wrongly, they considered essential to the propagation of the Faith in England, was sufficiently strong to prevent a settlement of the matter until 1669, when the Holy See decided to make Howard Vicar-Apostolic in England of England, with a See *in partibus*. The English Clergy were unanimous in accepting the Dominican friar, whose name was now well known all over Europe, but steadfastly refused to accept him if he were not given ordinary jurisdiction. In a Particular Congregation of Propaganda, September 9, 1670, Howard was nominated Vicar-Apostolic, but again the opposition succeeded in postponing the consent of the Pope. Two years later, a second decree from Propaganda, dated April 26, 1672, appointing him to the post, was approved by the Pope in an audience the following day. As Bishop of Helenopolis, Howard was to have the same jurisdiction Dr. Bishop was given in 1623, with the exception of Scotland. The English Chapter was determined to have either a true Ordinary, in the canonical sense of the term, or no superior at all. The dispute was taken to Charles by Dr. Godden, one of the Queen's chaplains and a former President of Lisbon College, and in August, 1673, the Holy See was informed through the Internuncio at Brussels that the King asked for a suspension of Howard's briefs. Howard in consequence was not consecrated, and the English Church remained for twelve more years in its unhappy acephalous condition.[1] Howard's zeal and influence in the cause of the Catholic faith was always heartily detested by Parliament and the Protestant party, and he was partly held responsible for the Declaration of Indulgence, published March 15, 1672, in which Charles, by virtue of his supreme power in ecclesiastical affairs, decreed the suspension of all penal laws in the Kingdom.

108, 112, 209, 228, 265, 389, 392, 455; *Vat. Arch., Nunz. di Fiandra*, vol. 59 (1670–1675); vols. 60–61 (1671–1672); vol. 63 (1674); vol. 64 (1675).

[1] BRADY, *Episcopal Succession*, pp. 104–135.

Several prominent conversions aroused the fury of the leading Protestant ecclesiastics, and Howard was obliged to leave England in 1674. He went to Bornhem for the purpose of reorganizing the school for boys, and while there received word of his elevation to the Cardinalate. He was given the red hat in the Cathedral of Antwerp.

In 1679, at the request of Charles II., the Cardinal of Norfolk, as he was now called, was made Cardinal Protector of England and Scotland. The future historian of the English College at Rome will be able to give us many fresh side-lights on the character of this splendid type of English religious, for it was under his protection that the new English College was built, and his library, which still exists in separate rooms at the College, is rich in volumes that have since become scarce and rare. One of his first plans as Cardinal was to purchase some houses at Antwerp where the community could find refuge in case their home was destroyed in the wars which were then devastating Belgium and Holland. These were eventually found to be unnecessary, and were sold in 1697.[1]

After his elevation to the Cardinalate, he took John Leyburne, then the President of Douay College, to Rome with him as his secretary.[2] In 1676, he obtained the old College and church of St. John and St. Paul on Monte Celio as a second English Priory.[3] This College became the novitiate and house of studies for the English Province. The Titus Oates Plot of 1679 wrecked the fine hopes English Catholics had formed for a revival of the Faith in England, and threw the country back into the severe persecutions of former days. Howard's name figured prominently in the trial of Oates, the arch-liar of all times. For many years afterwards no attempt could be made to bring the scattered Dominicans on the missions together, for their Order was particularly hated by the Protestant party. The Priory of Bornhem, the house at Antwerp, and the College

[1] *Vat. Arch., Nunz. di Fiandra*, vol. 64, Avvisi of August 17, 1675. This volume contains many of his letters as well as much information from the Nuncio regarding his movements at Brussels, which he usually visited *incognito*.

[2] *Vatican Library, Biblioteca Barberini*, vol. 8623, ff. 121–162 (Correspondence on this appointment); HAUDECOEUR, *Histoire du Collège anglais de Douai, etc.*, pp. 306–307. Douai, 1897.

[3] VAN DONINCK, *op. cit.*, pp. 437–443; *Forgotten Colleges: Convent of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Rome*, article by FR. PALMER, O.P., in *Merry England*, vol. XV (1889), pp. 311–329.

of St. John and St. Paul became the refuge for the persecuted Dominicans, and it was only at the accession of James II. (1685) that any organized work in the Province became feasible. James's lack of moderation and foresight cost the Church more than if he had followed in the footsteps of his brother. The whole nation had been set positively and obstinately against the Church by the Plot, which, though recognized as a terrible crime of injustice against the Catholics of England, had roused a spirit of hatred in the lower classes that could not be quelled.

James II. was a calamity in a time like this. The blundering ineptitude of his policy was that it was wholly out of harmony with Catholics, Anglicans and Dissenters. No one saw better than Cardinal Howard the disastrous results which would follow if James could not be induced to take a more moderate pace in his policy of reconstruction. The public reception of John Leyburne, now Bishop of Adrumetum *in partibus*, and Vicar Apostolic of all England, who came accompanied by the Count Ferdinand d'Adda, Legate of Innocent XI., to the Court of St. James ; the Declaration of Indulgence, April 4, 1687 ; the promotion of Catholic peers to places in the Government ; the enforced acceptance of Catholic students in the two Universities, and the sudden growth of chapels and convents in England once toleration had been decreed, all these precipitated the King's ruin and brought about a reaction against Catholicism which lasted well on into the next century. Cardinal Howard opposed, as strongly as his position as Protector of the realm allowed, the headlong course the King was pursuing. It was in vain that Innocent XI. counselled slowness and calmness. The King would brook no interference. In January, 1688, three more Vicars Apostolic were appointed and arrived in England to take up their work. England was divided into four districts—the London, Western, Northern and Midland, and thus were organized the first elements of the restoration of the English hierarchy. James II.'s downfall began through his interference in the management of Magdalen College, Oxford. Difficulties had arisen over the admission of Catholic Fellows, and in February, 1688, the King named the Right Reverend Bonaventure Giffard (Vicar Apostolic

of the Midland District) President of the College, and on June 15, Bishop Giffard took possession of his seat in the chapel and the lodgings belonging to him as President.[1] The storm was rising higher and higher against the King, and he sought to abate it somewhat by a second Declaration of Indulgence, issued on April 27, 1688. Then came the tactless imprisonment of the six bishops (June 8), followed by the excitement at the birth of a son to Queen Mary of Modena (June 10); these two events united all the non-Catholic parties against the Crown, and before the end of December, the Orange Plot was complete, and James was on his way to France, a defeated and exiled King.

After the flight of James II., Cardinal Howard felt more at liberty to devote himself entirely to the work of perfecting the organization of the Dominican Province.[2] The Vicars Apostolic were soon released from prison in England, and the domestic work of the missions could be left safely to them. Six years of strenuous activity for the Order to which he belonged weakened his health, and he died at Rome, June 17, 1694, aged sixty-four. He left much of his property to the English Dominicans, and ordered that a goodly portion of it be expended in purchasing the College of St. Thomas Aquinas, at Douay, as a College for the English subjects of the Order, adding that in case that college could not be bought or some other College be found in Louvain, Brussels, Antwerp or elsewhere in the Low Countries, the money should go to Bornhem. Among those who benefited under his will were Charles and John Dryden, the sons of the poet. In 1697, the English Dominicans obtained the house on Kraekenstraet, Louvain, and opened it that same year as the College of St.

[1] GILLOW, *Biog. Dict. Eng. Cath.*, vol. II, pp. 444–456.

[2] The general condition of the Priory and College at Bornhem in 1694, as contained in the account sent to Propaganda that year (July 27, 1694), is as follows: there were eight English Dominicans working on the Mission in England; the Priory contained twelve in all, eight fathers and four lay-brothers. In Louvain, Rome, and Brussels—the three other houses of the Province—were ten more English Dominicans, either students or chaplains. The revenues at that time amounted to 762 florins in money, and rents to the amount of 749 florins: in all, 1511 florins—"hi sunt omnes reditus hujus conventus Bornhemiensis qui hisce temporibus satis misere solvuntur et minuuntur." The account adds that the magistrates held the Fathers strictly to the clause in the contract of their foundation forbidding them to collect alms in the territory of the King of Spain (*Prop. Arch., Miscellanee dei Collegii* (*Collegio Inglese di Duaco, etc.*, 1568–1590): f. 121 (*Status monasterii FF. Praed. Anglorum Bornhemii*).

Thomas Aquinas.[1] It was incorporated with the University of Louvain, and soon became the regular house of studies for the Province. This same year, in consequence of the foundation at Louvain, Innocent XI. closed the College of St. John and St. Paul, probably at the request of Father Dominic Williams, the first Rector of Louvain College, who became the leader of the new Dominican movement in England after Howard's death.[2]

The school at Bornhem was languishing at this time as were all the other English educational establishments on the Continent. In the list of 1676, which has been quoted in connection with the other houses, the number of English friars at Bornhem is given as eight or nine, but there is no mention of the school. The amount given them out of the Papal grant of 1682 was 300 florins, a large amount if judged in proportion with the others. This was due no doubt to the fact that they had lost practically all their capital through an agent in England who proved false to his trust. Their expenses were increasing every day, because they were obliged out of charity to harbour many of the exiles from England at this time. In 1703, the school, which would have been from the beginning at Bornhem their principal source of revenue had it not been for the persecution at home, was reopened, and the English Fathers wisely threw open the classes to Flemish as well as English students. The success of the College rivals that of Saint Omer, and in 1773, a completely new College was built to accommodate the growing number of pupils. This same year, the English Dominicans, much against their will, were put in charge of the two suppressed English Jesuit Colleges at Bruges.[3] These two Colleges soon had to be closed owing to

[1] VAN DONINCK, *op. cit.*, pp. 444-457; VAN EVEN, *Louvain Monumentale*, p. 504. Louvain, 1903; *Les dominicains anglais à Louvain*, in the *AHEB*, 1883, t. XIX, pp. 45-89; 1892, t. XXIII, pp. 191-202; *Forgotten Colleges: The College of St. Thomas Aquinas, Louvain*, article by FR. PALMER, O.P., in *Merry England*, vol. XVI (1890), pp. 63-81; VAN GESTEL, *Historia sacra et profana Archiepiscopatus Mechliniensis*, vol. I, 170. Hague, 1725.

[2] *Propaganda Archives, Scritture non riferite nei Congressi, Anglia*, t. I, f. 554 (Extract from the Register of the Master-General of the Dominicans, 1698).

[3] W. ROBINSON, *Notice sur les Collèges des Pères Jésuites Anglais à Bruges*, pp. 24-28. Bruges, 1884; OLIVER, *Collections illustrating the History of the Catholic Religion in the Counties of Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, Somerset, Wilts, and Gloucester; in two parts, historical and biographical. With notices of the Dominican, Benedictine, and Franciscan Orders in England*, p. 484. London, 1857.

the loyalty of the students towards their old masters. Some, however, entered Bornhem. The advance of the French army into the Austrian Low Countries in 1792, soon put the College and Priory at Bornhem in danger. Fortunately, the country around the little Flemish village was in the charge of an American officer, then fighting with the French, General Eustache, and he generously kept the English houses from being pillaged by the soldiers. The short period of peace which followed the Austrian successes of 1793, enabled them to prepare for the flight which was necessary the following year. When the English Dominican nuns reached Bornhem (June 22) *en route* for England, it was evident that the Fathers and the Collegians would also have to leave. On June 25, they set out for Rotterdam, and embarked for England, arriving July 16, where they were met by the English Provincial of the Order. In the Colleges at Bornhem and at Louvain some of the Fathers had been left to protect the property. At Bornhem, Father Dominic Fenwick, an American, was left in charge ; the house, however, was confiscated, and they were all obliged to return to England.[1] In 1795, some of the Fathers returned to take possession of the property, and when the sale of all sequestered property was decreed in 1796, the English Dominicans bought back their property, through an agent, for 30,000 livres. The College was opened again in 1797, but all hope of reviving it was gone, and it was sold in 1825. In 1804–1805, four Dominican Fathers went to the United States, to found the present Province of St. Joseph. Among these was Dominic Fenwick, who afterwards became the first Bishop of Cincinnati.

The College of Louvain had a better fate. Confiscated in 1797, it was restored to the English Dominicans in 1818, but was confiscated anew in 1827 by the Government and sold, the Fathers being partly compensated by the creation of two burses in favour of their Province at the University of Louvain. This privilege is still enjoyed by the English Dominicans. The old

[1] The copy of the order for the arrest of the Fathers at Bornhem, and the inventory of the property (from the Archives d'État at Antwerp, *Dominicains anglais à Bornhem*, 1 vol. fol., parch. liasse 91, no. 17) is printed in VAN DONINCK, *op. cit.*, pp. 325–334. Cf. *Suffering of the English Nuns during the French Revolution* (*The Dominicanesses of Brussels, now of Atherstone in Warwickshire*), article in the *Rambler*, vol. II, 1854, pp. 37–41.

house was torn down a short time ago to make room for new lecture-halls for the Faculties of Theology and Law. The Bornhem Fathers settled first, in 1794, at Carshalton, near Croydon, where they opened a college called Bornhem House, but the venture was not a success. In 1832, there were but nine English Fathers alive; in 1851 they were but six. Since that time the Order has made constant progress, the abandoned houses in Belgium being now represented by Woodchester Priory. The whole number of Fathers and Lay-brothers in the Province between 1650 and 1867 was one hundred and sixty-four.[1]

3. *The English Dominican Sisters: Nuns of the Second Order.*[2]

"Regular observance would not have been fully restored in the English Province without Religious of the Second Order. A convent of sisters entered into the broad scheme of F. Thomas Howard. In England he found some ladies of gentle birth who desired to dedicate themselves to God under the rule of St. Dominic, and others in Belgium had also the same holy aspirations. Among them was his cousin, Antonia Howard; and her elder sister, Elizabeth, too, seemed much inclined for a life of perfection. Being sure of subjects F. Thomas Howard, March 6th, 1660, asked the Master-General for leave to erect a Convent in Belgium, and April 3rd it was readily granted."[3] Such, in Father Palmer's crisp style, is the whole story of the foundation of the Convent at Vilvorde in 1660; but the nuns' history really begins with the tragic suppression of their Convent at Dartford in 1538. It is surprising, in view of the large number of Dominican Convents in Europe before the Reformation, to learn that in the whole of England Dartford was the only community of the Second

[1] For lists of members of the community at Bornhem, the Priors of the Convent, Rectors of the College, Provincials of the Order, as well as of the Flemish and English students there, cf. VAN DONINCK, *op. cit.*, pp. 437-489.

[2] The facts contained in this paragraph are based upon notes and excerpts from the *Annals* sent to the writer by a member of the present community. The first volume of the *Conventual Annals* (1661-1783) alone was saved in the flight from Brussels in 1794; the second was lost at that time.

[3] PALMER, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

Order.[1] At Mary's accession seven nuns of the Dartford Priory came together and formed a Convent, and later, in 1559, accompanied the Bridgettine nuns of Syon to Belgium. For twenty years this little band of Religious went from place to place, as we have seen in the case of the Carthusians and the Bridgettines, looking for a house in which to settle. They went first to Antwerp, then to Termonde, where the English Bridgettines were at that time and where they lived for two months. As has been mentioned already, they numbered four choir-nuns, four lay-sisters, one postulant and their Prioress. All these nuns except the postulant were aged women, the youngest of them being fifty, and three of them eighty years of age. One of them was Elizabeth Wright, a half-sister to Blessed John Fisher. At length the Belgian Provincial found a refuge for them in the Dominican Convent of Liliendael, near Zierikzee. They, too, figure among the many participants of Spanish generosity.[2] Among the sums paid out in 1561 to the English exiles is one of 448 livres to "Jean Antoine" for the Dominican nuns.[3] That they needed help is evident. Cut off from their homes, not speaking the same language, and at that terrible disadvantage, which only Catholics can realize, which makes a cloistered nun outside her Convent even with permission, an object of sympathetic displeasure, their lot was indeed a cruel one. If the Belgian Government in the person of the generous Governess, Margaret of Parma, had not aided them, they would certainly have died from starvation.[4] They are soon lost sight of, however, although the payment list preserved in the Archives at Lille contain notices of grants of money to the Dominicans up to 1569, in which year they received 336

[1] GASQUET, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 550; HEIMBUCHER, *op. cit.*, pp. 165–166, makes no mention of the Dartford community.

[2] GACHARD, *Correspondance de Marguérite d'Autriche, duchesse de Parme, avec Philippe II.* (1559–1563), vol. III, pp. 252, 302, 344. Brussels, 1867–1881. 3 vols.

[3] *Archives, Chambre des Comptes de Flandres*, at Lille, no. 2554, f. 307. Cf. GACHARD, *Rapport à M. le Ministre de l'Intérieur sur différentes séries de documents concernant l'histoire de Belgique, qui sont conservés dans les Archives de l'ancienne Chambre des Comptes de Flandre à Lille.* Brussels, 1841; FINOT, *Inventaire sommaire des archives départementales du Nord antérieures à* 1790. Lille, 1893.

[4] It is problematical whether they benefited under the will (1566) of Father Eliseus Haywood, S.J., to the extent of 40 florins a year for six years, "but should religion be restored in England, and the nuns return there within the next six years then the legacy would cease." FOLEY, *Records*, vol. XII, part I, p. 350.

livres from the general treasury of the State. There is no doubt that they were helped up to the very last, but the numerous political exiles who arrived in Belgium after the failure of the Northern Rising (1569), soon absorbed all the money set apart by Philip II. for the English refugees. Whether they received anything from the annual papal grant of 500 crowns from 1560 onwards is unknown. The only list we possess of this (? 1575) contains an account of the sums given to the Carthusians and the Bridgettines, but no mention is made of the Dominicans, so it may not be incorrect to say that by this year, the exiled Dominican community had ceased to exist.[1] In 1565 they returned to Antwerp, and in 1566 went to Bergen-op-Zoom; finally, in December, 1573, when they were visited by the Master-General, only four nuns were alive, and they were sent to the Convent of Engelendael, near Bruges, where death removed them all in a short time.

A whole century intervened before this branch of the Order was restored. We have no means of knowing whether young Englishwomen were attracted by the Dominican Rule to enter Convents on the Continent. The foundation of the Convent of English nuns at Vilvorde in 1660 by Cardinal Howard is not, therefore, the continuation of the old Dartford community except in the sense that as they alone represented the Second Order in England before the Reformation, so the Carisbrooke nuns are its representatives to-day.

Father Thomas Howard, as he then was called, lost no time in putting the Master-General's permission for the Convent into execution. He enlisted the services of the Dominican nuns of Tempsche, a town near Bornhem, and sent his cousin, Antonia Howard, there in June, 1660.[2] The following year she was clothed in the habit, and he then hired a house for 5000 florins near the vicarage of the Dominican friars at Vilvorde. This house he formed into a Convent, and, with the permission of the Bishop of Ghent, to whom the nuns were subject, he brought three nuns from Tempsche, Louisa de Hertoghe, Clare van Elst and another Flemish lay-sister, to complete the

[1] *Vat. Arch., Nunz. di Fiandra*, t. 66 (*Catalogus omnium Coenobiorum pertinentium ad subditos Regis Angliae in Belgio*).

[2] Royal Library, Brussels, *MS.* 4337 (16542-16557), *Historia conventus Thamisiensis monialium ordinis S. Dominici*, 5 pp.

community. With them came Antonia Howard, now Sister Catherine, who, the Annalist says, was "the first English that had, to our knowledge, taken the habit of our holy father St. Dominick, since the unhappie fall of Religion in England." Antonia Howard died shortly after the Convent was begun at Vilvorde (1661). That same year an Irish lady, Elizabeth Boyle, joined the community at Vilvorde. From 1661 to 1667 the Prioress was the Flemish nun Louisa de Hertoghe. With Sister Barbara Boyle's election to this post in 1667, begins the list of the nineteen English Prioresses who ruled the Convent down to 1794. Howard had great difficulty with the Bishop of Ghent and with the magistrates to keep the Convent thoroughly English, permission even being refused for several years over the regular time for the profession of some of the nuns. The opposition to the new Convent was very strong and caused many English ladies to go to other Convents instead of joining it; but when Philip IV. had granted the royal leave, subjects began to come in, and in 1668, the small and fervent community was numerous enough to govern itself without the aid of the Flemish nuns, who then went back to Tempsche.

The close neighbourhood of the war which was in progress in the Low Countries in 1669, was a danger to the peace of the nuns, and Father Howard decided upon removing them to Brussels. After some search he chose a large, castle-like edifice called Het-Spellekens-Huys, the pin house, because it was at first a pin manufactory, a name commonly shortened into Spellekens or corrupted into Pelikans. It was in the *rue de Chêne*, and had a large garden attached to it. It was then in the possession of the Oratorians, who sold it to Father Howard for 20,000 florins. Again the English Dominicans met with strong opposition from the magistrates, but this was overruled by the Governor, and the nuns were conducted to Brussels in the Lent of 1669.[1] The house at Vilvorde was sold and with the money a Guest-House was built at Brussels alongside the Convent. This soon became the rendezvous of

[1] De Jonghe, *Desolata Batavia dominicana seu descriptio omnium conventuum et monasteriorum Sancti Ordinis Praedicatorum*, p. 414. Ghent, 1717. Royal Library, Brussels, *MS.* 4499 (14512-14544), *Copia de la Permission de los del magistrado a la religiosas inglesas de la orden de Santo Domingo para poder establezerse en esta villa de Brusselas*; *ibid.*, *MS.* 4499 (14512-14545), *Lettre d'Andre Creusen, archévêque de Malines, pour l'établissement des dominicaines anglaises à Bruxelles* (1664).

the Jacobite leaders who were on the Continent. Howard's elevation to the Cardinalate in 1675, had the same effect on his foundations as Allen's had on Douay. The wider interests of the English Church predominated over his own personal interests, and the Colleges at Bornhem and at Rome, together with the Convent at Brussels, though always first in his heart as a Dominican, were secondary in his more intense activity for the English Catholics in general. He, however, never lost sight of his cherished ideal, namely, the complete restoration of the Province. In 1680, he begged his brother Henry, Duke of Norfolk, to send his daughters to the Spellekens to be educated, in order to give the school a start. From this we infer that the English nuns must have been ready to undertake the education of girls, which, though allowed by their Constitutions under exceptional circumstances, is not the proper function of the Second Order.[1] Very little is known of this school. Among the children who were taught there, was the daughter of Howard's uncle, the ill-fated William, Lord Viscount Stafford.[2] Three of Howard's nieces, the daughters of Colonel Bernard Howard, joined the community later. A noteworthy fact which caused great consternation at the time in the city was the theft of the monstrance containing the Blessed Sacrament from their chapel. The reparation of this outrage was a public and civic event, and it is interesting to know that the community at Carisbrooke still observes two hours of adoration daily before the Blessed Sacrament in perpetual reparation for the sacrilege of 1706.

We now come to an interesting period in the history of the Spellekens. Sister Mary Rose Howard, who was Prioress of the Convent from 1721 to 1724, and who died in 1747 at the age of seventy years, was one of the most enthusiastic supporters of "King James III." on the Continent. Elizabeth, Duchess of Gordon, the daughter of the 6th Duke of Norfolk and niece of Cardinal Howard, was living at this time in the Guest-House, and she and the Prioress became the recognized

[1] PROCTER, O.P., *The Dominicans*, pp. 60–66. London, 1909.

[2] It is related in the *Annals* that Sister Mary Delphina's hair turned white from filial grief during the night which followed the reception of the news of her father's execution. However, she had such complete control over herself that she was able to read the account to the community in the refectory the next day. She was at this time hardly twenty-three years old.

intermediaries between James III. in Rome, Bishop Atterbury of Rochester,[1] then in exile at Brussels, and the Jacobite party in England. An active correspondence was carried on between the Chevalier and his friends, and the Dominican Convent was the point of departure and arrival for all letters going to England and coming from the Jacobites at home. The community did not relish the notoriety this gave to their cloister, and the Master-General was petitioned to stop the whole proceeding ; but he sympathized too deeply with James to order Sister Mary Howard to cease, and even granted her privileges in receiving visitors in order to promote the cause more easily.

The *Annals*, which are still preserved at Carisbrooke, give us valuable information for the economic side of the religious life of the Convents. Some of the nuns raised the necessary portion, as it was called, by mortgaging the land they possessed at home, or would possess when their parents died. This capital was either placed in English securities, or, as we read in one case, "the 3,000 gulders (of Sister Mary Rose Howard) is at 5 per cent. a perpetual Rent on Mynheer Dix in Brussels ; this money is now on a Tavern in Brussells in Hatters Street at the Sign of the Ellepant." Another nun brought "100 pounds which was put on my Lord Ailesbury for six per cent. ; and she had 700 Bookes called 'The Reformation Judged,' worth a Crowne a piece, and the Brass plate to print the Tree of Life, all which is to make up her portion when they are sold." It will be seen from the above in what ways the sisters' dowries were occasionally made up. The portions vary very considerably. More often the dowry was small, a fact not to be wondered at, when one considers the impoverished state of most English Catholics at this period. In 1676 they numbered eighteen nuns in the Convent at Brussels ; in 1681 the number was twenty-five.[2] Owing to the Titus Oates Plot and the persecution which followed, they had received only the half of their regular income from English securities ; as they could not beg alms in the Belgian capital, and were obliged to pay all the municipal taxes, they were in sore straits.[3] They received 336 florins out of the

[1] *DNB*, vol. I, p. 709.

[2] *Vat. Arch., Nunz. di Fiandra* t. 71, ff. 163–166 (1681).

[3] *Vat. Arch. Nunz. di Fiandra*, vol. 41 Avvisi of May 15, 1657 (*Catalogus*

papal grant of 1682.[1] The Guest-House brought in a good revenue, but even that was not constant. The next century passed quietly with the usual round of conventual duties and happenings.

Little is known of the school which the sisters enlarged in 1782 at the Spellekens in consequence of the Edict of Joseph II.[2] From the names in the account-books it would appear that the pupils were mostly French or Flemish ; a few were English. Apart from this obligation, the community continued its regular life undisturbed until its expulsion at the French Revolution. The Convent was attacked and entered on March 6, 1793. The soldiers ransacked the cells of the nuns, but offered them no insult or violence. In the church two or three of the officers forced open the Tabernacle door, and took out the sacred vessels. Calling for a corporal, one officer placed the Hosts on it, and after carefully wiping out the ciboria with a purificator, went away with them. The flight from Brussels took place on June 21, 1794, under most painful circumstances, one of the nuns being in the last stage of consumption. After their arrival in London, July 16, 1794, they were housed by Catholics in the city, and in September, they took up residence at Hartpury Court near Gloucester, where they remained until 1839. During their stay at Hartpury Court, they received a visit from Father Dominic Fenwick, who described his visit in a letter to the Provincial, F. Anthony Plunket : "I went lately to see our sisters, the nuns of our order who have also [? thought] of following me to America as they do not think they can prosper and increase in England. The Rev. Mother desires me to mention this to you and request your opinion and advice: meanwhile I desired them to recommend the case to Almighty God who will dispose of all in good time, and promised that I would,

personarum quae secundum resolutionem suae Serenissimae Celsitudinis declaratae sunt tam in toto quam in parte liberae ab hujus civitatis [Brussels] *accisis, sive gabellis, sicut et earum quae ad certam taxam obligatae sunt*). The Dominican nuns were taxed 42 libra flandrica, or 258 florins.

[1] *Ibid.*, t. 72, April 22, 1682; *ibid.*, t. 12, September 13, 1700 (Procuration for the same, signed by Rev. Thomas Knavin, Barbara Boyle, Teresa Busby, Catherine Mildmay, Anne Busby).

[2] *Declaration de l'empereur concernant les récollets et dominicains anglais et irlandais aux Pays-Bas*, May 4, 1782, in the *Placcaet-boeken van Vlaendern*, vol. VI, p. 69. Ghent-Antwerp, 1639-1786.

after being settled myself, look out and calculate for them and when I find a place will inform them. The novice there, Sr Dominica about whom you have been consulted, requests you will again consult the General and give advice as Bishop Stapleton died before he decided the case. Moreover they were not in his jurisdiction but that of Bishop Sharrock of the western district. If the General and you should judge advisable for our Nuns to go to America which I sincerely wish, in case I can possibly provide for them, will you please to write to them, or to the Confessor Mr. Brittain on the subject."[1]

The novice alluded to in this letter was not an American, but there were two American Sisters in the community: Sisters Mary Teresa and Mary Rose Brooke, the daughters of Mr. Leonard Brooke and his wife, Ann Mudd, of Maryland. Each brought £100 sterling as a dowry. Both were professed June 1, 1756. Sister Mary Rose died January 20, 1759, aged twenty-three years; Sister Mary Teresa died October 5, 1789, aged sixty years. In 1839 the community left Hartpury Court for Atherstone where they lived until 1858, when they went to Hurst Green, and in 1866, to their present home on the Isle of Wight, at Carisbrooke, which was the first religious house on the Island since the Reformation.

[1] From the *Annals*.

CONCLUSION

In concluding this attempt at a general description of the religious and educational activity of the English Catholic exiles in the Low Countries, it may be well to indicate briefly not only the other questions which concern the Foundation Movement and which for want of space must be left to a subsequent volume, but also certain desiderata which would greatly increase our knowledge of these old exiled Houses on the Continent.

Among the many and varied questions which demand a fuller treatment if we are to have a comprehensive knowledge of the life of the exiles in these Colleges and Convents, mention should be made of the following: the regulations for the admission of students; the studies, discipline, text-books and methods of teaching used in the Seminaries; the student-oath for the missions, the jurisdiction over the collegians, especially on the question of ordination, and the Faculties given to the young priests; the means and system of communication between the exiles and their parents and relatives at home; the collections taken up in England and throughout the Catholic world for the maintenance of the Colleges; the pensions, papal and Spanish, and the exemptions from taxes given by the different local magistrates; the Colleges and the theological difficulties of the period—Jansenism, Gallicanism, etc., etc.; the origin and development of modern devotions, such as the Devotion to the Sacred Heart and the Forty Hours' Devotion, in the religious communities, especially of women; the penal laws in their application to the exiles and the influence of the growth of the Colleges upon the multiplication of the penal laws; the influence of these houses on early educational activity in the United States of America; the exiles and the question of ecclesiastical jurisdiction in

England; the exiles and the Oath of Allegiance; their theological, historical and literary activity, especially in the golden age of English Catholic literature (1559–1579), when the Louvain School of Apologetics was the most formidable opponent of Protestantism; and the part these exiled houses played in keeping the Faith alive in English hearts by their loyalty to a broader English ideal than that which Protestantism represented—these are but a few of the problems still to be studied.

The present volume has touched more or less on all these subjects, although its sole purpose has been merely to portray succinctly the broad outlines of the Foundation Movement within the confines of the Spanish or Catholic Low Countries. But none of these topics can be given its adequate place in the history of the English Catholic refugees until the different religious Orders in England, together with the Colleges which represent Douay, Saint Omer, Liége, etc., gather from every available source the materials for their history. All the public Archives in England, those of the old Catholic families and of the old Vicariates; the episcopal, municipal, departmental and national Archives of the cities and countries where these foundations were, and the ecclesiastical Archives, such as those collections which have come down to us from the Cardinals Protector of England and from the superiors of the various religious orders, ought to be searched for material on the lines laid down by the different historical schools in Rome. When all these have been exhausted by scholars specially trained in this work, catalogues and detailed inventories of the same should be made and published and the more important documents copied in full. The literature which has grown up on the subject and the general sources which have been published, such as those contained in the volumes of the Catholic Record Society, ought also to be examined and indexed from the same point of view. The second of these desiderata is a biographical sketch of every member of these old houses, with genealogical tables in so far as these are possible. Only those who know the pre-eminent value of Gillow's *Dictionary of English Catholic Biography*, realize how valuable such a work is in understanding the sentiments and ideals of these Catholic men and women of olden times.

Along with these biographical data, indications should be given of all the literary works published by the exiles, with notices where these volumes, printed or otherwise, could be found. For a perfect study of the apologetical and controversial activity of the intellectual leaders of the *diaspora*, it would be of first importance to find those volumes of their antagonists which they themselves used in replying to the same. Such, for example, are the volumes in the English College Library, Rome, which Father Persons answered and on the pages of which his notes and comments in preparation for his counter-attack furnish the student with a clear insight into the method employed by one of the leading controversialists of his age. In the third place, the English-speaking Catholic world which owes so much to these exiles, religious and lay, deserves an official account of each one of these foundations from the pens of those who are their representatives to-day. Every mistaken interpretation of a document or of a phase in the existence of these exiled Foundations only complicates the task for future workers; and all these facts ought to be given to us fully and impartially. There is nothing that need be concealed or misrepresented, nor is it necessary to make gratuitous suppositions and inventions intended to replace documents which have not been seen. The work ought to be done on the same scale and, in general, by the same method. In a subsequent volume the author hopes to continue this very interesting study and to give an account of the literary, intellectual, ascetic and economic aspects of the Foundation Movement.

APPENDICES

I.

RELATIONE d'Inghilterra fatta da Mgr. Bentivoglio, Archivescovo di Rhode, Nuntio della Santità di N.S. Papa Paolo IV. appresso i Serenissimi Principi l'Archiduca Alberta e Donna Isabella, Infanta di Spagna, et inviata all'Illmo. Cardinale Borghese, nipote di sua Santità, sotto li 31 di Gennaro, 1609. *Copy.*

Vat. Arch., *Arch. Borghese I*, vol. 190, ff. 49v–54; cf. *Vat. Libr.*, *Bibl. Barb.*, vol. 5242, ff. 181–8 (*vide* pp. 98 and 106).

" Vengo hora alla seconda parte c'ha da versar intorno al beneficio che puo nascere ai Cattolici d'Inghilterra dalla protettione dei Prencipi cattolici esterni. Manifesta cosa è che oltre alla costanza dei medesimi cattolici Inglesi ha giovato sommamente a salvar le reliquie del lor naufragio la pietà di quei Principi, negli Stati dei quali come in porto sicuro essi doppo lunghe tempeste sono stati raccolti. In questa parte non hanno mancato all' officio loro i Sommi Pontefici. Et è predicata grandemente in particolare la pietà e beneficenza di Gregorio XIII. Ma al Re di Spagna Filippo 2° di gloriosa memoria si deve senza dubbio gran lode poichè non per propria necessità d'officio, ma principalmente per zelo di religione ajutò con tutti i modi possibili i cattolici d'Inghilterra. Ajutò qui in Fiandra la fondatione del Seminario di Duai. Facilitò quella del Seminario di Sant'Omero. Assegnò trattenimento ad ambidue et anche ad un Seminario d'Ibernesi, et ad uno di Scozzesi, che sono pure in Duai. Lasciò fondar in altri luoghi di queste Provincie diversi Monasterii di Religiosi e di Religiose, e volle che i Paesi bassi fossero come un sacro asilo dove potessero ritirarsi fuggendo d'Inghilterra le persone di Chiesa, o altre persone che aspirassero dalla vita temporale a qualche instituto di Religione. Oltre a queste opere egregie di Fiandra, cresse il medesimo Re ancora in Ispagna due Seminarii d'Inglesi e due d'Ibernesi. Nè qui si ristrinse la sua pietà. Ajutò molte volte sin nel cuor d'Inghilterra con danari e con ogn'altro mezzo possibile gli afflitti cattolici ; molti dei quali che seguitavano gli honori temporali favori ancora, e trattenne in Fiandra nell'essercito in suo servitio. Fu mista nondimeno, che non è dubbio, questa pietà di considerationi ancora politiche, nelle quali il Re hebbe per fine di tener alterate e divise le cose d'Inghilterra per non lasciar crescere maggiormente la potenza della Regina e per render minori i danni che da così gran nemica gli eran del continovo procurati. Con tutto ciò pur hebbe la principal parte in cosi fatti consigli et opere la pietà di quel Prencipe che sempre lampeggio e largamente si discoperse in ogni sua attione. Succeduto poi a Filippo secondo il Re presente e venutosi alle pratiche e poi alla conclusione della pace fra Sua M^tà^ et il Re d'Inghilterra pare che sia mancato più

tosto che conservatosi appresso i cattolici d'Inghilterra quel concetto c'havean preso che questo Re dovesse hereditar pienamente la paterna protettione e pietà verso di loro, non havendo quella pace apportato loro alcun benefitio com'essi speravano. Nel resto non ha lasciato, nè lascia S^{a} M^{tà} di somministrare ai luoghi sacri et all'altre persone secolari gli ajuti e trattenimenti medesimi che furon somministrati loro dal padre. E per via dei suoi Ambasciatori che trattiene in Inghilterra non pretermette d'ajutar con ogni mezzo possibile in ogni occasione la causa cattolica di quel Regno.

Quello c'han fatto i Pontefici passati e che fa hora la Santità di N^{ro} Sig^{re} e quel che fece il Re di Spagna defonto e che fa il Re presente in beneficio dei Cattolici d'Inghilterra dovrebbe desiderarsi che fosse fatto da altri Prencipi ancora.

L'Arciduca Alberto e l'Infanta Donna Isabella sua moglie che sono in questo tempo i Prencipi dei Paesi bassi non han mancato di confermare in quello c'hanno potuto l'opere che fece il Re di Spagna passato e che poi ha continovate il Re presente in questi paesi per mantenimento della Religion cattolica in Inghilterra. Anzi più tosto dalle Altezze Loro hanno ricevuto qualche maggior beneficio di prima i Cattolici Inglesi, essendo stato permesso loro di fondar nuovi Monasterii in queste Provincie. E già risonava chiarissima in Inghilterra la fama della pietà delle Altezze Loro verso i Cattolici di quel Regno, se no che un'anno fa parve che questa fama cominciasse a diminuirsi in qualche parte per quel che successe intorno alle persone del Padre Balduino e del Padre Gherardo Gesuiti e d'Ugo Odoeno tutti tre Inglesi e persone di conosciuto zelo e bontà. Quello che seguì fu che per molte instanze e violenti officii fatti appresso l'Arciduca dall' Ambasciatore del Re di Inghilterra nel suo partir da Brusselles contro le tre persone sudette come sospette d'haver'havuto parte nella congiura della polvere. Sua Altezza fece dire ai detti due Gesuiti c'havrebbe havuto caro che si fossero allontanati da questa Corte eleggendosi qual luogo più loro piacesse dentro queste provincie da Brusselles e Sant'Omero in poi. Quasi nel medesimo tempo fu fatto sapere ad Ugo Odoeno, che al Re di Spagna sarebbe piaciuto ch'egli partendosi di Fiandra se ne andasse a Roma, dove Sua M^{tà} gli farebbe correre il trattenimento che gli dava in questi paesi. Partite le dette persone fu disseminato e forse per artificio dell'Ambasciator medesimo che l'Arciduca lasciatosi vincere da gli officii di detto Ambasciatore havesse ordinato loro che uscissero di queste Provincie. E l'esser poi il Padre Balduino caduto nei lacci tesigli dal Palatino del Reno ad instanza del Re d'Inghilterra ha fatto che l'attione dell'Arciduca rappresentata, come di sopra sia stata prima tacitamente ripresa dai Cattolici Inglesi e poi quasi da ogn'altro apertamente biasimata.

Da altri Prencipi, ò come quelli che son troppo remoti di Stato, ò come quelli che non hanno molto interesse nelle cose d'Inghilterra poco beneficio si puo aspettare in favor dei cattolici di quel Regno. Ma quel Prencipe dal quale potrebbe risultar loro beneficio grandissimo sarebbe principalmente il Re di Francia. Confina la Francia con l'Inghilterra per lungo tratto di mare e solamente da un angusto canale è diviso l'un Regno dall'altro. E converrebbe senza dubbio che i Cattolici d'Inghilterra oltre al rispetto della Religione fossero ajutati dai Francesi anche per molte considerationi proprie della Corona di Francia. Tutti i travagli maggiori c'ha pattito la Francia nelle turbolenze passate son proceduti principalmente dagli heretici di quel Regno, e gli heretici di quel Regno non hebbero fomento maggiore che quello degli heretici d'Inghilterra e delle Provincie heretiche dei Paesi bassi e gli heretici d'Inghilterra e dei Paesi bassi non collocarono le speranze d'inquietar la Francia in altro maggiormente che in veder abbattuti et

afflitti i cattolici sotto di loro. Dunque per contrario se potessero risorgere in qualche modo e ricevere qualche sollevamento i Cattolici d'Inghilterra (lasciando da parte il parlar per hora delle Provincie heretiche dei Paesi bassi) verrebbono a sminuirsi le forze degli heretici di quel Regno, e mancando questi di forze mancherebbe in gran parte il fomento a quelli di Francia, quando agitati da qualche nuovo spirito di seditione volessero turbar nuovamente le cose. Oltre che quanto converrebbe ai Francesi il veder indeboliti gli Inglesi acciochè non potessero mai ripigliar animo di tentar di nuovo gli antichi acquisti nel Regno di Francia? Che pur è noto quanta parte delle Provincie di Francia e di quelle spetialmente che siedono sul mare Oceano habbian posseduta gli Inglesi. E non sono più di cinquant'anni che Francesco Duca di Ghisa tolse loro Cales; dal qual tempo in qua solamente vennero a restar chiuse le porte di Francia a gli Inglesi.

Ben conobbe il Re defonto l'importanza di questi rispetti, poichè essendo si chiari non potevano ignorarsi dalla somma sua vigilanza e sagacità. Ma prevalsero in lui quasi sempre molte altre considerationi ch'io procurero d'andar rappresentando qui hora con brevissima digressione. Haveva il Re acquistata la Corona con l'armi e nell'acquisto havevano havuto gran parte l'armi heretiche proprie di Francia e quelle de gli heretici esterni nelle amicitie di prima. Porto in particolare gran rispetto alla Regina d'Inghilterra. Nè consentivano i principii del nuovo Regno, nè la memoria dei freschi ajuti, nè i progressi della guerra che tuttavia durava co'l Re di Spagna, ch'egli desse alcuna occasione alla Regina d'alienarsi da lui. Seguì poi la pace co'l Re di Spagna: pace però, che non hebbe virtù di sanar le piaghe delle quali portava il Re l'animo essulcerato e commosso d'ardentissimo sdegno contro gli Spagnuoli per l'ostacolo, che gli havevan fatto perchè non pervenisse alla Corona di Francia. Onde trasportato da questo sdegno quante volte gli si presentò occasione di poter nuocere alla Corona di Spagna tante volte con gran cupidità l'abbracciò. E fu molto vicina e commoda quella d'aiutar le provincie ribellate dei Paesi bassi. Nel che s'uni il Re tanto più, non che venisse a separarsi dai consigli della Regina che tendevano egualmente, come quelli del Re a procurar d'indebolir la Corona di Spagna. Per indebolir dunque le forze Spagnuole et assicurar, se vivente è doppo, la sua successione da nuovi disturbi che potessero venirgli da quella parte cospirò sempre il Re con gli heretici esterni. Con quei di Francia usò un freno soave di tolleranza temperando però in modo il governo che nel suo Regno la parte Cattolica la quale era di gran lunga superiore alla parte heretica tuttavia prevalesse e prevalendo potesse essere il sostegno, dove egli appoggiasse la sua successione, come era stato necessario ch'egli stesso per esser Re al medesimo sostegno si fosse appoggiato. Per questi modi, co'i quali caminava il Re di Francia molti anche fra gli Inglesi medesimi di maggior prudenza hanno creduto ch'egli non per semplice zelo di religione, ma per fini principalmente di stato cercasse di far prevaler dentro al suo Regno la parte cattolica, e che per i medesimi fini havesse caro che prevalesse in Inghilterra e nelle Provincie ribellate dei Paesi bassi la parte heretica. Che se bene era grande il pericolo che poteva soprastare al suo Regno, come s'è mostrato di sopra, dal poter per nuovi accidenti conspirar nuovamente insieme gli heretici d'Inghilterra e dei Paesi bassi con quei di Francia, con tuttociò si rappresentava il Re tanto maggiore il pericolo della potenza Spagnuola e riputava intanto vantaggio della Corona di Spagna ogni miglioramento di conditione che acquistassero i Cattolici in Inghilterra e nelle Provincie ribellate dei Paesi bassi, che perciò egli non volle mai affaticarsi punto a favorir la Religione cattolica nè in quel Regno nè in queste provincie. E pur commoda occasione egli n'hebbe più volte nell'una e nell'altra parte; ma spetialmente quando questo

Re d'Inghilterra fra tanti sospetti passò col pie vacillante dal Regno di Scotia alla nuova successione del Regno d'Inghilterra, e quando le Provincie ribellate dei Paesi bassi nella tregua che si concluse qui l'anno passato fecero professione di riconoscere principalmente dall'auttorità del Re di Francia il nuovo titolo di Provincie Sovrane. Non hebbe dunque il Re tra queste continove agitationi e queste onde di tanti e si contrarii interessi o zelo di religione c' havesse forza di muoverlo o congiunture di tempi che potessero abastanza disporlo a favorir i Cattolici fuori del suo Regno. Anzi armato di nuovi sdegno contro gli Spagnuoli in queste ultime congiunture de gli accidenti del Prencipe e Prencipessa di Conde et armatosi finalmente d'un potentissimo essercito con risolutione d'uscir'in persona in campagna egli era a commun giuditio per suscitar' una delle più fiere procelle che forse havesse patito, ma la Religion cattolica se'l colpo inaspettato che gli troncò la vita non gli havesse trancati insieme i disegni.

Hora che la Regina governa si possono aspettar da Lei più moderati pensieri e più favorevoli alla Causa cattolica. S'ode da tutte le parti esser grandissima la sua pietà et il suo zelo verso la Religione e lo studio che vien posto da Sua M^{tà} nell'educatione del picciol Re può dar ferma speranza che in Lui ancora col crescar de gli anni sia per crescere la pietà. Più lieti auspicii nondimeno per i Cattolici potevan desiderarsi in questo principio del governo di Sua M^{tà} che non sono stati quelli dell'essersi inviato il soccorso a Giuliers in favor dei Prencipi heretici. Ma si può quasi dire, che questa non sia stata risolutione della Regina. E proceduta più tosto questa risolutione dalla violenza dei disegni del morto Re che ne anche doppo la sua morte hanno potuto perder la forza. E la Regina con l'haver fatto marciar lentissimamente il soccorso ha mostrato che non havendo potuto distonar la risolutione desiderava almeno d'impedirne l'effetto.

Può dubitarsi con tuttociò che non così presto la Regina vorrà abbracciar prattiche esterne in favor dei Cattolici, dovendosi credere che prima vorrà stabilir le cose del proprio Regno. Questo senza dubbio convien che sia l'oggetto suo principale. Ma con l'indirizzamento del buon governo e con l'haver preso di già le cose del Regno così buon corso vedendosi che doppo il ritorno del prencipe di Conde in Francia non apparisce preparatione alcuna d'esca considerabile da poter suscitar turbolenze intestine, si può sperar che siano per andarsi incaminando sempre con più felici progressi le cose del proprio Regno e che sia per rimaner luogo ancora d'attendere a prattiche esterne in favor della Religion cattolica. Et ancorchè alcuni son di parere che gli Spagnuoli volentieri vedrebbono rinascer in Francia nuovi fuochi di tumulti e fattioni c'havessero nuovamente a dividere il Regno, con tuttociò si può credere dall'altra parte ch'essi non vorranno in queste congiunture di tempi portarne in Francia apertamente le fiamme. E quanto agli occulti fomenti a ciò dovra rimediarsi in Francia con l'accuratezza del buon governo facendosi in modo, che non si possa preparare materia di dentro che possa ricever alcun fomento di fuori e conservandosi di fuori si buona intelligenza con gli Spagnuoli che essi non habbiano a fomentar alcuna alterazione di dentro. E nel vero nuova cosa, oltre al beneficio publico della Christianità, dovrebbe esser più desiderata per beneficio particolare dei Cattolici d'Inghilterra che una buona e sincera pace tra Francia e Spagna. Che se oltre al cospirar'insieme le persone Reali con la corrispondenza degli animi potessero legarsi insieme le Corone etian di più strettamente co'l vincolo d'alcun matrimonio allora verrebbe a crescer meravigliosamente questo beneficio ai predetti Cattolici. E questa è quella percossa che tanto a temuta e teme il Re d'Inghilterra. Perciochè se dal solo favore del Re di Spagna verso i Cattolici d'Inghilterra si figura egli sempre nell' accesso della sua timidità continove sollevationi e congiure contra il suo Regno,

quanto più se le figurerebbe se a questo favor di Spagna s'aggiungesse il favor di Francia? Questa sola timidità potria bastar per costringerlo ad ammolire la sua asprezza contro i Cattolici a fine di tenergli in qualche modo sodisfatti e di levar loro ogni occasione di precipitarsi con le speranze del favor di Prencipi esterni in quelle violenze che suol partorir la disperatione. Ma perchè queste prattiche di matrimonii sogliono ordinariamente proceder con tardo moto e queste tra Francia e Spagna quando ben si stringessero havrebbono incertissimo l'essito per la tenera età dei fanciulli Reali perciò quello che puo desiderarsi tratanto e che deve esser procurato dalla Santità di N^ro^ Sig^re^ particolarmente con grand' efficacia e che tra l'un Regno e l'altro si stabilisca una buona pace e concordia. Con questa pace non havra a temer a Regina come s'è detto ò prattiche occulte ò pericoli aperti da gli Spagnuoli, e non temendogli, non havra a gettarsi, come fece il Re suo marito nelle amicitie de gli heretici esterni e particolarmente del Re d'Inghilterra con lasciar correr le sue persecutioni contro i Cattolici invece di procurar d'impedirle. Dal che nascerà conseguentemente che la Regina havra più facile e più aperto campo d'abbracciar la protettione d'essi Cattolici e di potere procurando il servitio della Religion nostra in Inghilterra apportar insieme per le ragioni addotte di sopra un commodo et una sicurezza grande al proprio Regno di Francia."

II.

Anonymous Petition to Paul V. (?1620).

Vat. Libr., Bibl. Barb., vol. 8618, ff. 33–34 (*original*). (*Vide* page 105, note 2.)

Supplica a Paolo V. a favore de' cattolici in Inghilterra, fatta da anonimo quando il Card Matteo Barberini era nunzio in Francia.

Beatissimo Padre,

L'anno passato essendo io di partenza per Inghilterra per conto di alcuni miei negotij nel qual tempo veniva scritto di là, che vi era qualche speranza di libertà di conscienza la cosa fu intimata alla Santità Vostra da parte del Padre Parsonio, e all'hora piacque alla Santità Vostra che andando io per altra occasione ivi dovesse chiarire della verità et avvisame d'Inghilterra il cardinale Barberino, nuntio apostolico in Parigi, così di questa cosa, come ancora di quelle occasioni nelle quali la Santità Vostra potria aiutare li poveri cattolici di quelle parti, dandomi lettere per il detto nuntio apostolico per il medesimo effetto.

Et conforme a questa instruttione, havendone io pratticato con li principali sacerdoti, e cattolici inglesi prima in Inghilterra e poi a Brusselles in Fiandra, et a Parigi in Francia, scrivendo spesso al detto cardinale (di che la Santità Vostra ne può haver havuto notitia) e parlandone poi al mio passare per Parigi venendo a Roma, li parve conveniente che io desse ragguaglio alla Santità Vostra d'alcune cose, che m'importavano scrivendone all'Illustrissimo cardinale Borghese, acciò mi facesse favore, et mi aiutasse intorno a questo negotio.

Et alli giorni passati havendo presentato le lettere, et havuto grata udienza dal detto Illustrissimo cardinale Borghese, li parve espediente che io mettessi in scritto alcuni punti principali, acciò che la Santità Vostra li considerasse meglio, e sono questi che seguono.

Piaccia dunque alla Santità Vostra d'intendere che la persecutione d'Inghilterra

e più grande che mai della quale benchè ogn'uno ne parli, nessuno può esprimerla a pieno, che battendo principalmente nella robba più che nella vita, e più crudele mille volte, che non pare, e più pericolosa per rovinar la fede di qualsivoglia altra, che sia stata in quelle parti, essendo arrivato ultimamente a questo che li cattolici si danno alli scozzesi, et altri senza conto alcuno a 12, 20 e 30 per volta come se fossero tanti schiavi, overo bestia di nessun valore.

La malitia poi e l'odio delli heretici contra questa sede della Santità Vostra è tanto cresciuta che pare sia arrivata al colmo, dicendone ogni sorte di male facendo odiosissime canzone, e pitture monstruose senza fine per accendere più il fuoco della rabbia loro.

Il re ancora si sa'come è pieno di superbia in se stesso, e d'odio contro la Santità Vostra pigliandone occasione continuamente, et a tavola del continuo, d'incolpare di spreggiare, maledire, bestemmiare questa Santa Sede senza modo et discrettione alcuna. Heretico formatissimo, e tanto dato alli piaceri, che non ci resta speranza alcuna, che sia per essere una volta, o, bon re, o, buon christiano e se bene adesso si sparge un poco di voce al contrario (come in Roma ho sentito io) non è altro che un artificio del Cecilio per ingannare il mondo, et per corrompere l'occasione della tregua in Fiandra, e pace in Italia delle quali prencipi cristiani potevano servirsi contro di lui.

Hora in quanto alli cattolici si ha da sapere (si come alcune volte accade nella rotta d'alcuna battaglia) benchè molti fuggano, e si rendano venti dall'inimico, nondimeno la constanza d'altri si mantiene grandissima, e di essere infinitamente appreggiata particolarmente dopo la venuta dell'ultimo breve della Santità Vostra in quelle parti, per mezzo del quale molti si son ravveduti con pentimento dell'error loro et tutti quanti confirmati, et corroborati nella patienza et nel soportare la borasia della presente persecutione, la qual verità da questo si puo comprendere che li sacerdoti banditi per la più gran parte sono già tornati, et altri desiderati, e chiamati dalli cattolici per venire di novo, ma perchè hora si trovano abbandonati da tutti li altri prencipi cattolici con tanto più amore e speranza vengono a rimettersi sopra le spalle del buon pastore, e sotto la cura e protettione della Santità Vostra riconoscendola per molto benigno padre, et assicurandosi, che non risparmiera a fattica alcuna per aiutarli e questo tanto più che Dio ha voluto così, che patiscano particolarmente per leij et per la suprema autorità della sede sua, per la quale sola nel tempo della regina passata più di 130 preti (lasciando da parte gli altri) hanno patito crudelissimo si ma con tutto questo gloriosissimo matirio. Li quali tutti s'havessono voluto rimettersi in qualsivoglia minima cosa che poteva riuscire in derogatione dell'autorità vostra trovavano gratia e favore si come nella morte dell'ultimo sacerdote martorizzato questi giorni passati, per conto del nuovo giuramento ne veniva ad essere un'altra volta manifesto.

Ma si come il zelo et l'amor delli cattolici è veramente grandissimo e d'essempio singolare a tutti gli altri popoli christiani d'hoggidi così ancora la rabbia, et odio estremo delli nostri heretici contro essa, non è punto minore della pietà degli altri et di fare probabilmente delli scandali e movimenti grandissimi in altri luoghi, di che ancor adesso si vantano fra di loro tenendo per sicuro che molte altre nationi in breve tempo hanno da rivoltarsi contro la Santità Vostra minacciando grandissime guerre e rovine de cattolici, contando profezie antiche della Scotia et accusando altre ragioni in questa materia per la probabiltà del buon successo delle armi, et delli eserciti loro.

E per questo è tanto più necessario che la Santità Vostra continui a far ogni demonstratione possibile del suo grand'amore e teneressa d'animo verso li cattolici, non solamente per dar animo e consolatione a quelli, ma ancora per rinfacciare

l'insolenza delli heretici burlandosi delli cattolici, con dire che nessuno pensa alli travagli loro, e che sono tanti goffi e ben matti da dovere di patire con papa di Roma il quale vivendo lontano in abondanza et honore non si cura delle miserie loro.

In sin a qui havendo dichiarato la moltitudine delle nostre grandissime afflittioni seguitaremo di parlare appresso di quelli remedij et mezzi, che li più savij, et prudenti cattolici d'Inghilterra hanno stimato utile, et giovevoli rimettendosi però in tutto e per tutto alla suprema prudenza della Santità Vostra.

Li mezzi dunque dell'aiuto et consolatione alli cattolici sono principalmente due. Il primo che la Santità Vostra continua nella sua solita diligenza con li prencipi cattolici acciochè unitamente e spesse volte facciano instanza appresso il re d'Inghilterra per li suoi cattolici sudditi il qual ufficio benchè sia stato una volta fatto, et che non habbia havuto quel frutto che si desiderava tuttavia è stato gratissimo alli cattolici da parte di Sua Santità è sono d'opinione che sia cosa molto necessaria, che si faccia il medesimo di novo con li detti prencepi e particolarmente con il re di Francia, che per la sua vicinanza, potenza, e protettione antica della Scotia è molto tenuto in Inghilterra, desiderando con tutto ciò che l'instanza si faccia con più caldezza del solito col nostro re e che le preghiere (come quelle de prencipi) vadino in certo modo armate, che giovarebbe assai quando l'ambasciatore s'arrischiasse a dire che li prencipi christiani dovevano risentirsi della persecutione contro li loro fratelli cattolici quando non si ralentasse, a che la Santità Vostra doverebbe esser forzata a fare il debito suo con haver ricorsa all'armi spirituali. Un altro mezzo per aiutare quel povero paese secondo l'opinione e desiderio commune di tutti quanti li cattolici, sara questo, ciò, e rinforzare e fortificare quelli modi apostolici delle missioni predicationi, incarcerationi, martirij e simil cose in sin adesso con grandissimo frutto mantenute, senza le quali d'Inghilterra saria stata in quelli medesimi termini e forse peggiori che la Dania, Suevia, e Sassonia, nelle quali provincie non è più nessuna memoria della religione cattolica, dove in Inghilterra, per questi molti sopradetti risplende una grande, visibile, et gloriosa chiesa combattendo valorosamente per la vera fide, e per l'autorità, e giurisdittione di questa Santa Sede Apostolica.

Questa consolatione adunque consiste nell'animare quanto sia possibile li nostri sacerdoti, nel confortarli d'andare inanzi lodandoli, e riconoscendo il frutto delle opere loro, nel fare che siano più confidenti, et uniti insieme, e questo particolarmente per mezza d'una buona, et a loro bene aggradevole subordinatione. Perchè il numero essendo grande (che ancora va sempre crescendo) è cosa impossibile, che durino lungo tempo senza qualche capo di governarli, confortarli e tenerli uniti insieme.

E poichè l'arciprete (per l'oppositione, che è stata fatta contro di lui e per la poca autorità concedutali prima e poi ancora quasi in tutto ristretta) non ha più ne potenza ne ubidienza nessuna, è parso necessario, che la Santità Vostra stabilische fra di loro quella subordinatione ordinaria della Santa Chiesa, cioè de vescovi, senza li quali nessuna chiesa può stare in piedi e manco la nostra puo lungamente resistare restando acefala e senza testa come è, et essendo lecito ad ogn'uno di parlare, scrivere et vivere secondo, che li pare, senza correttione, repressione, ammonitione overo buon consiglio di alcun superiore. Donde seguono adesso, e più hanno da seguire ogni giorno molti, e gravi inconvenienti.

Nella qual subordinatione, si come tutti li cattolici universalmente, desiderano che l'arciprete habbia il primo luogo come antico in governo, e già ben voluto, quasi di tutti gli altri sacerdoti, e come persona quieta e paccifica e devota meno odiata dalli hereteci tuttavia è parso convenevole, che si faccia un numero di

vescovi subordinati a lui, si per soportare il gran carico d'un tanto regno ; si anco per compartire la special persecutione, che senza questo verrebbe intieramente sopra di lui.

E per mitigar meglio la cosa, et evitar l'offesa delli presenti vescovi, si è pensato ancora, che doverebbono essere vescovi titolari d'altri luoghi, con un arcivescovo per tenerli concordi et che fossero commandati di non lassar l'Inghilterra senza licenza espressa al contrario.

Le utilità e frutti di questa subordinatione secondo il parere di tutti ; doverebbono essere molti e grandissimi in questi tempi (come a dire) per confortar li sacerdoti nelli studij loro e per farli andar con più animo in Inghilterra.

Con li esempij di questi vescovi *tanquam arietum gregis* di confermare li altri sacerdoti, e col sacramento di confirmatione ordinato da Dio con questo proposito armare li animi degl'altri cattolici contro la persecutione presente.

Per ordinare delli preti in Inghilterra quando fossero persone meritevoli che per diversi rispetti non possono uscire per ordinarsi altrove, benchè questa autorità per essere sacerdoti puo restringersi, e limitarsi all'arcivescovo solo, o, in altra maniera secondo parra meglio alla Santità Vostra.

Per far unione e levar le differenze, che possono nascere tra li cattolici così laici come sacerdoti e religiosi facendo l'elettione de vescovi di persone quiete e paccifiche confidenti tra se medesime e ben unite insieme delli quali la Santità Vostra n'havera una lista ogni volta, che sara richiesta.

Nè si stima d'huomini savij e prudenti in Inghilterra che questa cosa de vescovi habbia da inacerbire lo stato o d'accendere molto l'odio del re contro di loro, perchè chiaramente e molto giustificabile apostolico et in nessuna maniera sottoposto all'incudie e sospetto di ragione di stato e poi la persecutione è tanto grande al presente che non sente che non puo essere maggiore.

Nè meno è probabile, che li cattolici saranno molto più aggravati con spesa straordinaria più che prima perchè il modo di vivere di questi vescovi non sarebbe molto differente da quello delli sacerdoti.

Nè questo ultimamente si teme che habbiano da essere divisi e diferenti fra di loro, quando saranno in numero competente, e subordinati tutti ad un corpo solo.

Per la qual cosa li cattolici non hanno voluto usare l'intercessione d'alcun prencipe appresso la Santità Vostra in questa materia, perchè appartiene propriamente alla Santità Vostra essendo conceduta così sara più grata, e molto più riconosciuta da loro si per una grandissima dimostratione dell'amor vostro si anco per schifar l'emolatione fra altri prencipi, et il sospetto delli heretici in Inghilterra, che s'intromettessi qualche consideratione di ragion di stato.

Il che darebbe gran consolatione alli cattolici vedendo la cura che la Santità Vostra tiene di loro e tanto più confonderebbe l'heretici vedendo l'animo così della Santità Vostra come anco delli cattolici farsi tuttavia maggiore in mezzo di questo mare tanto travaglioso della presente persecutione e finalmente li darebbe anco a pensare considerando la nova tregua di Fiandra, e la pace d'Italia confirmata che forsi tutti li prencipi christiani potrebono unirsi secretamente contro l'heresie loro.

E del tutto la Santità Vostra può sentire l'opinione di quelle delle nationi in Roma come e quando le parra meglio, e così pregando il signore Dio per la Santità Vostra li bascio humilissimamente li piedi raccomandando questa causa tanto importante alla pietosa consideratione et cura personale della Santità Vostra. Quam Deus, etc.

III.

Dr. Richard Smith to Paul V. (? 1613). (*Original.*)

Vat. Arch., Arch. Borghese II, vol. 23–4, f. 99 (*vide* page 117).

SANCTISSIME ET BEATISSIME PATER,

Magno me gaudio affecit mandatum, quo per Illmum Cardinalem Bianchettum Sanctitas Vestra mihi praecipere dignata est, ut diligenter cogitarem de mediis quibus certa pax inter Angliae Clerum et quosdam ejusdem gentis ex Societate Jesu constituatur. Inde enim in certam spem inducor, Beatudinem Vestram serio in hujus controversiae cognitionem incubituram, eamque non cute tenus sed radicitus curaturam. Quare ut nihil aptabilius Clero potest accidere (quis enim non summe cuperet pacem cum fratribus qui ita dire ab hostibus praemitur) ita Stas Vra vix quidquam gloriosius posset contingere quam Ecclesiae Anglicanae faciem alias pulcherrimam ejusque virtutum odorem alioquin suavissimum ab hac labe purgare. In hujus autem rei cogitatione obsecro Stem Vram quatuor haec ante oculos ponat. Qui sunt qui conqueruntur et de quibus; quando coeperint conqueri et ob quam causam. Qui conqueritur Clerus est. Qui praeterquam quod talis sit, ut quotidie pro fide de vita periclitatur, is est cujus opera Jesuitae primum in Angliam missi et ad eam quam ibi habent existimationem provecti, et huic suo Collegio de Urbe praefecti sunt. Ut verisimile sit praesentis alienationis gravem aliquam causam extitisse. Illi de quibus Clerus conqueritur sunt iidem de quibus alii ejusdem gentis Religiosi simili modo nuper conquesti sunt; tempus quo in Anglia conqueri cepit fuit post Cardinalis Alani obitum, quando tanto Parente ac Patrono orbatus, injuriis magis expositus fuit.

Causae autem ob quas conqueritur hae praecipue sunt. (1) Quod post Alani obitum jus suum mittendi Alumnos ad Seminaria imminutum, ac pene prorsus ereptum sibi sit. (2) Quod Praelectores sui ejecti sint e Collegio Duaceno qui solebant esse Seminarium Scriptorum et illustrium in Clero ob doctrinam hominum ob quorum etiam defectum multi imperiti Sacerdotes in Angliam missi sunt. (3) Quod interceptum sibi sit illud Collegium. Nam rejecto Doctore Kellisono, viro dignissimo, quem Alumni in Praesidem elegerant, opere P. Parsoni traditum est cuidam Jesuitae in voto. Nam et ita quidem Jesuita fatetur, et ipse ante multos annos petiit admitti in societatem et profitetur se facturum quicquid P. Parsonius jusserit, ad cujus nutum Collegium illud regit et consiliariis et coadiutoribus Jesuitis utitur iisque ante tres annos volebat tradere illud Collegium: cui regendo et Jesuitarum confessione et multorum annorum experientia parum idoneus esse videtur. (4) Queritur etiam suae existimationi domi forisque per varias calumnias multum esse detractum. (5) Quod quorumdam Jesuitarum opera aditus ad dignitates sibi impeditior factus sit, et quod aliqui sacerdotes ob metum ne Carceris aut Inquisitionis infamiam subcant (ut quibusdam accidit) alicubi non audeant degere aut Romam accedere. (6) Quod aliquae Jesuitae ingerunt se quantum possunt in procurandis Cleri (ipso prorsus inconsulto) Superioribus, ejusdemque Superiores in Anglia volebant ita alligatos, ut nihil gravioris momenti agerent, nisi consulto illic suae Societatis Superiore.

Remedium horum omnium unum idque aequissimum est. Nimirum ut salvo Brevi a Clemente 8 de rebus nostris anno 1602 edito, ejusque expositione nuper a Vestra Sanctitate facta, reliqua omnia in integrum prout erant Alani tempore, quando pace inter nos fruebamur, restituantur. Ita ut neutra pars plus minusque

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juris, authoritatis vel libertatis habeat in Collegio Duaceno, Missionibus, accessu ad dignitates vel ad Urbem, in procuratione vel impeditione Superiorum Cleri quam habebat Alani tempore utque a Calumniis abstineatur. Et quamquam forte aliqui dicturi sunt jura Cleri post Alani obitum non esse minuta, licet id falsum sit, tamen ad pacem componendam nihil refert. Cum si Clero praedicta jura sua decreto Vrae Statis vel restituantur vel confirmentur, non habiturus is sit ob quod amplius conqueratur. Imo si pax, pietas, eruditio, zelus convertendae patriae magis vigeant modo quam Alani tempore non recusat Clerus quum praesens rerum status retineatur, nec praedicta jura sibi restituantur. Sin vero contrarium manifeste appareat, reddatur illi, obsecro Vram Santem is rerum status per quem non solum pace, sed multis etiam aliis bonis fruebatur. Dignus enim est qui tantillum, idque aequum ac suum obtineat, cum et author Expeditionis Anglicanae fuerit, et in ea viceduplo plus sanguinis pro Fidei et Sedis Apostolicae defensione, quam Jesuitae, profuderit. Idque immensi beneficii loco a Vra Ste accipiet. Longiorem harum rerum narrationem huic chartae subjecto inservi, si Vra Stas eam legere dignabitur.

Deus Bnem Vram quam diutissime nobis servet incolumen.

Beatitudinis Vestrae,

humillimus servus,

RICARDUS SMITHEUS.

Tergo.

Sanctissimo Patri ac Domino Nostro.
Paulo Papae V.

IV.

Quando et qua occasione coeperit discordia inter Clerum Angliae et quosdam ejusdem ex Societate Jesu.

Vat. Arch., Arch. Borghese II, vol. 23–24, ff. 96–98 (*vide*, p. 117).

Constat sub initio institutionis Seminariorum Anglicorum Sacerdotes Anglos adeo dilexisse Patres Societatis ut enixe egerint ut ad laborandum secum in Angliam mitterentur et Collegio suo in Urbe praeficerentur tantamque existimationem de ipsis in Anglia excitarint ut (quod quidem Jesuita scribit) non nisi timide proferanda sit. Ac in Anglia quidem duravit inter eos concordia quandiu piae mem. Cardinalis Alanus vivebat.

Illo autem mortuo, cum quidam Jesuitae Angli cuperent rerum omnium Anglicarum potestatem ad se trahere (quae una radix est hujus contentionis) curarunt ut unus eorum crearetur praefectus (ut docent) Missionis Anglicanae. Cumque alia omnia Collegia sub se haberent, Duacense etiam Collegium quod Clerus et instituerat et semper obtinuerat hoc pacto sub se redegerunt. Nam mortuo Dno Baretto illius Collegii Preside effecerunt ut rejecto illo quem Alumni communibus suffragiis in Praesidem eligerunt aliisque Doctoribus expulsis, qui illic magno cum honore ac commodo Collegii multis annis Theologiam docuerant, talis praeficeretur qui (ut Jesuita quidem fatetur) sit Jesuita (ut vocant) in voto ; atque ut ipsemet profitetur ita P. Parsonio addictus ut quicquid ille jusserit exequi velit : quique ante tres annos Collegium illud Jesuitis obtulit. Atque homini et Jesuitae Consiliarii dati et nuperrime duo adjuncti, quorum unus fuit ante multos annos Candidatus Societatis et nunc est (ut creditur) ex Jesuitis in voto. Demum a Clemente 8 obtinuerant, ut nulli ex Clero nisi de ipsorum licentia liceret Doctoris

gradum capescere. Atque hoc pacto rerum omnium extra Angliam ad Clerum spectantium monopolium adepti sunt.

In Anglia etiam et generales Eleemosinarum distributiones in suas suorumque manus devoverunt et jus omne mittendi Alumnos ad Seminaria omni fere ex parte Clero ereptum in eorum potestatem redactum est. Ac Sacerdotes per Calumnias Factionum Ambitionis animositatis perfidiae cum haereticis et similium, ita domi forisque denigrati, ut in Anglia eorum nomen (quod ipsum illic ob frequentia eorum martiria prius venerabile erat) modo vilescere incipiat. Foris vero cum antea ubique acceptissimi fuerint et multi eorum scriptis celeberrimi, ut Sanderus, Stapletonus et alii, et aliqui dignitate florentes, nunc magna ex parte suspecti exteris redditi, omnique zelum aut eruditionem suam ostendendi facultate privati, omnes ubique jaceant inopes afflicti, neglecti.

Media ad tollendam praedictam discordiam.

1. In primis hic modus Jesuitis Angliae praescribatur. Ne se plus ingerant in rebus Cleri Angliae quam aliorum Ordinum ibidem Religiosi (quibus optime cum Clero convenit) vel ipsimet in rebus Cleri aliarum Gentium faciunt. Cum sint (iis sic fatentibus) in Clero Angliae viri et eruditione et pietate et rerum experientia illis nihilo inferiores, quibus curae erunt sui Ordinis res. Praesertim autem non se misceant in procurandis aut impediendis Superioribus vel Rescriptis Apostolicis ad Clerum spectantibus quandoquidem ex hac occasione discordia haec primum erupit et Brevium Apostolicorum reverentia in Anglia nonnihil imminuta est.

2. Ut liceat Sacerdotibus (saltem Archipresbytero ejusque Assistentibus) Alumnos in Seminaria mittere, quin ullo praetextu rejiciantur, vel certe nulli mittantur nisi ex communi consensu Archipresbyteri et Superioris Societatis in Anglia. Hoc enim modo nec clerus putabit sibi prorsus ereptum esse jus mittendi ad Seminaria: et ii duo (utpote utriusque Ordinis capita) cum sciant et Cleri in Anglia et Seminariorum extra Angliam conditionem, non nisi tales missuri credendi sunt, qui Patriae utiles erunt.

3. Ut major delectus habeatur in creandis Sacerdotibus: nec promoveantur (ut partim fit partim nuper factum est) histriones, Nothi, ex Inquisitione educti ab ipsismet olim ob crimina ejecti et vilium ministeriorum homines. Cum jam Anglia non paucitate Sacerdotum (ut in initiis seminariorum) sed multitudine potius, respectu Catholicorum laboret: ejusque conversio non numero sed bonitate Sacerdotum procuranda sit.

4. Ut Dnus Nortonus et quidam Singletonus nuper inducti in Collegium Duacense, sed professi adversarii actionum Archipresbyteri et alter creditur Jesuita in voto, et alter notorius percussor illustris Catholici amoveantur; ne Collegium illud videatur Castrum oppositionis contra Archipresbyterum; et in eorum loco subregentur homines aequi et pacifici.

5. Ut quamprimum ullus ex Clero voto aut promisso se alicui Religioni astrinxerit (cujusmodi homines Jesuitae in voto, Obedientes aut Donati dici solent) certiorem ea de re faciat Archipresbyterum et statim cedat regimine (si quod habet) in Clerum vel in Anglia vel in Collegio Duaceno. Expedit enim hoc plurimum, tum ut Archipresbiter sciat quinam sibi subsint qui non: tum quia hujusmodi homines, dum sub Cleri nomine delitescunt, aptissimi et paratissimi sunt ad eundem impugnandum, idque Jesuitae nostri per eos efficiunt, quod per se ipsos non poterant. Demum quia (ut nuper accidit) eorum lapsus Clero tribuitur, res bene gestae aliis tribuuntur.

6. Ne Jesuitae Angli ullo modo per se vel per alios efficiant ne Catholici Sacerdotes Angli ubicunque eis commodum fuerit tuto degere possint, aut Romam accedere, neque eorum ad honores aut dignitates accessum ullo modo impediant.

7. Ut semper aliquis ex Clero in Romana Curia degat, a quo Sua Sanctitas de rebus ad Clerum spectantibus informari posset, ut audita utraque parte certius judicium proferat : ne locus sit (ut non ita pridem accidit) vel falsis rumoribus hinc inde spargendis aut praetextui, quod Brevia Apostolica subreptitia sint.

8. Sed omnium potissime praecipiatur ut a calumniis abstineatur, nec quisquam vel incertos rumores de certis personis aut certos de incertis excitet aut spargat. Sed si quid dignum animadversione acciderit ad delinquentis Superiorem deferatur, ut is de remedio provideat nec nisi de suo consensu subditi sui crimen occultum publicatur, nisi forte (quod nunquam aut rarissime potest accidere) praesens periculum alteri immineat. Si quis vero Anglus intra aut extra Angliam secus fecerit ; si laicus a Sacramentorum participatione ; si Sacerdos regularis vel saecularis a facultatum suarum usu et Altaris ministeria ipso facto privetur, quousque parti laesae satisfecerit.

9. Caeterum ut omnium suavissimum ita et efficacissimum pacis medium esse videtur, ut res nostrae ad eum statum quo sub Card. Alano (quando in Anglia pace inter nos fruebamur) reducantur. Cui reductioni qui restiterint se discordiae authores fuisse arguent. Habeant igitur Jesuitae nostri omnia Collegia omnemque in Alumnos authoritatem tunc gaudebant. Sed non occupent Collegium Duacenum sub colore Jesuitarum in voto. Non impediant libertatem Sacerdotum ubilibet degendi vel Romam accedendi, aut honores adipiscendi. Non attentent quicquam apud Suam Sanctitatem aut Illmum Protectorem aut Vice-Protectorem Angliae in procurandis aut impediendis Cleri Superioribus in Anglia vel in Collegio Duaceno. Habeat vicissim Clerus suum Collegium Duacenum et Praelectores ibidem ut Alani tempore. Habeat jus suum mittendi Alumnos ad Seminaria. Gaudeat libertate vel honores adipiscendi vel Romam accedendi nec carceris vel Inquisitionis periculo terreatur. Denique retento Brevi Clementis 8 de rebus nostris edito, ejusque expositionis a SSmo Dno Nro facta, omnia ad Alani tempora reducantur, et redibit eadem quae tunc vigebat concordia.

10. Denique cum ii qui in hac controversia conqueruntur sint sacerdotes, iterum atque iterum videndum est quid sit quod petant. Nam si quod petunt jure ad Jesuitas spectat, non audiantur, sed perpetuum silentium illis indicatur. Sin vero tantum postulent ut praedicta jura sua quibus sub Alano gaudebant ac similibus omnis alius Clerus gaudet ipsis sarta tecta serventur, digni certe sunt qui tantillum idque suum obtineant, cum et authores gloriosae hujus expeditionis Anglicanae fuerint et vigesies plus sanguinis in Anglia pro fidei et Sedis Apostolicae defensione quam Jesuitae profuderint ; idque ipsi immensi beneficii loco accipient. Imo si pax, eruditio, pietas, zelus convertendae Patriae magis floreant nunc quam Alani tempore retineatur praesens rerum status. Sin autem contrarium manifeste evenerit, reddatur nobis (obsecro) is rerum status per quem non solum pace sed multis etiam aliis bonis copiosius fruebamur.

V.

Petition addressed to Cardinal Borghese regarding the English Benedictines (? 1607).

Vat. Arch., Arch. Borghese I, vol. 695, ff. 8–9 (*vide*, p. 224).

Illmo e Revmo Sigre, Essendo piaciuto alla bontà di Dio di inspirare nei cuori di Sua Altezza di Lorena et ad un Santo Abbate in Fiandra con licenza dell'

Archiduca di concedere due luoghi uno in Lorena e l'altro in Douaco alli Monachi Inglesi che sono per la missione d'Inghilterra; è parso necessario et debito di detti Monachi di disponere di detti Monasteri et di se stessi in quel modo che possa essere a maggior servitio di Dio et maggior beneficio della loro patria. Però primo hanno pensato di applicare l'uno di questi luoghi a quelli principalmente c'hanno da studiare per esser in Academia propria a questo effetto; et l'altro ha da servire a farli poi più atti per la loro missione, et come militia in Inghilterra. Et perciochè il numero loro al presente non è grande, et questi ancora di diverse Congregationi, cioè d'Italia et di Spagna, lo trovano necessario per ogni rispetto, col redursi in uno di fare di ambedue un corpo solo. Laonde, essendosi i principali dell'una e l'altra Congregatione ritrovati insieme et discorsi del modo migliore di accomplir questo, sono restati d'accordo di certi punti più principali. Primieramente che gli sarà necessarissimo di haver tra loro, il quale sia superiore a gli altri tutti; et questo sia eletto di consenso commune di tutti quelli che al presente sono in questa missione et sono in numero quindici o sedici. Et perchè a questo Superiore Generale conviene havere il suo Vicario che ha da supplire, dove egli non può essere presente; si è pensato per intiera sodisfattione dell'una et l'altra Congregatione che se il Generale sarà di quelli d'Italia, il suo Vicario sarà eletto tra quelli di Spagna, et così al contrario. A questi dunque saranno sottoposti et obedienti i Monaci tutti, ò che sono adesso in questa missione ò che verrano ad essere per l'avvenire così da Italia, come da Spagna: insomma tutti Inglesi di questa missione. Il frutto che produrranno in brevissimo tempo con la gratia del Sig^re questi Monasteri, si vede manifestamente non solamente per il bene che nascerà di questa unione alla conservatione della carità et pace tra se et con tutti gli altri, all'edificatione del prossimo et essempio di quelli tra quali viveranno, et massime in Fiandra, dove non è Monastero alcuno riformato; ma ancora alla gloria della Chiesa santa, et a servitio della causa publica, non senza confusione di heretici et beneficio et (come si spera) salute in fine della presa et misera Inghilterra. Però poichè questa unione è il fondamento di tutto, come N.S. Ill^ma può benissimo considerare, sarà supplicata da noi et servita di fare con la Santità di N^ro Sig^re officio et opera tale che egli per sua somma pietà si contenti di trovar buona questa nostra resolutione, et concederci questa unione per mezzo di tal superiore et delle facoltà che saranno necessarie che speramo con la gratia et favore del Sigr. Dio di comportarci di maniera et tra noi et con tutti gli altri, che la Santità Sua ne resterà sodisfatta et in Inghilterra la causa di Dio meglio servita.

VI.

The English Benedictines of Douay to Paul V., Douay, June 9, 1607.

Vat. Arch., Arch. Borghese III., vol. 45c, f. 9 (*vide* page 232).

Beatissime Pater,

Accedimus humiliter ad pedes Beat^nis Tuae (Sanctissime pastor Christianae Ecclesiae, Christique in terris Vicarie Supreme) subsidium authoritatis tuae, contra nostrorum Aemulorum accusationes et calumnias et contradictiones reverenter postulantes. Quatuor jam effluxerunt anni ab eo tempore, quo per authoritatem Sanctae Sedis Vestrae et praeceptum superiorum nostrorum nos humiles filii tui indigni monachi S. Benedicti in Angliam missi laboravimus, et adhuc laboramus pro modulo nostro in reductione patriae nostrae ad sinceram Ecclesiae unitatem et

obedientiam Apostolici throni vestri. Dumque in his laboribus occupati plurimas molestias in Anglia ipsa et aliqui nostrum inde ejecti exilii miserias perpessi sumus. Sic in vicinis Angliae regionibus locum conventui commodum quaesivimus, in quo et aliqui Monachi juxta antiquam regulae nostrae purioremque observantiam educarentur et exilio mulctati fratres nostri tantisper foverentur donec post liminis regressum in Angliam securius praepararent. Jamque ad id operis ex mandato obedientiae nos accingentes obtento in Academia Duacensi loco idoneo Serenissimi Archiducis licentia concessa Episcopi Dioecesani consensu accedente et elemosinis Abbatum Ordinis nostri auxiliantibus : ecce impedimento nobis sunt Patres Societatis nostrae nationis et Praeses etiam hujus Seminarii Anglicani, quos nec verbo nec facto unquam in Anglia aut extra illam offendimus : nisi forte noster labor in animarum salute procuranda simpliciter versatus et a factionibus quibuscumque semper alienus existimari debet at illorum offensio. Et tamen nonobstante nostra innocentia, calumniis fictis et falsis nos apud Serenisum. Archiducem, Revmum. Episcopum diocesanum ipsosque etiam Ordinis nostri Abbates conati sunt reddere suspectos : cumque illud assequi non possent egerunt cum Illmo. Nuntio S^tis^ V^rae^ ut negotium nobis facesseret et obtentam summisque laboribus comparatam Duaci vivendi opportunitatem eripere. Quapropter humiliter obsecramus S^tem^ V^ram^ Tuam ut in visceribus paternae pietatis digneris innocentiae nostrae subvenire : datis ad Illmum. Nuntium literis ne nos immerentes vexet aut perturbet : et ad Abbates ordinis nostri Apostolica benedictione eosdem confirmans in pio proposito nos adjuvandi. Hoc eo confidentius a Beatit^ne^ V^ra^ petimus et oramus et nos exoraturos speramus, quoniam Deum testem habemus nos nullius hominis injuriam, damnum aut impedimentum cogitare, nec illius factionis aut seditionis partes conatusve fovere ; sed simplicibus et religiosis animis solam Domini Dei gloriam animarumque in patria nostra reductionem et Apostolicae Sanctitatis V^rae^ dignitatem et venerationem nobis proponere tanquam scopum et finem laborum nostrorum quos in hac missione Anglicana per Sanctam et Supremam Sedis V^rae^ auctoritatem confirmata et ex superiorum nostrorum mandato suscepta, huiusque tulimus et perferre semper desideramus. Optamus Beat^nem^ V^ram^ diutissime incolumen florere, et contra omnem rebellium filiorum suorum superbiam victorem fieri.

Vestrae Sanctitatis,
Obedientissimi filii,
Prior et Conventus humilis Monachorum Anglorum
S. Benedicti Duaci commorantium.

Tergo. Sanctmo. Dno. Nro. Paulo PP. Quinto.

VII.

Cardinal Barberini to the Nuncio at Brussels, Rome, November 3, 1607.

Vat. Libr., Bibl. Barb., vol. 5919, f. 311 (*vide* page 232).

Per terminare le discordie che sono in Duaco tra li Benedettini e Giesuiti per l'occasione avvisata, sarà bene intendere sè cotesta Altezza giudica espediente che li Benedettini si fermino quivi. Faccia V. S. la diligenza, perchè si replicano gl'officij in loro nome senza intermessione, e non si desidera qui altro che quel che può essere di maggior servitio al ben publico. Conceda a V. S. il Signore Dio ogni felicità, etc.

Di Roma li 3 Novembre, 1607.

VIII.

Bentivoglio to Cardinal Bianchetti, Brussels, January 10, 1609.

Vat. Libr., Bibl. Barb., vol. 5880, ff. 402v–412 (*vide* page 233 note).

Non è possibile, che io possa dare quella luce a V. S. Illustrissima, che non ho per me stesso intorno al rimedio delle discordie, che passano fra i seminaristi e benedettini di Duay ; sin quando io partii da Roma hebbi notitia di queste discordie, et poi in Fiandra mi venne un nuovo ordine da Sua Santità e fu ch'io procurassi di separare le parti, e ridurre i benedettini a fare la loro stanza in qualche altra città di questi paesi. Procurai d'esseguir tal'ordine, e non mi riusci con modi soavi ; fu perciò necessario il mescolar qualche rigore perchè i detti benedettini si risolvessero d'uscire di Duay ; e benchè paresse loro amarissima così fatta risolutione, e fossero aiutati vivamente appresso di me da alcuni abbati di queste provincie dell'istess'ordine, e s'aiutassero ancora essi medesimi in dare vive giustificationi delle loro opere. Con tutto ciò non volsi mutarmi e poichè non vedevo mutata la determinatione di Nostro Signore. Mentre dunque essi benedettini mostravano, ma con incredibil senzo d'ingiuria di prepararsi ad uscire di Duay mi sopraggiunse nuov'ordine da Nostro Signore, col quale mi convenne sospendere l'essecutione del primo. D'all'hora in qua, e sono già passati molti mesi, l'hanno ben fatta quegli del seminario appresso di me qualche doglianza de'benedettini, e parimente questi di quelli, ma non ho però veduto correre i dissordini tanto innanzi, che fosse necessario di mutare le cose dallo stato nel quale hora si trovano.

Questo è il successo, che ha havuto da che io mi trovo in Fiandra la discordia delle predette due parti. Vengo hora a parlare del rimedio e replico a V. S. Illustrissima che non saprei che luce potessi dargliene. L'imputatione de' benedettini si riducono a materie, e non danno luogo alle prove. Non vengono essi accusati come religiosi dissubidienti, ò che in altro modo facciano vita scandalosa sono le loro accuse più alte, affermandosi dai loro avversarij, ch'essi habbiano intelligenza con li ministri del re d'Inghilterra e con quest' ambasciatore che risiede qui, e che sia tutto artificio di detti ministri, e l'essersi fermati i medesimi benedettini in Duay per opporgli al seminario, e per poter con varij inganni e con machine oculte gettar a terra quell'edificio, che è principal sostegno della religion cattolica d'Inghilterra. Quest' accuse si danno a benedettini : e come può venirsi in prova del vero ? E come può parimente provarsi quello che negano essi benedettini in così fatta materia ? Quanto all'opere loro esteriori son tali che par che ribattino queste accuse. E se bene fu loro opposto già che havessero tentato di sviare alcun del seminario, mostrarono però essi diverse giustificationi in contrario per modo che così in questo punto, come nel resto non s'è potuto uscir di quelle incertezze, et ambiguità, che porta seco questa materia.

Non ha dubbio che in Inghilterra le machine principali che hanno adoperato e che adoperano tuttavia i nemici della sede apostolicia sono state e sono il disunir i nostri e l'armagli con l'armi nostre medesime. Quindi son nate le fattioni, che V. S. Illustrissima sa. Quindi l'odio tra i sacerdoti, e da questa zizania diabolica è nato in gran parte quel mancamento di fede, che veggiamo nel già arciprete Blacuello, e che, piaccia a Dio non produca altri frutti peggiori. L'odio più intenso particolarmente de'sudetti ministri è contro i Padri Giesuiti, l'autorità de quali appresso i cattolici essendo interpretata sinistramente da molti cattolici stessi, è non tanto attribuita ad opere religiose quanto ad artificiosi dissegni di voler

maneggiare essi soli gl'interessi di tutti i cattolici e di voler tutti gl'altri sacerdoti quasi come instrumenti che pendono da loro. Di qui è, che conosciuta e presa questa occasione i ministri reggij hanno acceso gl'animi di molti contro detti Padri, e ne hanno suscitata una dannosissima fiamma contro la religione cattolica.

Nè potrebbe credere V.S. Illustrissima quanto grandi siano l'arti e l'astutie che usano del continuo in questa materia i predetti ministri, e particolarmente il lor capo Roberto Cecilio, il quale essendo, come V. S. Illustrissima deve sapere, primo segretario, governatore de'pupilli, e tesoriere, che sono i tre primi carichi d'Inghilterra, e governando egli il tutto con autorità regia, per contentarsi il re di ritener per se il solo titolo, et i piaceri delle sue caccie, esso Cecilio nemico acerbissimo della chiesa romana, e di sagacissimo ingegno, è egli per conseguenza sempre disposto e con la volontà e con l'opere a fabricar continui danni a cattolici diquel regno. Sicome dunque hanno tentato e tentano i ministri del re di dissunire i cattolici d'Inghilterra, e di formarne fattioni e d'abattere particolarmente quanto possono quella de'Padri Gesuiti ; così potrebb' essere ancora, che havessero tentato di fare il medesimo in questi paesi tra i benedettini et i seminaristi di Duay, che dipendono dal governo de'Gesuiti, ma il venirsi in prova di ciò, e de' sospetti de'detti benedettini, riesce, come ho detto, affatto impossibile.

Per non lasciar crescere almeno il danno di così fatta discordia quel che io ho procurato e procuro di fare e che dall'un canto sappiano i benedettini, che io del continuo invigilo, come fo veramente nelle attioni loro. Da questo timore e da quello de'loro avversarij spero, che essi non siano per uscire dal sentiero nel quale conviene che caminino.

Dall'altro canto procuro d'andar sempre più mitigando gl'animi della parte contraria, così vivendo gli uni senza dar sospetti, e gl'altri senza ricevergli, potrebbe essere che alfine il tempo levasse ancora la radice del male ; sebene invero tante sono le fraudi de'nemici inglesi e tante l'insidie che ordisce qui del continuo quest'ambasciatore unito dalla disciplina e dalla mano di Cecilio, che si può dubbitare, che da fomenti così perversi sian per esser lunghissime l'infermità che son nate.

Questo è tutto quello che io ho potuto avvisare a V. S. Illustrissima intorno alle dissentioni de'benedettini e de seminaristi di Duay. Nel che non ho potuto far altro, che dar la notitia, non potendo dare il rimedio, è dalla somma prudenza di Nostro Signore e da quella di V. S. Illustrissima, e dagl'altri Illustrissimi suoi colleghi, che maneggiano questi negotij nella Sacra Congregatione, e se paresse a V. S. Illustrissima, che il communicare a Sua Santità et a detti Illustrissimi Cardinali questa lettera potesse in qualche modo giovare alle materie, che si contengono in essa lettera, a lei rimetto il farlo o il tralasciarlo, come le parerà che sia meglio. E per fine, etc.,

Di Brusselles, 10 Gennaio, 1609.

IX.

Cardinal Barberini to the Nuncio at Brussels, Rome, April 9, 1631.

Vat. Libr., Bibl. Barb., vol. 6207, f. 17 (*vide* page 262 note).

Desiderando io grandemente di veder il fine delle controversie nate tra le monache inglesi di cotesta città, per la protettione, che ne tengo, e per rimovere ogni doglianza che potessero fare i cattolici d'Inghilterra, che hanno figliole in cotesto monastero come hanno fatto per il passato per i torti, che asserivano esser

stati fatti alle dette lor figliole, ho risoluto di scrivere alle medesime monache essortandole alla pace et alla concordia religiosa, come faccio con l'aggiunta, la quale V. S. si compiaccia di legger loro e di esporre a bocca il sentimento grande che ho in questo negotio, per il che scrivo anche a monsignor arcivescovo di Meclino acciò di concerto con V. S. trovi qualche temperamento di accomodar le sudette controversie senza venire a sentenze o castighi, i quali dispiacciano a me grandemente. Dovrà parimente V. S. esser col dottor Campneo e rappresentarli la premura che ho in questo, affinchè col mezzo suo ancora si trovi qualche ripiego per l'accomodamento suddetto; assicurandolo in oltre, ch'essendo io bene informato delle sue buone qualità, havrò caro d'incontrare occasioni per mostrargli con effetti la buona dispositione che ho verso di lui, di cui ella farà buona attestatione con chi bisognerà quando la necessità lo ricerchi, senza però toccare quello che li viene opposto dalle monache per non causare inconvenienti. Userà anche V. S. ogni diligenza per impedir che nessun trattato o disputa sia fatta intorno alla protesta fatta l'anno 1602 in Inghilterra da alcuni dottori in favore della regina Elisabetta, perchè s'intende che in Duaco e Lovanio alcuni hanno comenciato a ritrovar quella materia, la quale per il pregiuditio che potrebbe apportare, com'ella saprà ben giudicare, è necessario d'invigilare che non s'innovi cosa alcuna, nel che so che l'accuratezza di V. S. non mi lascierà in ciò che desiderare davantaggio.

In oltre essendo il numero di quelle monache che si sono appellate alla Sede Apostolica maggiore dell'altre parte, e convenendo di levar ogni occasione di lamentationi, dovrà parimente V. S. esser con monsignore arcivescovo sudetto, per trovar mezzo e modo, che le sudette appellanti siano trattate come le altre, e che le siano dati confessori, e l'uso de sacramenti conforme alla loro devotione, e che li sia lecito di trattar con i loro amici confidenti, de'quali V. S. si può servire per disporle alla concordia, e veda nel resto di conformarsi con l'informatione mandatali da monsignore Fagnano e quando non si possa trovar strada d'accomodamento e di rimettere il monastero nel pristino stato di concordia, V. S. veda di anteporre, e di trattare una divisione tra dette monache, et separarle adoprando in ciò la sua solita prudenza per sodisfare con buona giustitia ad ambe le parti, con quella medesima premura e caldezza, con che io raccomanda a V. S. il buon esito del negotio, et affettuosamente me le offerisco.

Roma, 9 Aprile, 1631.

X.

Mary Percy to Cardinal Barberini, Brussels, August 29, 1631.

Vat. Libr., Bibl. Barb., vol. 8619, f. 220 (*vide* page 262 note).

EMINENTISSIME AC REVERENDISSIME DOMINE,

Ad Eminentissime ac Reverendissimae Dominationis Vestrae patrocinium tanquam ad pietatis et iustitiae asylum confugiens scripsi mense Martio adiunxique etiam literas ad Sacram Congregationem regularium, quibus causam coram Illustrissimo Belgij nuncio inter me et aliquas ex monialibus meis pendentem summatim exposui, petiique instanter ut dicta causa secundum allegata et probata decideretur. Has literas Eminentissima ac Reverendissima Dominatio Vestra pro sua singulari pietate et humanitate Sacrae Congregationi dignata est commendare. Quia tamen nullum quem scire potui sortitae sunt hactenus effectum, eandem petitionem per literas hisce adiunctas maiori cum instantia repeto, quas ut eidem

Sacrae Congregationi pro sua authoritate denuo commendet Eminentissimam et Reverendissimam Dominationem Vestram humillime rogo. Urget necessitas! Quippe ex una parte causa indecisa pendens certissimam monasterij ruinam minitatur, ex altera perinde foret causam non decidi secundum allegata et probata, ac omnino indecisam manere. In istis erga constita augustiis ad Eminentissimae et Reverendissimae Dominationis Vestrae potentissimum patrocinium non minus confidentur quam humiliter confugiens iustissime petitionis meae effectum optatum sperabo. Interim pro Eminentissimae ac Reverendissimae Dominationis Vestrae felicitate Deum assidue precari non desinam.

Bruxellas, 29 augusti, 1631.

Eminentissimae et Reverendissimae Dominationis Vestrae filia humillima.

MARIA PERCY, Abbatissa.

XI.

Mary Percy to the Cardinals of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide, Brussels, August 29, 1631.

Vat. Libr., *Bibl. Barb.*, vol. 8619, f. 221 (*vide* page 262, note).

EMINENTISSIMI AC REVERENDISSIMI DOMINI,

Causam inter me et aliquas ex monialibus meis vertentem, cuius cognitionem Sacra Congregatio Illustrissimo Belgij Nuncio ab anno iam et amplius commisit, in litteris ad Sacram Congregationem octavo Martij datis summatim exposui, et instanter rogavi ut secundum allegata et probata terminaretur. Quoniam vero petitionis meae nullum a Sacra Congregatione responsum accepi et causa non sine magno monasterij incommodo adhuc pendet, eandem meam petitionem maiori cum instantia repetere cogor, protestans de appellatione a iudice delegato, in casu quo alia via, quam ex allegatis et probatis decidatur quod ut faciam, subiectae rationes, praeter eas quas prioribus literis allegavi me impellunt.

Primo, non nisi coacta litem ingressa sum; coacta inquam, eo quod scandalum mundo, impensas monasterij, ac molestias litis studiose evitare cupiverim. Cum igitur haec omnia incommoda ex actricum improbitate hactenus subire necesse fuerit, et sola definitiva iam, supersit, si causa alia via quam ex allegatis et probatis decideratur (atque hoc in favorem earumdem actricum) quid hoc aliud esset, quam subditos omnes ad litigandum contra suos superiores sub praetextu gravaminis incitare, et nihilominus cum senserint se temere litigasse ac proinde praevalere non posse, illos ab omni poena rebellionis liberare a sententia iudicis illas eximendo.

Secundo, gravissimorum criminum in dicto processu coram iudice non sine magno strepitu accusor, quorum omnium necesse est ut habear rea, nisi per eiusdem fori sententiam innocens declarer. Neque igitur pietas, neque prudentia, neque iustitia permittet, nedum coget, ut relictis sanctis ecclesiae canonibus qui omnibus aeque conditi sunt, famam meam gravissime laesam cuiusvis arbitrio committam. Insto igitur, et dum superstes ero, semper instabo, ut in hac causa liceat secundum iura et sacros canones iudicari, quod nulli tribulari homuncioni illud petenti, nunquam sine manifestissima iniustitia denegatum fuit. Et cum eadem sit causa etiam confessarij, idem et ipse pro se quoque eadem instantia postulat.

Tertio, hoc est facillimum, aequissimum atque ut videtur, unicum medium

instaurandi pacem et concordiam in monasterio. Hinc enim verae discordiarum causae atque radices detegentur, detectae autem per superiorum auctoritatem facile evelli poterunt quae unica ratio sufficere potest, ut huic petitioni meae, quam aequissimum iudico, annuatur.

Qui turbarum atque discordiarum authores atque incentores fuerunt easque fovere student, huic petitioni meae totis viribus adversantur, aliamque viam constituendi pacem proponunt nimirum ut confessarius, quem causa ipsa maxime concernit, ea indecise contra omne ius et aequitatem amoveatur : hinc enim pacem consequuturam non tam ipsimet credunt, quam alijs persuadere nituntur dum asserunt illum unicum discordiarum causam esse. Coeterum quam falsum id sit ex ijs quae subijciam, aperte constabit.

Etenim si confessarius vere esset causa discordiarum, et non illae quae ipsum impugnant, hoc evenire deberet vel ex eo quod indebite fuerit introductus, vel ex eo quod ad illud munus ob aliquem defectum inidoneus sit: et sane si alterum horum in eo deprehendatur, per iudicis sententiam iure dimittendus est. Quod si neutrium horum verum sit (quemadmodum in processu patebit utrumque esse falsissimum) quis peterit sibi persuadere illum esse fontem ac causam discordiarum, non vero moniales, quae eandem irrationabiliter et turbulenter oppugnant, adeo ut vere possit cum Elisaeo dicere—*Non ego turbavi Israel, sed vos.* Cupiunt enim revera confessarium amovere, ut ita viam ad iniustam oppressionem meam sternant.

Quod si quis obijciet maiorem partem capituli ita affectum, ut ei nolit confiteri, ac propterea demittendum esse, facile respondetur cum obedientia regulari non posse consistere, ut religiosae quae voto sese obstrinxerunt superioribus obedire sub sancta regula secundum constitutiones monasterij sic affectae sunt. Quod si quae revera sic affectae reperiantur, tantum abest ut illis in eo sit annuendum, ut potius tamquam votifragae et seditionis authores puniendae sint. Constitutiones enim monasterii nostri a Sancta Sede approbata sic habent. *Omnes confiteantur eidem confessario, quem episcopus adhoc constituerit.* Quod cum ita sit, dum istae moniales aiunt, se nolle confiteri huic, quem episcopus constituit, nonne obedientiae votum directe infringunt? Si moniales huiusmodi facere permittantur absque eo quod ullam facti sui rationem reddant, nisi quod ita facere velint, Sacra Congregatio, pro sua prudentia, pietate, atque vigilantia facile perspiciet, quam certa ruina omni regulari disciplinae et observantiae monasticae, tam in hoc nostro quam omnibus aliis monasteriis et conventibus immineat.

Deinde cum nostrae constitutiones expresse ordinent, ut confessarius ab archiepiscopo constituatur non per monialium suffragia eligatur, haudquaquam amovendus est ad illarum arbitrium, sed ex archiepiscopi iudicio, qui si causam rationabilem subesse comperiat, illud vigilans prudensque pastor pro suo munere non omittet.

Praeterea non est tanta suffragiorum inequalitas, ut licet res ea ratione decidenda foret, sententia pro actricibus proferri deberet, etenim omnibus quae in capitulo ius suffragij habere solent numeratis, unico tantum suffragio superiores essent. Cum autem ex adverso stent abbatissa, priorissa, et superiores extra monasterium Illustrissimus nempe archiepiscopus et reverendus visitator, illa sanior pars aestimanda est; proindeque secundum sacros canones ac iura maiori parti praeferenda.

Porro non tantum sanior, sed multo etiam maior pars capituli stat pro confessario. Siquidem ex viginti capitularibus, quae illum impugnant quatuordecim vocem tam activam quam passivam per legitimum capituli iudicium amiserunt.

Tandem Sacrae Congregationi relinquo iudicandum num in ulla familia pax unquam componi, et conservari possit, si permittatur subditis ut quidquid irrationabiliter appetierint, per importunitatem extorqueant. Sane tam ego quam quae mihi hactenus obtemperarunt iustissimam conquerendi causam haberemus, si obedientia nostra non tantum apud superiores nostros posset ad retinendum confessarium iuxta statuta nostra nobis datum, quam rebellio inquietorum ad illum amovendum. Quod si res tumultibus et obstinatia agenda esset possemus nos quoque iis armis decertare.

Itaque finem faciam et repetam petitionem meam, nempe ut ante omnia causa secundum allegata et probata decidatur; et ut confessarius noster tam diu saltem nobiscum maneat, donec de alio secundum statuta monasterij provideatur.

Hae sunt Eminentissimi ac Reverendissimi domini mei quae ad declarationem causae spectare videbantur: quae omnia aequissimo vestro iudicio cum omni humilitate propono Deum suppliciter rogans ut Eminentissimas ac Reverendissimas Dominationes Vestrae Ecclesiae suae quam diutissime servet incolumes.

Bruxellas, 29 Augusti, 1631.

Eminentissimarum ac Reverendissimarum Dominationum Vestrarum filia humillima,

Maria Percy abbatissa.

XII.

Nuncio to Cardinal Barberini, Brussels, November 1, 1631.

Vat. Libr., Bibl. Barb., vol. 6209, f. 1 (*vide* page 262 note).

Eminentissimo.

S'è usata quanta diligenza s'è possuto in questi giorni per riconciliar fra esse le religiose inglese secondo l'ordine di V. Eminenza, et dopo esser rifatto molte volte anco con partecipatione di monsignor arcivescovo di Malines l'alligato scritto, finalmente hier matina sono andato di persona per indurle alla quiete, et che abbracciassero detti capi, non fu possibile per parte dell' abbadessa, persistendo di volere, che l'appellanti rivocassero quanto havevan contro essa opposto, il che viene totalmente da dette appellanti denegato overo che la causa si determinasse per giustitia. S'attenderò di nuovo a poner in trattato alcun altro modo se si potesse introdur fra di loro la detta quiete, intanto ho voluto darne questo cenno solamente, acciò sia certa, che si obedisce alli ordini dati sopra di ciò da V. Eminenza alla quale fo humilissima riverenza.

Brusselles, primo novembre 1631.

Di Vostra Eminenza etc. Arcivescovo di Consa.

XIII.

Cardinal Barberini to the Archbishop of Cambrai, Rome, July 21, 1640.

Vat. Libr., Bibl. Barb., vol. 8620, f. 58 (*vide* page 279, note 3).

A Monsignor Arcivescovo di Cambrai.

Havendo Catarina Gascogna rappresentato qui che in cotesta città sia stato fondato sedici anni sono un monastero di monache benedettine inglese, le quali

desiderano di godere delle essentioni e privilegij della congregatione benedettina anglicana, et affermando che V.S. se ne contenta ne vorrebbero perciò la confirmatione apostolica, la qual'è parso di non concedere senza intendere prima quello che ne sente V.S. alla quale mi offero di cuore.

Roma li 21 luglio 1640.

XIV.

Cardinal Barberini to the Archbishop of Cambrai, Rome, March 23, 1641.

Vat. Libr., Bibl. Barb., vol. 8620, f. 60 (*vide* page 290, note 3).

Arcivescovo di Cambrai.

S'intende d'Inghilterra, che colà sia per uscire un editto, che tutti i sacerdoti partano da quel regno, et io purtroppo temo che a quest'hora sarà pubblicato. Onde in tale strettezza di tempo non so dove volgermi che alla pietà di V. S. e con sicurezza sia per esercitarla abbondatemente nella presente occasione, che di cuore prego Iddio che non venga. Da monsignore Nuntio ordinario di Colonia col quale V.S. dovrà intendersi, saprà più particolarmente quel che da lei si desidera e stimando superfluo di eccitar maggiormente il suo zelo resto con l'offerir a lei tuto me stesso e col pregarle ogni bene.

Roma 23 Marzo 1641.

XV.

George Leyburne to Pope Innocent X., Douay (1654). [*Copy.*]

Vat. Arch., Lettere di Vescovi e Prelati, t. 22, f. 247 (*vide* p. 327, note 3).

Beatissime Pater,

Exponit omni qua potest humilitate Georgius Laybornus, collegii Anglorum Duaci praeses, dictum collegium indebite molestari a doctoribus universitatis eiusdem oppidi Duaceni, volentibus, contra quam consuetum est iam inde a prima collegii fundatione, immittere se in regimen praefati collegii cogere scholaris ad suas lectiones aliaque iura sibi vendicare, turbare iurisdictionem Sedis Apostolicae, cui dictum collegium semper fuit immediate subiectum. Quae si obtinuerint, dictum collegium non solum gravissime opprimetur, sed etiam penitus evertetur. Attentis igitur piis laboribus et fructu, quem in vinea Domini a tempore Pii V. protulerunt et in dies proferunt dicti collegii sacerdotes in conservanda ac disseminanda fide catholica in Anglia inter haereticos et praecipue in defendenda authoritate S. Sedis Apostolicae, pro qua centum viginti octo ex eius alumnis sanguinem fuderunt, dictus orator humillime supplicat, quatenus Stas sua dignetur statuere ut dictum collegium et personae in eo degentes eximantur ab omni iurisdictione praenominatae universitatis eiusque officialium quorumcumque, ac gaudeant iisdem privilegiis quibus gaudet collegium Anglorum Ulyssiponense in Lusitania concessis a felicis recordationis Gregorio XV. et Urbano VIII. per litteras datas sub annulo Piscatoris die 22 septembris 1622 et 14 octobris 1626, quarum transumpta hic adiunguntur. Quam Deus, etc.

XVI.

Informatione dello stato del collegio pontificio Anglo-Duaceno, 1667.

Vat. Libr., Bibl. Barb., vol. 8623, f. 112 ; cf. *Propaganda Archives, Scritture Antiche*, t. 373, f. 43 (*vide* page 329, note 1).

1. Tutti li professori et uffitiali sono comunemente giovani, e senza esperienza.

2. Anco il confessore del collegio tale, che non è stato in Inghilterra.

3. A procuratori non vien permesso d'havere notitia delli beni temporali, ne dell'introito et esito del detto collegio, il cui interesse vuole il presidente, che sia a lui solo noto.

4. Da diverse relationi date al clero pare, che il collegio si scuopra impoverito in 20/m sotto il governo di questo presidente.

5. Sono stati promossi al sacerdotio dal detto presidente tre pazzi, due altri della scuola di fisica, et il sesto stato reputato a Roma indegno di tal grado, e tutti questi mandati in Inghilterra con gran pregiuditio della missione, e scandalo della religione cattolica.

6. Il Signor presidente compra quattro volte più vino del solito e più gagliardo, et anco una quantità di vino di Spagna non usato prima nel collegio.

7. Permette che il vino sia venduto alli scolari con pregiuditio di questi.

8. Banchetta spesso con straordinarie spese.

9. In ogni essercitio publico li convittori sono essaltati, e gl'alunni depressi con la mancanza de le cose necessarie, il che li rende tepedi allo studio.

10. Le meditationi avanti il tempo di questo presidente si facevano unitamente da tutti in una sala, addesso vien permesso loro di farle privatamente come gli piace.

11. Quelli, che non possono approvare le innovationi del signor presidente, sono mandati via senza viatico, o altra commodità.

12. Il clero, che ha tanti huomini habili, non può trovar di quelli, che vogliono restare nel collegio sotto la direttione di questo presidente.

13. Anche il nipote di detto presidente nominato per coadiutore, se n'è ritornato in Inghilterra. ricusando di star unito con suo zio.

14. Da 20 professori, e sacerdoti stracchi del governo di detto presidente, e ritornati in Inghilterra, vien data questa relatione al clero, come anco da molti altri nuovamente scacciati.

15. Ultimamente si è scoperto, che il detto presidente ha messo in mano d'un Giesuita (non si sà a che fine) una somma considerabile di danari spettanti al detto collegio. Essendo così mutata la disciplina del detto collegio contro le bolle pontificie in queste, e molte altre particolarità con gran pregiuditio della missione. Il clero d'Inghilterra humilmente supplica, che sia rimosso il suddetto presidente, e posto un'altro in suo luogo, che il tutto si riceverà a gratia singolarissima. Quam Deus, etc.

(*Tergo*).

Nominati dal clero per l'elettione d'un altro presidente.

Sig. Tomaso Steaplean, è stato professor di teologia e confessore del collegio.

Sig. Odoardo Luttono, procuratore.

Sig. Edmondo Greene.

Sig. Giorgio Hodshon.

Sig. Odoardo Paston.

Sig. Christofaro Bambers.

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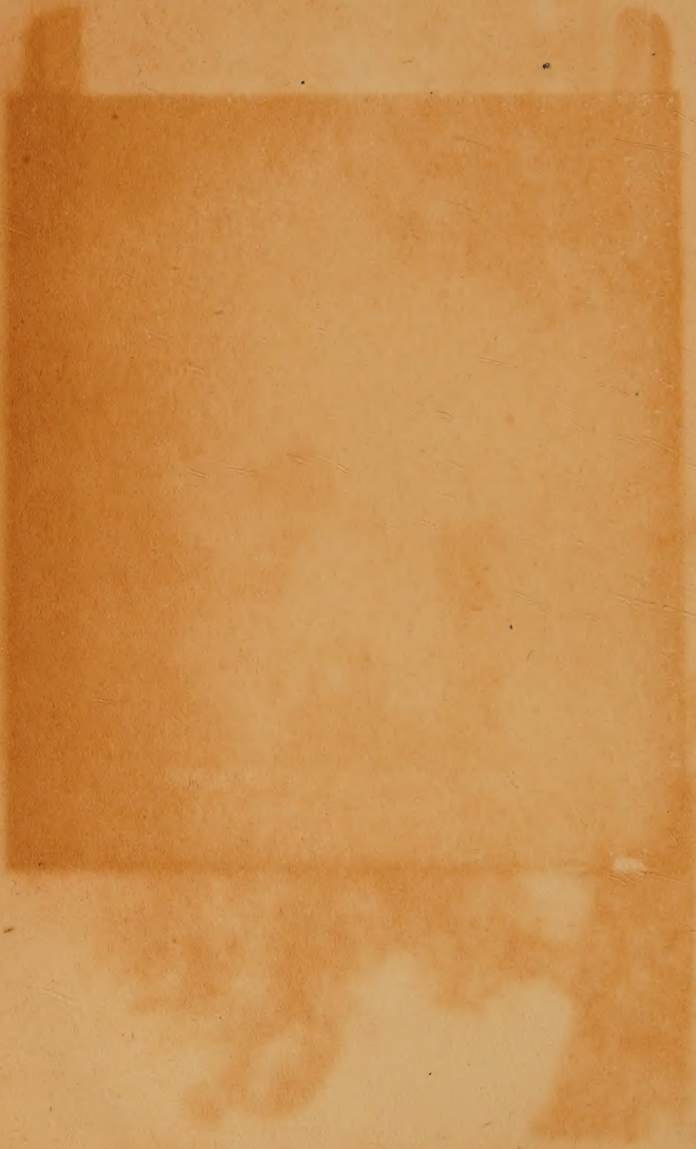

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